IOHN KIPLING,

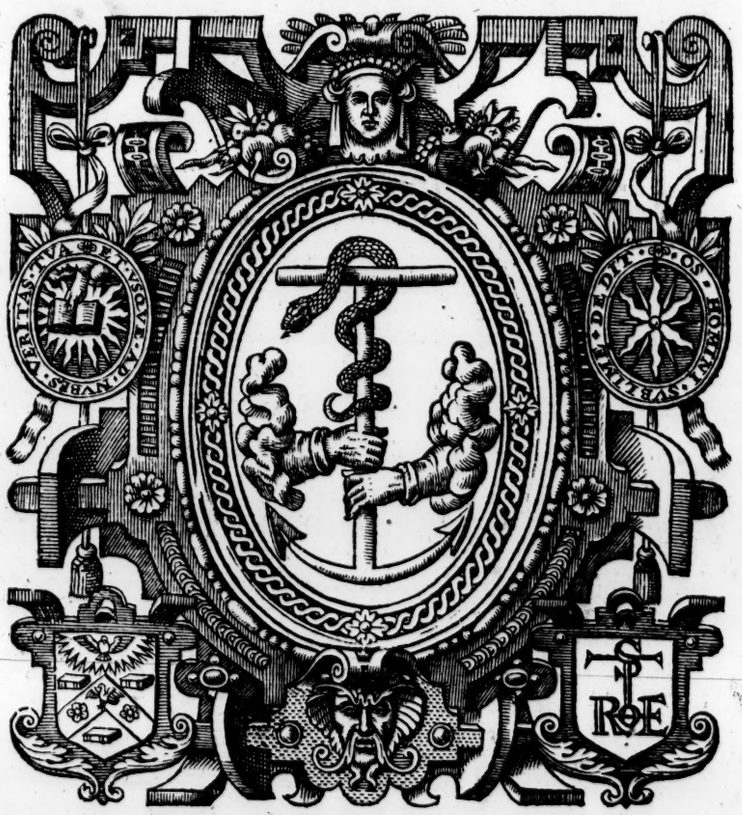
THE FAMOVS AND MEMORABLE WORKES OF *IOSEPHVS*,

A MAN OF MVCH HONOVR AND LEARNING AMONG THE IEVVES.

Faithfully tranſlated out of the Latin, and French, by *Tho. Lodge*, Doctor in Phyſicke.

Bernardus Epiſtola ad Suggerium.

Tunc recentia iucundiùs bona clareſcunt, cùm fuerint malis comparata prioribus.



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1632.

IOHN KIPLING,

TO THE RIGHT HONOVRABLE FATHER OF ARTS AND ARMES, CHARLES LORD HOWARD, *BARON OF* EFFINGHAM, *EARLE OF* NOTTINGHAM, HIGH Conſtable of the Caſtle and Forreſt of *Windſor*, Lord Chiefe Iuſtice in *Eyre* of England, Gouernour and Captaine Generall of all her Maieſties maritime Forts and Caſtles, High Admirall of England and Ireland, Lieutenant of Suſſex and Surrey, Knight of the moſt noble order of the Garter, and one of her Maieſties moſt honourable priuie Councell.

RIght Honourable, there is a ſaying in Zenophon *moſt worthy the citing and inſight, that matters of worth and conſequence are both to be committed and commended to their truſt and protection, who know the waight and value thereof, and both can and will defend the ſame by Authority and Reaſon. For this cauſe and vpon this ground, I haue choſen your Honour out for a moſt noble Patron of this moſt famous and accompliſhed Hiſtorie of the Iewes: which (for dignity and antiquity of the ſubiect, the elegancie and purity of the ſtile, the choiſe proprietie and copie of words, the grauitie and variety of ſentences, the alterations and memorable euents; and laſtly, for the birth and dignity of the author) requireth a ſpirit of no leſſe wiſedome, courage, and nobility then your ſelfe, who haue power to defend, and knowledge to diſcerne the worth thereof. Vouchſafe therefore to leuell the eye of your eſteeme vpon the Center of this happy Hiſtory: and as* Themiſtocles *was animated to noble actions by beholding* Miltiades *Trophees; and* Alexander *in ſeeing* Achilles *tombe, did grieuouſly ſigh with an honourable emulation: ſo let the zeale, magnanimity, and admirable conſtancy which euery where affronteth you in this Booke (and rauiſheth the beſt mindes from the boundleſſe troubles of this world, and draweth them into the contemplation of true perfection) ſo ſettle your honourable loue and affection to emulate the ſame, that as for glory in Armes; ſo for preſeruing and protecting Artes, you may outſtrip your competitors, and amaze too curious expectation. And in mine opinion the time challengeth no leſſe at your hands: for as your tranſcendent dignity and courage hath returned vs a happy harueſt in our expected and long poſſeſſed peace, as by your ſecond care and diligence next vnder her ſacred Maieſtie, we all reape the fruit and felicity of bleſſed abundance: ſo by your example in reading and reſpecting both learning and the learned, you ſhall pull downe that* Babel, *which confuſed ignorance hath raiſed to ouer-reach induſtrie; yea you ſhall ſtrengthen the weakened ability of learning, which (alas the while) is now-adaies like a commodity without requeſt ſcarce ſaleable by the hands of a cunning broker. Nothing is more worth money, and leſſe in requeſt: onely the worlds blinde creatures as* S. Hierom *tearmeth them) the vnlettered, take delight in their errors, whoſe writings (as* Plutarch *ſpeaketh of* Ariſtophanes *poeme) are written for no moderate mans pleaſure. Let therefore your vpright eſtimation of this worke (moſt noble Earle) awaken the dead deuotion of ſuch as contemne Artes; and let no ſuch corrupt drones (as made ſale of ſinfull thoughts for good marchandiſe) buz about the hiue of true ſcience: But as Emperors, Kings, and Princes haue euer in their Greeke, Italian and French, with a reſpectiue acceptance, and bountifull hand, entertained this Hiſtory; ſo let this tranſlation of* Ioſephus *which courteth you now in Engliſh, be accepted at your hands, and countenanced by your Honour: for whoſe vnconfined felicity both I and other of my name haue euer prayed, and will neuer ceaſe to ſtudy.*

Your Honours vnfainedly deuoted,

THOMAS LODGE.

TO THE COVRTEOVS Reader, as touching the vſe and abuſe of Hiſtorie.

IF Hiſtory were as eaſily conceited and made vſe of, as (according to *Baldus*) it hath true proportion and documents for the gouernment of mans life; I ſhould hold it no ſin, ſo preciſely to preſcribe a limitation and bound, to ſuch as ſhould enter the Liſt, and conſult with example; for what more pleaſing to our ſelues, or profitable for ſocieties could euer befall vs, then in this Theater of mans life, (wherein Hiſtory affordeth all ſorts of Actors) to ſit and learne preuention by other mens perils, and to grow amply wiſe by forrain wrecks? All which being traduced to our priuate vſe, we may either as partners in what we haue paſt, or obſeruers of future caſualties, by precedent euents, tye ages to our memories; and preuenting our eſcapes, by ſuruey of other mens repentance, briefely beget experience by ſight, or foreſight of worldly caſualties, and forme a mirror of fore-paſſed errors, to fore-iudge our future calamities. But for that it behoueth vs to enter this worldly Academy, the more prepared, the more that Hiſtory is fraught and fulfilled with plentifull fruit: and whereas the difficulty and difference is alike, to yeeld an vpright verdict both of a mans owne, and other mens life; neither may any man rightly examine another (how wiſe ſoeuer he be) except in equall ballance he weigh his owne imperfections; it muſt neceſſarily follow on both ſides, that with the more wiſedome, and the greater obſeruation we ought to entertaine Hiſtory, leſt our mind like the winde ſhould wander vncertainly, and our deuotion ſhould preuent our reſolution; our eſteeme, our knowledge. For as in an ample and well furniſhed and affluent banquet; although ſome things, (and they to few men) ſeeme pleaſant, otherſome to other are without taſte and ſeeme tart, and euery one iudgeth his meate not by proofe, but by the palate; yet notwithſtanding there is a certaine meane, which either Natures ordinary, or the refined kind of nutriment (being ſimple and incorrupt) hath faſhioned and fixed for moſt apteſt for the body; from which, whoſoeuer varieth, or either beyond meaſure, or without iudgement, followeth his fooliſh appetite, in glutting himſelfe beyond diſcretion, reapeth more incommodity then pleaſure by theſe pleaſures: So in the diuerſity of mans life, although 1000. formes, 1000. ſimilitudes be offered, and that euery man faſhioneth other mens maners to his mind, yet there is but one true path that vertue walketh in, which whoſoeuer tracteth with iudgement, doth truly know the vſe of life; whereas they that ſit in a plentifull banquet, in affecting all things, can make vſe of nothing. Now, how many are there, I pray you, that in reſpect of either of their own, or other mens acts and words (according to the rule of vertue) can be more choiſe in iudging minds, than meates, and that in this matter ſeemeth not ſufficiently inſtructed? Wherein I wonder that men eſpie not their errors, whereas they imagine that Hiſtory is the inſtructor of ſuch as read the ſame; whereas it onely yeeldeth matter of inſtruction, euen as the banquet miniſtreth meat according to euery mans affection. Some therefore are ſeduced with the ſweetnes of the Stile, and in ſeeking their pleaſure, loſe their profit; who reape no other fruit of Hiſtory, then to beguile time, and beget officious idlenes, laughing away houres, and nouriſh repent: others in reading glory, hunt it in a ſhadow, where if they could make vſe of it in proportion, they could not fall to repent it. And whereas no man can aſpire to true glory without true vertue, neither no wiſe man will hope further: yet ſee we many men, that becauſe they haue read many excellent workes, will be Capricious and pretend wiſedome; reſembling thoſe tragedians, who will, after they haue diſcharged themſelues of their parts and apparell

wherein

wherein they counterfaited the Emperour, yet retaine his Royall and Princely manners: Some triuiall and light witted, that made an Eclipſe of a ſhadow, make more of the embleme, then the worke; the habit then the Doctor: ſo admirable effects worketh Hiſtory in mens mindes. Now whereas it is the moſt exact and chiefeſt intent of Hiſtory to awaken mens idleneſſe, and arme them againſt caſualties, and the whole bent of example hath no othrr iſſue; it falleth out through mens ſecurity (who ſuppoſe that their neighbours perils concerne them not) that whatſoeuer is of note, is ouerſlipt with a deafe and ſleeping iudgement, and things that memory ſhould beſt loue, are loſt in her. To conclude, there are ſome that will haue euery mans ſhooe fitted on their owne Laſt, and tye all mens pennes to their owne pleaſures: For which cauſe, partly by reaſon of this ſecret, partly through this ill ordered, confuſed and raſh method of reading, as of corrupt humours, ſo is there growne a certaine [illegible] of iudgement and reſolution: and as in temperate bodies, meate yeeldeth very little profit; ſo reape they no fruit or benefit by their reading. By this, good Reader, thou maiſt eaſily conceiue, how a Hiſtory ought to be read: how mens liues ought in themſelues be examined: finally how equall a proportion is required in both. And truly in my opinion, the chiefeſt ground of this difficulty, is the peruerſeneſſe of our iudgements: which is the cauſe, we the rather reſpect our owne inclinations what they are, then the true life and force of example. Furthermore, this is no leſſe miſery then the former, that ſuch as write, ſet downe ſuch things as are acted, not onely for our profit ſake, but to feede their owne humours: and like to certaine Architects (by interpoſing their iudgements) do vainly praiſe ſome things, ſuppoſing that our imitation ſhould be tied to their pleaſure; where if they performed what they ought to doe, the Reader ſhould encounter with no ſuch diſtractions: but now, in like manner as Cookes, who rather reſpect their maſters pleaſurable taſte, then his profit; would God the Hiſtoriographer did not affect flattery. It therefore appeareth, that in two ſorts (firſt in our owne iudgement; and next, to the preiudice of thoſe that write) we are circumuented; in that they ſet not downe ſuch euents as paſſe, in their owne nature and as they are. For he that writeth an Hiſtory, is the interpretour of thoſe things that are paſt: whoſe iudgement being depraued, it fareth with them as with the pureſt and moſt richeſt wine, which waxeth muſtie by reaſon of that veſſell wherin it is inclozed, or is by ſophiſtication corrupted: which is the greateſt folly, and moſt intolerable deceit that may befall men. They therfore, who negligently vndertake a Hiſtory, (or ſuppoſe that life were to be paſt raſhly, and without an exact obſeruance of all offices) are no leſſe deceiued then certaine countrey peſants in the laſt troubles of France (of whoſe folly I drew ſome example) who attempting and entring vpon a city not farre off from them, and lighting into an Apothecaries ſhop furniſhed with all kind of drugs and dainties, and being allured by the pleaſure, odours and delight of the confections they taſted; and ſuppoſing all to be of the ſame kind, deuoured, taſted, and ſwallowed downe euery thing: whereupon ſome fell ſicke of feauers, ſome grew phrenſie, and many loſt their liues to pleaſe their appetites; at leaſtwiſe, he that ſcaped beſt, gaue occaſion of laughter to the lookers on. For as life, ſo Hiſtory (the image of life) is fraught with pleaſure, and diſpleaſure; and onely in the vſe of life, the wiſedome of life conſiſteth. Farewell: vſe this, and my ſelfe, as two twinnes borne for thy profit.

Thine, THOMAS LODGE.

The Titles of all ſuch Bookes as are contained in this Hiſtorie.

1. *A Hiſtory in twenty bookes, wherein the Antiquity of the Iewes is diſcouered.*
2. *Joſephus Life. Written by himſelfe all.*
3. *Seuen bookes of the Warres of the Jewes.*
4. *Two bookes againſt* Apion *the Grammarian, in Juſtification of the Antiquity of the Jewes.*
5. *A booke as touching the memorable martyrdome of the Maccabees.*

A Briefe Computation very profitable and neceſſarie to the vnderſtanding of the Hiſtorie.

FRom *Adam* vntill the Deluge, there were yeeres. 1656
From the Deluge vntill *Abrahams* time. 292
From *Abraham* vntill the departure out of Egypt. 500
From the departure out of Egypt, vntill the building of the Temple by *Salomon*. 480
From the building of the Temple, vntill the captiuity in Babylon. 410
From the returne from the captiuity, vntill the Maccabees time. 432
From the Maccabees time, vntill *Herods*. 134
From *Herods* time, vntill the finall and fatall deſtruction of Ieruſalem. 103

The Iewes haue two ſorts of yeers: the Politique ſort, which beginneth in September; and the Sacred or Eccleſiaſtique, which beginneth in March.

They haue twelue Moneths or Moones, euery third yeere hath a thirteenth Moneth of 22. daies, and the fourth yeere hath a thirteenth moneth of 23. dayes.

Before the Captiuity of Babylon, they accounted the moneths ſucceſſiuely by 1. 2, 3, &c. ſince their returne they haue named them rather after the manner of the Chaldees then Hebrewes.

The Hebrew.	The Engliſh.	The Greeke.
Niſan.	March	*Andineen*
Ziu or *Iar*	Aprill	*Peritien*
Siuan	May	*Diſtre*
Tamuz	Iune	*Xantique*
Ab	Iuly	*Arthemiſien*
Elul	Auguſt	*Deſien*
Ethanin or *Tiſri*	September	*Paneme*
Bul or *Markeſuan*	October	*Loie*
Caſleu	Nouember	*Gorpian*
Thebet	December	*Hyperberete*
Sebath	Ianuary	*Dien*
Adar	Februarie	*Apelleen*

This nation in their beginning, was gouerned by Iudges.

Moſes	*Iair*
Ioſuah	*Ieptha*
Othoniel	*Abſan*
Adod	*Elon*
Baruc and Debora	*Abdon*
Gedeon	*Samſon*
Abimelech	*Eli*
Thola	*Samuel.*

After them, they had theſe Kings.

Saul	*Ochozias*
Dauid	*Athalia*
Salomon	*Ioas*
Roboam	*Amaſias*
Abia	*Ozias*
Aſa	*Ioathan*
Ioſaphat	*Achaz*
Ioram	*Ezechias*
Manaſſes	*Eliachim*
Amon	*Ioachim*
Ioſias	*Zedechias*
Ioachas	

The Captiuity of Babylon continued 70. yeeres.
Gouernors after the Captiuitie.

Zorobabel	*Nagge*
Rheſa	*Hagaieli*
Iehan Ben Reſa	*Naum*
Iudas Hyrcanus	*Amos*
Ioſeph	*Matthathias*
Abner	*Ioſeph Arſes*
Heli	*Iannes Hircanus*
Mahat	*Mattathias.*

The Maccabees, who haue beene both Gouernours and Prieſts.

Iudas	*Simon*
Ionathan	*Iohn Hircanus.*

Theſe

These following haue beene both Kings and Priests.

Aristobulus 1.	*Hircanus*
Iohn Alexander	*Aristobul. the sonne of Arist.*
Alexandra	*Aristobulus* 3.
Aristobulus 2.	*Hircanus*

The race of *Herod*.

Antipater	*Archelaus the Great*
Herod the Great	*Agrippa the sonne of Agrippa.*

The names of such as were high Priests from the time of their departure out of Egypt, vntill the building of the Temple, which was made by *Salomon*.

Aaron	*Achitob*
Eleazar	*Achimelech*
Phinees	*Abiathar*
Abisua	*Sadoc*
Busqui	*Achimaas*
Oses	*Azarias.*
Heli	

From the building of the Temple, vntill the Captiuity of Babylon.

Ioram	*Vrias*
Ioses	*Nerias*
Axioram	*Odeas*
Sudeas	*Sellum*
Ioathan	*Helcias*

From their returne out of Babylon, vntill the Maccabees time.

Saraia	*Iosiada*
Iosedech	*Ionathan*
Iosua	*Iadus*
Ioachim	*Onias* 1.
Eliasib	*Simon* 1.
Eleazar	*Iason*
Manasses	*Onias* 4.
Onias 2.	*Lysimachus*
Simon 2.	*Alcimus*
Onias 3.	

High Priests since the Maccabees time, vntill the last destruction and ouerthrow of that City and Nation.

Simon Boethus	*Ioseph* 3.
Ioseph 1.	*Ananias*
Ioseph 2.	*Ismael*
Ioazar	*Ioseph*
Eleazar	*Annas*
Iosuah the sonne of Sias	*Eleazar*
Ioazar	*Simon*
Ananus	*Ioseph Caiphas*
Ismael	*Ionathan*
Theophilus	*Iosuah the sonne of Dammeus*
Simon	*Iosuah the sonne of Gamaliel*
Mattathias	*Matthias*
Elion	*Phinees or Panaas*

Kings of Israel, otherwise called Kings of the ten Tribes, or of Samaria.

Ieroboam 1.	*Ioachaz*
Nadab	*Ioas*
Baasa	*Ieroboam* 2.
Ela	*Zachary*
Zamri	*Manahem*
Amri	*Pecha the sonne of Manahem*
Achab	*Pecha the sonne of Romelia*
Ioram	*Oseas*
Iehu	

Kings of Assyria and Babylon.

Phulbelechus	*Nabuchodonosor* 1.
Phulassar	*Nabuchodonosor the Great*
Salmanassar	*Euilmerodach*
Senacherib	*Neriglossorar*
Assaradon	*Labosardach*
Berodach Benmerodach	*Baltassar*

Kings of Persia.

Cyrus	*Xerxes*
Cambyses	*Sogdianus*
Smerdes Magus	*Darius the bastard*
Darius the son of Hist aspis	*Artaxerxes Mnemon*
Xerxes the sonne of Darius	*Artaxerxes Ochus*
Artabanus the tyrant	*Arsames* (*Arsames*
Artaxerxes with a long hand.	*Darius the sonne of*

Kings of Syria after the death of *Alexander* the Great.

Seleucus Nicanor	*Alexander Epiphanes*
Antiochus Soter	*Demetrius Nicanor*
Antiochus surnamed God	*Antiochus Sedetes*
Seleucus Callinicus	*Demetrius Nicanor*
Seleucus Ceraunus	*Alexander Zebina*
Antiochus the Great	*Antiochus Gryphus*
Seleucus Philopator	*Antiochus Cyzecenus*
Antiochus Epiphanes	*Seleucus Gryphus*
Antiochus Eupator	*Antiochus Pius*
Demetrius Soter	

The Kings of Egypt, after the death of *Alexander* the Great.

Ptolomey Soter	*Euergetes Phiscon*
Philadelphus	*Lathyrus*
Euergetes	*Alexander*
Philopator	*Auletes*
Epiphanes	*Cleopatra*
Philometor	

Kings of the Tyrians.

Abibalus	*Phelletes*
Hiram	*Ithoballus*
Belastartus	*Badezor*
Abdastartus	*Metrimms*
Astartus	*Pigmalion*
Astarimus	

For

For the better vnderſtanding of the Coines and Meaſures, whereof there is ſome mention made in this Hiſtory; obſerue I pray you that which followeth.

SAth was a meaſure containing about ſome ſeuen pintes French.
The Epha contained three Saths.
The Core or Homer contained ten Ephas, that is to ſay thirty Saths, and was the ſame meaſure both in drie and liquid things.
The Log contained a French meaſure.
The Hin contained twelue Logs.
The Bath contained as much as the Epha.
The Cad was a kinde of pitcher containing ſuch a quantity as a young maiden might well carry.
The common Sicle contained the waight of foure ounces, whether it were of gold, ſiluer, or of any other metall.
The ſacred or holy Sicle waighed halfe an ounce of any metall whatſoeuer.
The common Sicle of ſiluer was valued at about ſome ſhilling of our money.
The holy Sicle of ſiluer was valued at about ſome two ſhillings.
The common Drachme was the eighth part of an ounce.
The ſacred Drachme was the fourth part of an ounce.
The pound waighed twelue ounces.
The ordinary Talent contained fifty foure pounds, eight ounces, and a quarter of Troy waight in any metall: yet was it not currant money, but a maſſe made vp after the manner of an ingot.
The ſacred Talents contained one hundreth pounds.
Furthermore, note this for your better knowledge, that when as *Ioſephus* quoteth the Olympiades without any ſpecification of the yeeres therein contained, hee ordinarily comprehendeth the ſpace of foure yeeres compleat.
Furthermore, where the Latin word *Stadium* hath diuers ſignifications amongſt both Greeks and Latins (as the controuerſie betweene *Plinie* and *Diodorus Siculus* may well teſtifie) and for that diuers of our Engliſh tranſlators haue ſometimes called it a Stade, otherwhiles a Stound, and otherwhiles improperly, a Furlong; I pray you in reading this Hiſtory, whereas any of theſe words occurre, ſuppoſe them for one and the ſame meaſure of ground, and according to the Greeks account, (which I ſuppoſe *Ioſephus* moſt reſpected in this Hiſtory) conclude it to be either of 600. foote as the Olympique, that is of 120. paſes, or as the Pyrrhique, which contained 1000. foote, that is 200. paſes. As for the Furlong, either multiply him 8. times to make him a Stade, or as an ouerſight in the printing, let it paſſe with the Errata.

The names of thoſe Authors which are alleadged in this Hiſtory.

A
Acuſilaus.
Agatharcides.
Alexander.
Andrew.
Apion.
Apollonius Molo.
Apollodorus.
Ariphanes.
Ariſtæus.
Ariſtotle.
B
Beroſus.
C
Cadmus.
Caſtor.
Chæremon.
Charilus.
Clearcus.
Conon.
D.
Demetrius Phalereus.
Dius.
E
Ephorus.
Euhemerus.
Eupolemus.
H
Hecatæus.
Helanicus.
Hermippus.
Hermogenes.
Herodotus.
Heſiodus.
Heſtiæus.
Hierome of Egypt.
Homer.
Hyperochides.
I
Iſidore.
L
Titus Liuius.
Lyſimachus.
M
Manethon.
Menander.
Mnaſeas.
Mochus.
N
Nicholas of Damas.
P
Pherecides.
Philon.
Philoſtratus.
Polybius.
Polycrates.
Poſydonius.
Pythagoras.
S
Strabo.
T
Thales.
Theodotus.
Theophilus.
Theopompus.
Theophraſtus.
Thucydides.
Timæus.
Z
Zopyrion.

Franciſ. Patritius de Regno, lib. 2. cap. 10.

Hiſtoriarum cognitio Regibus, Ducibus, Imperatoribus & omnibus Principibus perquam neceſſaria habenda eſt: quam Cicero appellat Teſtem temporum, vitæ Magiſtram, veram memoriæ & veritatis Nunciam.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE MOST ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE IEWES: WRITTEN BY IOSEPH THE SONNE OF MATTHIAS.

A moſt excellent Preface, containing the cauſes which induced the Author to write this Hiſtorie, together with the contents and intents of the ſame.

CHAP. I.

THEY that indeauour themſelues to write Hiſtories, ſeeme not (in my opinion) to haue one and the ſame intent and motiue, but diuers and very different cauſes of their labours: for ſome of them are addicted to this ſtudy, vnder pretence to exemplifie their eloquence, and vnder hope to purchaſe glory thereby; otherſome to the end to giue them content, whoſe worthy actions they couch and commend in their writings, haue intermitted no time, nor (to their power) ſpared to labour. Some there are that hauing beene preſent in perſon, and eye-witneſſes in the execution of great affaires, haue neceſſarily beene inforced to reduce and digeſt the ſame in writing: neither wanted there ſome, who ſeeing occurrences of high and neceſſary conſequence (which otherwiſe had beene buried in ignorance) haue beene incited (in reſpect of common good) to imploy both hand and head, in the publiſhing thereof: now of theſe forenamed cauſes, the two laſt are they that incited me to the like. For the warre which wee had with the Romanes, and the accidents and iſſues on both parts, (all which in perſon I beheld, and to my perill I haue learned) doe compell mee to declare the ſame; and the rather, for that there are ſome, who in their writings, haue depraued, and peruerted the truth. I haue therefore taken this worke in hand, for that in my opinion, the knowledge thereof will be both pleaſing and profitable to the Græcians: for it ſhall containe the antiquity of our whole Nation, their forme of Common-weale, both tranſlated and gathered out of the Antiquities and Chronicles of the Hebrews. Truth it is, that heretofore and at ſuch time alſo as I compoſed the Hiſtory of the foreſaid warre, I had proiected and purpoſed with my ſelfe, to lay open to the world, how and whence the Iewes had their firſt originall, what alterations in fortune they had falne into, by what Law-maker they had beene inſtructed in pietie, and incited to the exerciſe of vertue: how many warres haue they ſuſtained by long and diuers times, and finally how againſt their will they haue beene intangled in this laſt warre, which they waged againſt the Romanes. But for that the content of this matter, was too ample and copious, I haue ſeparated it apart, aſſigning thereunto this treatiſe accompliſhed from the beginning euen to the end: afterwards in proceſſe of time (as it vſually hapneth to thoſe that attempt matters of mighty conſequence) I was ſurprized with a certaine delay and ſlothfulneſſe, that withdrew me from the tranſlation of ſo waighty a matter, in an vnfamiliar and forraine language. Yet ſome there were, who inflamed with a deſire of knowledge, animated me in this action; and eſpecially *Epaphroditus*, a man enamoured

red of all learning, and who in eſpeciall, tooke it for a pleaſure, to take knowledge of the di- G
uers occurrences of Common-weales: as he that had beene agent, in diuers affaires of impor-
tance, and ſundry accidents, in all which he hath ſhewed a maruellous magnanimitie of cou-
rage, with an vnmooueable reſolution to follow vertue. Being thus perſwaded by him, who
is accuſtomed to incourage thoſe vnto good actions, whom hee perceiueth to be apt and pre-
pared to performe things profitable and honeſt: and (that which is more) being aſhamed in
my ſelfe, that I ſhould rather take delight to follow idleneſſe, than addict my ſelfe to any lau-
dable exerciſe; I inforced my ſelfe more couragiouſly then beforetime; and (beſides all that
which hath bin ſpoken) I haue effectually conſidered with my ſelfe, that our anceſtors haue
thought good to communicate and publiſh the knowledge of our Hiſtories to the Grecians, H
if ſo be that any of them were curious to vnderſtand the ſame. I haue found therefore that *Pto-*
lomey King of Ægypt the ſecond of the name (highly affectioned to good letters, and deſirous
to ſtore and gather bookes) was earneſtly deſirous, that our law and the rules thereof, and the
preſcript forme of our liuing ſhould bee tranſlated into the Greeke tongue. And as touching
the high Prieſt *Eleazar* (who hath not beene ſecond in vertue to any other whatſoeuer) he re-
fuſed not to make the ſaid King partaker of the effect of his deſire: to which hee had wholly
contradicted, had it not beene the ordinary courſe of our anceſtors, not to conceale from other
men, what thing ſoeuer was honeſt. For which cauſe I haue held it a matter no waies vnde-
cent for me, to follow the vertuous courage of that ſame great ſacrificer, and the rather for
that at this day (onely in as much as concerned learning) I ſuppoſed many alſo to bee no leſſe I
affected to good letters then the King: for he vndertooke not to haue all the writings which we
had, but thoſe tranſlators who were ſent vnto him to Alexandria, did onely communicate that
vnto him which was in our law. But thoſe things that are found written in the ſacred bookes
of holy Scripture are infinite, being ſuch as containe in them, the Hiſtorie of fiue thouſand
yeeres: in which diuers vnexpected chances, ſundry fortunes of warre, and many changes of
politike eſtates are diſcouered. In ſumme, if any one haue a deſire to read this Hiſtory, hee
ſhall principally learne and apprehend, that all things fall out happily, and beyond their expe-
ctation to thoſe men, who obſerue the will of God, and are afraide to tranſgreſſe the lawes of
his Commandements; and that God hath prepared for ſuch the Crown & reward of felicitie.
Contrariwiſe, if they ſhall depart from the diligent obſeruance thereof, that which is eaſie K
ſhall be made impoſſible, and their endeuours in their opinion good, ſhall end in incurable ca-
lamities. For which cauſe I exhort all thoſe that ſhall reade theſe bookes, to fixe their mind
vpon God, and that they approoue our Law-maker, if (as it worthily deſerued) he hath conſi-
dered the diuine Nature; and attributed to the ſame ſuch actions as are alwaies agreeable to
his power, and hath kept and continued his narration, free from the vanity of fables, where-
with others are poiſoned: although in reſpect of the length of time, and the antiquity of things,
he might without controle faine and imagine whatſoeuer vanities: for he was borne more then
two thouſand yeeres agoe, which is a continuance of ages, to which the Poets neither durſt re-
ferre the originall of their gods; neither the deeds or lawes of men, whereof they make men-
tion. But in purſuit of our Hiſtory, the ſequel of our diſcourſe, ſhall declare all things exactly, L
and in conuenient order. For in compiling this worke, I haue promiſed to adde nothing, nei-
ther to pretermit any thing: and for that all whatſoeuer we ſhall declare, doth almoſt wholly
depend on the wiſedome of our Law-maker *Moſes*; it is neceſſary before all other things, that I
ſpeake ſomewhat of himſelfe, leſt perhaps any man ſhould wonder how this labour hauing
beene enterpriſed, to diſcouer the words and workes of certaine perſons, is alſo imployed for
the greateſt part in deſcribing and diſcouering things that are naturall. We ought therefore to
know, that *Moſes* thought it moſt eſpecially neceſſary, either for him that will rightly diſpoſe
his life, or impoſe lawes to other men, that firſt and in eſpeciall he haue the knowledge of the
nature of God; to the end that conceiuing in his minde the greatneſſe of his workes; hee
might as much as in him lyeth, imitate his moſt vnequall example; and follow him with M
all diligence. For it is impoſſible, that a law-maker being voide of this contemplation, ſhould
haue good ſenſe; or that his writings ſhould be of any moment to induce them vnto vertue,
who ſhould receiue thoſe lawes, except before all things they ſhould learne, that God who is
the Father and Lord of all, and that ſeeth all, giueth happy life vnto thoſe that follow him; and
contrariwiſe inuironeth them with great calamities, who forſake the way of vertue and righte-
ouſneſſe. *Moſes* therefore intending to inſtruct his Citizens in this doctrine, began not his ordi-
nances with the treatiſe of contracts, and couenants, which we practiſe one with another, as

other

A other law-makers were accuſtomed to do:but he hath lifted their ſpirits on high,to the end they might think on God,and on the ornament of this world made by him,perſwading that the moſt accompliſhed worke among all thoſe things which God had made in the world,was the creation of vs men. After that he had made them capable of things concerning piety;then might he more eaſily perſwade them in the reſt: Whereas other law-makers, addicting themſelues vnto fables,haue in their diſcourſe impoſed on their gods the infamy of ſins committed by men,and by that meanes haue brought to paſſe,that the wicked ſort are yet more wicked and addicted to euill doing. But as touching our Law-maker,after he had declared that God had in himſelfe all vertue pure and vnſpotted,he hath thought good that men alſo ſhould endeuour themſelues to be partakers of the ſame,and on thoſe that neither conceiue nor beleeue thoſe things,he inflicteth
B a grieuous and inexorable puniſhment: I exhort the Reader therefore to examine our writings according to this Maxime: for to thoſe that conſider after this manner, nothing ſhall ſeeme either abſurd,or vnworthy the magnificence of God;by reaſon that all things haue their diſpoſition conformable to the vniuerſall nature, which our law-maker hath declared ſometimes obſcurely,ſometimes in conuenient allegories grauely; and otherwiſe expreſſing that manifeſtly, and publiſhing that in plaine words,which he ought openly to make knowne. The cauſes whereof if any man would ſearch, he might find a moſt deepe and very Philoſophicall contemplation; which I ouerſlip at this preſent,without longer ſtaying thereon: but if God ſhall giue me time, I will inforce my ſelfe to compoſe it in a volume, as ſoone as I ſhall haue finiſhed this worke. For this preſent then I will apply my ſelfe, to expoſe thoſe things which haue beene
C done,beginning at the creation of the world,according as *Moſes* hath ſpoken, and I haue found it written in the holy Scriptures,which teſtifie and intreat to this effect as followeth.

CHAP. II.

The Creation of the World.

IN the beginning God created heauen and earth. Now the earth, not being ſubiect to ſight, but couered with thicke darkeneſſe, and trauerſed with an aire comming from high: God commanded that there ſhould be light;and after the light was made,hauing conſidered the vniuerſall matter, he ſeparated the light from the darkeneſſe, and na-
D med the darkneſſe Night,and the light Day;calling the Morning the beginning of the day, and the Euening the time wherein we ceaſe from trauell,and this was the firſt day which *Moſes* in his language called a day, whereof at this preſent I could giue a ſufficient reaſon: but for that in a particular diſcourſe I haue promiſed to write the generall cauſes of all;I will referre the declaration therof,to his conuenient time and place. After this, the ſecond day,he placed the heauen aboue all the world, and hauing ſeparated it from other things, he thought good to giue it a place apart; and making it firme by the meanes of a Chryſtalline matter, he endowed it with a quality moiſt and rainy,and did harmoniouſly accord the earth with it,to the end the increaſe thereof ſhould be watered by deawes. The third day, he firmely eſtabliſhed the earth,ſpreading the Sea round about the ſame; and the ſame day, he with a word cauſed all plants and ſeeds to
E ſpring vpon the face of the earth. The fourth day, he embelliſhed the heauens with the Sunne, the Moone and the Starres,ordaining them their motions and courſes by which the ſeaſons orderly enſuing,might be diſtinguiſht. In the fift day,he made all kinde of liuing creatures which dwell vpon the face of the earth, as well they that ſwim in the deepeſt waters, as thoſe that flie in the aire; vniting them together by couples and paires, to the end that each in their kinde, might increaſe and multiply. The ſixt day, he made all foure-footed beaſts, and diſtinguiſht them into male and female: and in the ſame day, he formed man. So that *Moſes* ſaith, that the world and all that is therein was made in ſixe whole dayes, and that on the ſeuenth day, God tooke reſt and ceaſed from his labours. By reaſon whereof we likewiſe deſiſt from trauell on
F that day,which we call Sabbath, which is to ſay, Repoſe.

After the ſeuenth day, *Moſes* began to deſcribe the originall of man, and the manner of his Creation in theſe tearmes: God framed man of the duſt of the earth, and powred into him a ſpirit and ſoule, which man was called *Adam*, an Hebrew word ſignifying ruddy, becauſe hee was made of earth, tempered with red or yellow: for the earth which is rightly called a virgin, that is to ſay,earth not remoued but elementary, is of that colour. Then brought God all kinde of liuing creatures before *Adam*, ſhewing him as well the male as the female: on whom *Adam* beſtowed thoſe names, which to this preſent time they retaine. And ſeeing that *Adam* had no

The yeer of the world, 1. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 3963.

Gen. 1.

Hedio & Ruffinus,chap.1.

The creation of the world.

The firſt day.

The ſecond day.

The third day

The fourth day.

The fift day.

The ſixt day.

Sabbathum.

Hedio and Ruffinus, chap. 1. *Gen* 2.

The firſt naming of all creatures.

The yeere of the world, 1. before Christs Natiuity, 4063.

female to accompany and liue with him(for as yet there was no woman) & for that he thought G it ſtrange that all other liuing creatures had their companions: God tooke one of his ribs from him at ſuch time as he ſlept, and of the ſame he formed a woman; who being brought before *Adam*,he did acknowledge that ſhe was made for him.Now in Hebrew a woman is called *Iſha*, but this was called *Eua*,which is as much to ſay,as the mother of all liuing creatures.He declareth alſo,that God planted in the Eaſt a garden,flouriſhing and adorned with all ſorts of plants, amongſt which was the tree of life, and another the tree of intelligence,by which was knowne both good and euill. And after he had brought *Adam* and his wife into this garden, he commanded them to keepe and cheriſh the plants.Now this garden is watred by a riuer that inuironeth the whole earth,wch diuideth it ſelfe into 4.chanels or riuers. That which is called *Phiſon* H (which name ſignifieth abundance or multitude)floweth by the land of India, and entreth into the great ſea,and is by the Greekes called *Ganges*. As touching *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, they flow into the red ſea. *Euphrates* is called *Phora* (that is to ſay,diſperſion or flower.) *Tigris* is called *Diglat*(which ſignifieth ſtreight and ſwift.) *Gehon* runneth by the country of Ægypt, and ſignifieth as much as comming from the Eaſt:the Greekes call it *Nilus*. Now God commanded *Adam* and his wife to eate of the fruites of all other plants, and that they ſhould abſtaine from that of ſcience; telling them,that at what time ſoeuer they ſhould taſte of the ſame, they ſhould die the death. Whereas then at that time,all liuing creatures were at accord one with another; the Serpent conuerſing with Adam and his wife,was inflamed with enuy, for that he ſaw they ſhould be happy, if they continued in the obſeruation of Gods commandements: and that con- I trariwiſe,they ſhould caſt themſelues headlong into ruine & deſtruction,if they ſhould diſobey the ſame. He therefore malicioufly perſwaded the woman,to taſte the fruit of the tree of intelligence,giuing her to vnderſtand,that the knowledge of good and euil was in the ſame;and that as ſoone as they had taſted therof,they ſhould lead a life no leſſe happy then Gods: and by this meanes he cauſed the woman to fall,which tooke no regard of the ordinance of God. For hauing her ſelfe taſted of this fruit,and finding it pleaſant and delicious in taſte,ſhe perſwaded her husband alſo to taſte the ſame:at which time they vnderſtood that they were naked,and ſought meanes to couer themſelues: (for this fruit had in it ſelfe, the vertue to giue vnderſtanding, and to quicken the thought.) Then couered they themſelues with fig leaues; which they put before their priuities, eſteeming themſelues more happy then they were before, in that they had K found out that which they wanted. But when as God came into the garden, *Adam* (who beforetime was accuſtomed familiarly to talke with him) finding himſelfe guiltie of ſinne, hid himſelfe from his preſence: but God wondring hereat, asked him for what cauſe hee fled and ſhunned him at that time, whereas beforetime he had taken pleaſure to talke familiarly with him? *Adam* knowing that he had tranſgreſſed the ordinances and commandements of God, anſwered him not a word, but God ſpake vnto him after this manner: I had prouided for you the meanes whereby you might haue led your life without ſufferance of any euill, or ſenſe of any miſery: ſo that all whatſoeuer was requiſite for neceſſitie or pleaſure, might happen of it ſelfe vnto you, by my onely prouidence, without any trauell or care on your parts; which if you had well vſed, age had not ſo ſoone ouertaken you, but that you might haue liued many L yeeres: but thou haſt ſcorned this mine ordinance, and broken my commandements. For in that thou art ſilent at this time, it proceedeth not of vertue, but of euill; of which thou findeſt thy ſelfe culpable: wherefore both old age ſhall quicklier come vpon thee,and the daies of thy life ſhall be ſhortned. *Adam* excuſed his ſinne, and required at Gods hands, that hee would not bee incenſed againſt him, laying the fault of that which had hapned, on his wife,alleadging that he had offended by reaſon he was ſuborned by her: and the woman accuſed the Serpent. But at that time God puniſhed him, becauſe he had ſuffered himſelfe to be ouercome by the counſell of a woman; that the earth thence-forward neuer more of her owne accord ſhould bring foorth fruite: but that when they had trauailed and almoſt deuoured themſelues in labour, it ſhould ſometimes giue them foode, and at other times refuſe to ſuſtaine them. M And as touching *Eue*, hee chaſtiſed her with child-bearing, and throes in trauell; for that being her ſelfe deceiued by the Serpent, ſhee had drawne her husband by the ſame meanes into extreme miſerie. Hee tooke alſo from the Serpent his voice, and was diſpleaſed againſt him, * by reaſon of the malice hee had conceiued againſt *Adam*, and he put venome on his tongue, declaring him an enemie both to man and woman; whom hee commanded to bruiſe the head of the Serpent,as well for that the euill which chanced vnto men, conſiſted in the head, as alſo in that being aſſaulted in that part,he is moſt eaſily done to death. Moreouer hauing depriued him

Eue the mother of all liuing creatures.

Paradiſe.

The 4. flouds of Paradiſe.

The 1. *Phiſon* or *Ganges*.

Tigris.

Hed. *Seth*.

2. *Euphrates*.

3. *Tigris*.

4. *Gehon*, *Nilus* Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 3.

The ſubtilty of the ſerpent.

Adam and Euahs fall.

God ſpeaketh vnto Adam.

Adam asketh pardon.

Adams puniſhment.

Euas puniſhment.

The ſeed of the woman (that is, Chriſt) ſhall bruiſe the ſerpents head. *Gen.* 3.

The ſerpents puniſhment.

* Ioſephs ignorance in vnderſtãding this place of Scripture.

A him of his feete, he condemned him to ſlide and traile himſelfe along the earth. And after that God had ordained them to ſuffer thoſe puniſhments, he tranſlated *Adam* and *Eue* out of the Garden into another place.

The yeere of the world, 1. before Chriſts Nativitie. 3963.

CHAP. III.

Of the Poſteritie of Adam: *and of the ten ages euen vnto the Deluge.*

BVt *Adam* and *Eue* had two male children, the firſt wherof was called *Cain* (which ſignifieth acquiſition, and the ſecond was called *Abel* (which is as much to ſay as mourning) they had alſo daughters. Theſe brothers addicted themſelues each one of them
B to their particular exerciſes. *Abel* the younger honored iuſtice, & (ſuppoſing that God was preſent in all his actions) hee alwayes and wholly fixed his thoughts on vertue: and his exerciſe was keeping of ſheepe. But *Cain* (being the wickedeſt man amongſt men, and addicted to vnſatiable deſire of profit) was he that firſt found out the vſe of the Plough, and who killed his brother for the cauſe which inſueth. Hauing concluded among themſelues to ſacrifice vnto God, *Cain* offered the fruites of his labour, and planting; *Abel* preſented milke, and the firſtlings of his fold: which ſacrifice of his, was more acceptable to God, in that it rather conſiſted of things produced of themſelues by the order of Nature, then that which a couetous man had forcibly in a manner extorted from Nature. Hereupon *Cain* (being wroth becauſe his brother *Abel* was more honoured by God then himſelfe) ſlew his brother; and hauing hidden his body
C out of ſight, he thought that ſuch a murther ſhould be concealed. But God knowing well this fact) appeared to *Cain*, and queſtioned with him as concerning his brother, what might become of him, for that many daies ſince he had not ſeene him; when as heretofore he had alwaies ſeene him conuerſant before him. *Cain* (being troubled, and ignorant what anſwer he ſhould make vnto God) ſaid firſt that he wondred what was the cauſe his brother was ſo long time abſent: and finally, agrieued in that God continued the queſt, and did more exactly ſeeke after him; he ſaid he was not his brothers keeper, or bound to take care of his affaires. Then God reproued and conuicted *Cain* of murthering his brother, and ſpake vnto him after this manner, ſaying, that he wondred he ſhould deny the knowledge of his brothers death, whereas he himſelfe had ſlaine him: notwithſtanding he acquitted him of the puniſhment deſerued for this mur-
D ther, by reaſon that *Cain* had done ſacrifice, and made requeſt vnto God, that it might pleaſe him to remit ſomewhat of the ſeuerity of his iuſtice againſt him: yet did God curſe him, and threaten to puniſh his ſucceſſors to the ſeuenth generation. Then did he driue him and his wife out of that countrey: whereat being affrighted (for feare he ſhould bee encountred and taken by ſome ſauage beaſts, and that he ſhould periſh after that ſort) God commanded him to ſuſpect no dangerous euent for that cauſe, aſſuring him that he might ſafely trauaile thorow all regions, without being either aſſaulted or ſeazed by ſauage beaſts: and hauing ſet his marke vpon him, by which he might be knowne; he commanded him to depart the countrey. After that *Cain* (accompanied with his wife) had trauelled thorow diuers Regions, hee builded Nais (it was a place ſo named) and made his abode therein, and in that place had children. But he receiued not
E this chaſtiſement for his better amendment; but rather became worſe and worſe: for he abandoned himſelfe to all pleaſures of the body, making it his ſport to outrage thoſe with whom he conuerſed, filling his houſe with riches gotten by rapine and violence; and inciting other men to follow his pleaſures and thefts, he became their Lord and Maſter of all miſchieuous exerciſes: hee ouerthrew that ſimplicitie which men before that time had vſed in their mutuall ſocieties, by the inuentions of meaſures and waights; the ignorance thereof was the cauſe that the life of man was eſtranged from deceit: but in ſteade and place of free and ancient courage, he introduced fraude and deceit. He it was that firſt bounded the fieldes, and builded the firſt Citie, and made a wall and a rampire, enforcing his followers to dwell therein. This Citie was named Enoſa, by the name of *Enos* his firſt begotten ſonne. But *Iared* was the ſonne of *Enos*, of
F *Iared* iſſued *Malehel*, whoſe ſonne was *Mathuſala*, who begot *Lamech*, who had 77. children by his two wiues, *Sella* and *Ada*: amongſt whom, *Iobel* the ſonne of *Ada* was the firſt that made Tents, and tooke delight to leade a paſtorall life; contenting himſelfe with the ſame. *Iubal* his brother germane exerciſed muſicke, and inuented the Pſalterie, and the Harpe. And as touching *Thobel* one of his ſonnes, by his other wife, he ſurpaſſed all other his brethren in force, & braue-ly managed the affaires of warre, by which wayes he got more ample riches, and meanes to maintaine his life with more pleaſure. He it was that firſt inuented the Art of forging, and the ſhop alſo: and was father to a daughter named *Naama*. But *Lamech* being well exerciſed in Gods

Hedio and Ruffinus, cap. 4. *Geneſ.* 4. Of Cain and Abel brethren

The yeere of the world, 70. before Chriſts Nativity. 3894

The ſacrifice of Cain and Abel.

Weake reaſon in Ioſeph.

Cain ſlew his brother Abel.

The talke betwixt God & Cain.

Cains baniſhment.

Cain is not bettered by Gods chaſtiſements.

Meaſures and waights found out by Cain.

Enoſa the firſt City.

Iubal inuenter of Muſicke.

law,& foreseeing that he should suffer punishment for the fratricide of *Cain*, told it to his wiues. G

The yeer of the world, 70. before Christs Natiuitie, 3894.

So it was that during the life of *Adam* himselfe, the successors of *Cain* were most wicked, teaching and imitating one anothers wickednes, the last of them prouing alwaies the worst: so that they were strangely inflamed to follow warre and theft: and if perhaps some of them were more remisse then the other in murthers, and committing outrages; yet notwithstanding were they bold enough to spoile and possesse the goods and heritage of other men.

Cain the father of hypocrites and euill men.

But *Adam* the first man made of earth (for the Historie requireth that I should returne to speake of him) after the death of *Abel*, and the flight of *Cain*, betooke himselfe to beget children, highly affecting succession and posterity, being about the age of two hundreth and thirty yeers: besides which, after hee had liued some seuen hundreth more, at last hee died: amongst whose children (which were many) he hath *Seth*. And for that it were too long to speake of all of them, I will onely touch that which concerneth *Seth*: He being nourished and trained vp by his father H to the yeeres of discretion; studied vertue, and left his succession heires, and followers of his sanctitie: who being all of them well borne, remained in the world free from all contention, and liued happily: so that it neuer happened that any of them in any sort did iniurie to any man. These inuented the science of the celestiall bodies, and all that which concerneth the beauty and order of the same. And to the end that their inuentions should not be defaced out of the memories of men, neither should perish before they were perfectly knowne: (insomuch as *Adam* had foretold them of the generall destruction of all things after two sorts, the one by the force of fire, and the other by the violence and abundance of waters) they made two pillars; the one of bricke, and the other of stone; and ingraued in each of them such things as they had inuen- I ted, to the end if that of bricke should be abolished by the ouerflowes and rage of waters, that other of stone should remaine, and expresse vnto men that which was imprinted therin for their instructions. That of bricke then was consecrated by them, and is in the countrey of Lycia euen at this present day.

Adams yeers, 930.

Seth the son of Adam a vertuous man

Two pillars raised.

CHAP. IIII.

The Deluge from which NOE *and his family escaped, and dwelt in the field of Senaar.*

IN this manner perseuered they during the course of seuen ages, honoring one God the Lord of al things, hauing alwaies a respect of vertue. But afterwards in processe of time, K they degenerated from the ancient institutions of their forefathers, neither obseruing humane lawes, neither continuing their accustomed seruice of God; and they that beforetime industriously exercised themselues in vertue, afterward with twice as zealous studie followed wickednesse; and grew at last to that height of impietie, that they prouoked Gods heauie displeasure against them. For diuers Angels of God accompanying themselues with women, ingendred outragious infants, and contemners of all good, by reason of that trust they had in their forces, whose hainous actions were not much vnlike those which the Greekes haue in their fables fained of the Giants. But *Noah* perplexed and extremely displeased with such their misdemeanors, exhorted them to change their thoughts, and amend their misdeeds: and (seeing them mollified by no admonitions; but that they were wholly possessed with the plea- L sure which they tooke in vices) he fearing lest they should kill him and his family, left them to their loosenes, and with his wife, children, and all his familie departed into another countrey. Then God (delighting in the iustice of man) not onely condemned the men of that age of extreme malice, but also concluded to destroy all whatsoeuer creatures were in the world, and to produce another new race, deuoid, and repurged from all impietie: he abridged also the life of them, so that they liued not any more so long time as they were wont, but onely attained the terme of sixescore yeeres: and he couered the Land with waters, and by this meanes all of them were destroyed. Onely *Noah* escaped by the meanes and way which God had taught him in such manner as followeth: Hee builded an Arke of foure stages; in length three hundreth cubites: in breadth fiftie: and in the height thirtie: into this he entred with his mother, his wife and M his children and their wiues, purueying himselfe of all things requisite both for their sustenance and vse: hee clozed also therein all sorts of liuing creatures, two and two, Male and Female, for the conseruation of euery kinde, and of some of them seuen couples. The sides of this Arke were strong, and the couer also; so that no water could pearce the same, and whatsoeuer storme might come, it was able to resist it. Thus was *Noe* (by succession of nature, the tenth from *Adam*) saued with all his household; for he was the son of *Lamech*, whose father was *Methu-*

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 6. Gen. 5. 6.

Those whom Iosephus nameth in this place Angels Moses calleth the sonnes of God. Gen. 6.

Noah departeth into another country.

Noahs Arke.

Noahs genealogie. The Deluge.

sala

A *ſala* the ſonne of *Enos*, the ſonne of *Iared*, the ſonne of *Maleel*, who with diuers other brethren were begotten of *Cainan* by *Enos*: who was the ſon of *Seth*, the ſonne of *Adam*. This deſtruction hapned, the ſixe hundreth yeere of *Noahs* age (and the ſecond moneth, which was called Dius by the Macedons, and by the Hebrewes Marſomane) for ſo haue the Ægyptians diſtinguiſht the yeere (but *Moſes* ſet downe *Niſan* for the firſt moneth in his Chronicles, which is *Zanthicus* among the Macedons, for that in this moneth he brought the Iſraelites out of the thraldome of the Ægyptians.) He made this law therefore, that all things which appertaine to diuine ſeruice, ſhould take their beginning and reckoning from this moneth, but in reſpect of the times and termes of buying and ſelling, and all other traffike, he obſerued the firſt policy of the yeere, beginning in December: *Moſes* wrote that the Deluge began the ſeuen and twentieth day of the a-
B bouenamed moneth, which was the yeere two thouſand ſixe hundreth fifty and ſixe, after the creation of the firſt man *Adam* (which time is carefully calculated in holy writ, in which the birth and death of great perſonages of that time are moſt exactly ſet downe.) At ſuch time then as *Adam* was 230. yeeres old, his ſonne SETH was borne vnto him, and the ſame ADAM liued 930. yeeres; SETH about the age of 250. yeeres, begat ENOS, who after he had liued 905. yeeres, left the gouernment of his affaires to his ſonne *Cainan*, whom he had begotten about the 190. yeere of his age. After that *Cainan* had liued 910. yeeres, he had his ſonne *Maleel*, begotten by him the 170. yeere of his age. The ſaid *Maleel* hauing liued 195. yeeres, dyed, leauing his ſon *Iared*: who about the age of 162. yeeres, engendered *Enoch*, who liued 962. yeeres. After *Enoch*, ſucceeded his ſonne *Mathuſala*, begotten about the age of 162. yeeres, at ſuch time as the ſaid
C *Enochs* father was yet aliue: and after that *Enoch* had liued 365. yeers, he was taken vp vnto God (whence it commeth to paſſe that his deceaſe hath not beene exemplified in writing.) *Mathuſala* the ſonne of *Enoch*, in the yeere of his age 187. yeeres, had *Lamech* for his ſon, who liued 782. yeeres, to whom he left the ſoueraignty, hauing held the ſame 969. yeeres. And *Lamech* after he had gouerned 707. yeeres, declared his ſon *Noe* for Gouernour, at ſuch time as the ſaid *Lamech* had liued 182. yeeres, which *Noe* gouerned for the ſpace of 900. yeeres.

All theſe yeeres calculated into one ſumme, accompliſh the time aboue written. Yet to perfect this accompt, we ought not to ſeeke out the deceaſe of theſe Perſonages (for they liued in the ſame time that their children and ſucceſſours did:) but the onely thing we are to obſerue, is their births. As ſoone then as God had giuen the ſigne, and that it began to raine for the ſpace
D of whole forty dayes, the water fell and ouerflowed the whole earth fourteene cubites high (which was the cauſe that diuers could not eſcape, becauſe there was no means of flight, or place of refuge.) But as ſoone as the raine was ceaſed, the water began to decreaſe by little and little for the ſpace of one hundreth and fifty dayes, about the 27. day of the ſeuenth moneth. *Noe* perceiuing then that the Arke was on ground vpon the top of a certaine mountaine of the countrey of Armenia; he opened the ſame, and ſeeing the earth did a little diſcouer it ſelfe round about the ſame, he conceiued ſome better hope, and held himſelfe ſatisfied: Some few dayes after, when the water was ebbed ſomewhat more; he ſent out a Crow (deſiring to know if the reſt of the earth were deliuered from the waters, and whether without danger he might iſſue out of the Arke:) but the Crow finding the earth bebayned in water, returned vnto *Noe*: who the
E ſeuenth day after ſent out a Pigeon to find out the eſtate of the earth, which returned bemired, and bearing in his nebbe an Oliue branch: whereby *Noe* perceiued that the earth was deliuered from the Deluge; and hauing as yet expected ſeuen daies more, he ſet at liberty all liuing creatures that were in the Arke. But as ſoone as himſelfe, his wife, and his family forſooke it, he offered ſacrifice vnto God, and feaſted and reioyced both he and all his houſhold. The Armenians in their language haue called the place where *Noe* deſcended, by a name Aprobaerion (which ſignifieth as much as deſcent) and in that place euen at this preſent the inhabitants of that countrey ſhew ſome remnants and memories of the ſame. All thoſe that haue written ſtrange Hiſtories, haue made mention of this Deluge, and of the Arke: among the number of whom is *Beroſus* the Chaldean, who ſetting downe occurrences of this Deluge, writeth after
F this manner: Some ſay likewiſe that a certaine part of this Arke is in Armenia, neere to the mountaine of the Cordæans, and that ſome men haue brought from thence ſome part of the pitch wherewith it was calked, which the men of that place are wont to vſe in ſtead of a preſeruatiue againſt inchantment. *Hierome* the Ægyptian alſo (who hath written the Antiquitie of the Phænicians) hath made mention of this matter: as alſo *Mnaſeus* with diuers other: *Nicholas* of Damas likewiſe in his ninetie ſixt Booke ſpeaketh heereof after this manner: Aboue the Region of Mineans there is a great mountaine in Armenia called Baris, in which it

The yeere of the world, 1656. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt. 2308.

Niſan or Zanthicus is April to vs.

This compariſon doth not exactly agree with the Hebrewes & the 70. Interpreters.

Enochs death is not written in holy Scriptures.

Gen. 7. 8. In the Greek copie and Moſes are 40. daies. The Latine Ioſeph. 90.

Noe ſendeth a Crow out of the Arke.

Noe forſaketh the Arke, and ſacrificeth to God.

Nicholas Damaſcene, of Noes Arke.

The yeere of the world, 1687. before Christs Natiuity, 2307.

it is reported that diuers retyred themſelues for ſafety during the time of the Deluge, & there G eſcaped they: and that a certaine man borne on an Arke, arriued vpon the higheſt top of that mountaine, and that certaine timbers of that bottome had beene kept a long while: and it may be that this is that wherof *Moſes* the law-maker of the Iewes maketh mention. But *Noe* fearing leſt God (hauing condemned all men to a generall perdition) ſhould euery yeere ouerflow the earth after this manner; offered burnt ſacrifice vnto God: beſeeching him, that hereafter he would entertaine the ancient order, and that no ſo great calamity might ſucceed, by which all liuing creatures ſhould come in danger to be vtterly extinct and exterminated: but that inflicting deſerued puniſhment on the reprobate, hee would ſpare the innocent, whom in his mercy hee had preſerued from danger; otherwiſe they ſhould be more miſerable and condemned by H a harder cenſure, if they were not wholly warranted, but ſhould be reſerued to be ſwallowed vp by another Deluge; and hauing ſuffered the feare and ſight of the firſt, to periſh by the ſecond. He praied him therefore that he would be pleaſed to accept of his ſacrifice, and in his mercy vouchſafe that he would hereafter conceiue no more any ſo hainous hate & diſpleaſure againſt the earth, to the end that men might by their labours till it, and building them Cities, might poſſeſſe the ſame in peace, wanting none of thoſe commodities which they enioyed before the Deluge: but that they might equall their forefathers in old yeeres, and length of life.

Hedio and Ruffinus, chap. 6. Noe prayeth God that he will drowne the earth no more.

God heareth Noes prayer. *Nota.* Hedio and Ruffinus. chap. 7. Man is the author of his death, not God. Gods couenant with Noe.

Noe hauing in this ſort finiſhed his requeſts, God (who loued him for the vprightneſſe of his heart) granted him his requeſt, denying himſelfe to be the author of their deaths who were drowned, but that they themſelues by their owne malice had procured thoſe puniſhments due I vnto them. For had he deſired that they ſhould be extinguiſhed, he would not haue brought them into the world. For better it is, not to grant life; then to deſtroy thoſe to whom thou haſt giuen it. But (ſaith God) through their contempt of my ſeruice and graces, they haue inforced me to humble them vnder the rigor of this vengeance: hereafter I will not ſo exactly purſue & examine their iniquities, to the end to chaſtiſe them in my diſpleaſure; eſpecially for thy ſake: And if hereafter at any time I ſhall ſend any tempeſt, feare not (how huge and hideous ſoeuer the ſtormes be) for there ſhall be no more Deluge of water vpon the earth. In the meane time I command you to keepe your hands innocent from murthers, and all manſlaughter, and to puniſh thoſe that commit wickedneſſe. I leaue the vſe of all other liuing creatures to your ſuſtenance or ſeruice; in as much as I haue made you Lord ouer all, as well thoſe that breathe vpon K the face of the earth, as thoſe that ſwim in the waters, and ſuch as inhabit & flie amidſt the aire: but you ſhall not eate any blood, in as much as therin conſiſteth the ſoule and life of liuing creatures. And I declare vnto you, that I will deſiſt to draw the ſhafts of my diſpleaſure againſt men. And I will giue you the Rainbow for a ſigne: for this bow in their opinion is the bow of God. And after that God had pronounced theſe words and made theſe promiſes, he departed.

The yeere of the world, 2007. before Christs Natiuity, 1959.

The Rainebow the ſigne of atonement betweene God and Noe. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 8. Noes age, 950. yeeres.

Noe liued after the Deluge three hundreth and fifty yeeres, and hauing ſpent all this time of his life in happineſſe, he died after he had liued in the world nine hundreth and fifty yeers. Neither is there cauſe why any man (comparing this our preſent age, and the ſhortnes of the yeeres thereof, with the long life of the ancients) ſhould thinke that falſe which I haue ſaid: neither followeth it conſequently, that becauſe our preſent life extendeth not to ſuch a terme and continu- L ance of yeeres, that therefore they of the former world attained not the age and long life which we publiſh of them. For they being beloued of God, and newly created by him, vſing alſo a kinde of nutriment agreeing with their natures, and proper to multiply their yeeres, it is no abſurd thing to ſuppoſe that their yeeres were of that continuance: Conſidering that God gaue them long life, to the end they ſhould teach vertue, and ſhould conueniently practiſe thoſe things which they had inuented in Aſtronomie, and by Geometry: the demonſtrations whereof they neuer had attained, except they had liued at the leaſt ſixe hundreth yeeres. For the great yeere is accompliſhed by that number of yeeres: whereof all they beare me witneſſe, who (either Greekes or Babarians) haue written ancient hiſtories. For both *Manethon* (who hath written the hiſtory of Ægypt) and *Beroſus* (who hath regiſtred the actes and affaires of the Chaldeans) M together with *Mochus Heſtiæus, Hierome* of Ægypt) who hiſtorified the ſtate of the Phænicians with others, accord with me in that which I haue ſaid. *Heſiodus* alſo, *Heccataeus, Hellanicus,* and *Acuſilaus, Ephorus,* and *Nicolaus* doe declare, that they of the firſt world liued one thouſand yeeres. Notwithſtanding let euery man iudge of theſe things, as beſt liketh him.

Why they in times paſt liued longer then wee doe.

The great yeere.

A

Chap. V.

Of the Tower of Babylon, and the change of tongues.

NOe had three ſonnes, *Sem, Iaphet,* and *Cham,* borne one hundreth yeeres before the Deluge. Theſe firſt deſcended from the mountaines into the plaines, and there made they their habitation: which when other men perceiued (who for feare of the Deluge had fled the plaines, and for that cauſe were loth to forſake the mountaines) they gathered courage and perſwaded themſelues to doe the like: and the plaine where they all dwelt was called Senaar. *The yeere of the world, 1790. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 2174.*

B And whereas they were commanded by God, that (by reaſon of the increaſe and multitude of men) they ſhould ſend certaine diſtinct Colonies to inhabite diuers countries of the world (to the end that no ſeditions might grow betwixt the one and the other; but contrariwiſe in labouring and tilling a great quantity of ground, they might gather great ſtore of fruite) they were ſo ignorant that they diſobeyed God, and falling into great calamities ſuffered the puniſhment of their offences. For, whereas they flouriſhed in increaſe (by reaſon of the great number of their youth) God counſelled them again that they ſhould diuide thẽſelues into colonies. But they (thinking that the goods which they poſſeſſed, proceeded not from him, or his bounty, but preſuming that their force was the only cauſe of their aboundance) did not obey him, but rather ſuſpected that God ſought to betray thẽ, to the end that being thus diuided, he might the better C ſubdue them: *Nemrod* incited them in this ſort to mocke and contemne God. He was the nephew of *Cham,* the ſonne of *Noe:* a man valiant and apt for armes: he put them in the head that they ſhould not beleeue that their good hap proceeded from God, but that they ought to attribute it to their owne vertue, which furniſhed them with ſo much riches: ſo that in a little ſpace he reduced the eſtate to a tyranny; ſuppoſing by this only means that he might make men reuolt againſt God, if he might perſwade them to ſubmit themſelues to his gouernment; giuing them to vnderſtand, that if God ſhould once more ſend a Deluge, hee would take reuenge on him in mens behalfe, and that he would build a tower, to whoſe top the water ſhould not attempt, and reuenge the death of his predeceſſors. The common ſort was ready to follow theſe ordinances of *Nemrod,* ſuppoſing it to be puſillanimity in themſelues, if they ſhould obey God. For which *Genes. 11.*

D cauſe they began to build the tower with their vttermoſt induſtry, neither was there any one idle in all that worke: yea ſo great a number of labourers were there, that the worke was raiſed to a height beyond all expectation. The thickneſſe thereof was ſo great, that it obſcured the height thereof: and it was built of burnt bricke, and cimented and ioyned with a bituminous morter, to the end it ſhould not receiue any cleft in the ſame.

But God ſeeing their madneſſe, condemned them not to a generall extermination (by reaſon that they had made no profit by their example, who periſhed in the firſt Deluge) but made them mutine the one againſt the other by changing of their tongue; ſo that by reaſon of their diuerſities of language, they could not vnderſtand one another. The place where this tower was builded, is at this preſent called Babylon (by reaſon of the confuſion of tongues that firſt began E in that place) for Babel in Hebrewe ſignifieth confuſion. Of this tower and the diuerſitie of languages *Sibylla* hath made mention in theſe words: At ſuch time as men vſed one kinde of language, they builded a moſt high tower, as if they meant by the ſame to mount vp into heauen: but the gods ſent down winds and ouerthrew the tower, and gaue euery one his diſtinct and ſeuerall language, whence ſprung the cauſe that their Citie was called Babylon. But as touching that place which is called Senaar in Babylon, *Heſtiæus* teſtifieth after this manner: It is ſaid of thoſe ſacrificers, that being eſcaped, they tooke the ſacred reliques of *Iupiter Enyelius,* and came into Senaar in Babylon.

The confuſion of tongues.

Sibyls prophecy of the tower of Babel.

Chap. VI.

F

How Noes *poſterity diſperſt themſelues thorow the whole world.*

FROM that time forward (by reaſon of the diuerſitie of tongues) they diſperſed themſelues into diuers countries, and planted Colonies in all places; and occupied thoſe places whither either God or their good fortune had conducted them: ſo that both the ſea coaſts, and the middle-land were repleniſhed with inhabitants. Some there were alſo, who paſſing the ſea in ſhips and veſſels, firſt peopled the Ilands. And there are ſome nations likewiſe, who at this day retaine the names which in times paſt were impoſed on them: ſome other haue

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 10.

haue changed them. Others are altered into a more familiar and knowne name, to neighbours, G deriuing them from the Greekes the authors of ſuch Titles. For they in theſe latter times hauing growne to great name and power, haue appropriated the ancient glory to themſelues, in giuing names vnto Nations deriued from the Greeks, and policying them, as if they had taken their originall from them.

The yeere of the world, 1790. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt. 2174.

The Names of Regions and Nations.

CHAP. VII.

That euery Nation deriued his name from his Author.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 11. *Gen.* 10.

NOvv they in honour of whom the Nations receiued their firſt names, were the children of the ſonnes of *Noe*. *Iaphet* the ſon of *Noe* had ſeuen children, who began to make their H abode from the mountaines of Taurus and Amanus, and entred Aſia, euen vnto Tana; and Europa, vnto Gades, occupying the countrey which they firſt met with, and was not beforetime by man inhabited, each one calling his ſeuerall Nation by his owne name: for *Gomar* was the founder of the Gomarians. *Magog* dwelt amongſt thoſe, who (according to his name) were called Magogins, and by the Greeks Scithes. Of *Madus* (the firſt begotten ſonne of *Iaphet*) iſſued the Madians, whom the Greeks haue named Medes: and of *Iauan* his other ſon, the Ionians and Greeks took their originall: *Thobelus* gaue name likewiſe to the Theobelians, who at this day are called Iberians. *Meſchus* was the author of them that were called Meſchates, who are lately named Cappadocians: for they ſhew euen at this day a token of their ancient name, to wit, the City I of Maſaca, which teſtifieth to thoſe that conceiue the ſame, that this Nation hath been ſo called. *Theres* named them Therians, who were vnder his gouernment, whom the Greeks called Thracians: and thus many Nations tooke their originall from the ſonnes of *Iaphet*: but of the three ſonnes which *Gomar* had, *Aſchanaxes* gaue originall to the Aſchanaxians (at this day termed Rhegians by the Greeks) *Rhiphates* ingendred the Rhiphatæans, called at this day Paphlagonians. *Tygranes* ingendred the Tygraneans, who by the Greeks are called Phrygians. As touching *Iauan* the ſonne of *Iaphet*, he had three ſonnes, of whom *Abiſus* gaue name to the Abiſians, who at this preſent are the Ætolians, ouer whom he commanded: *Tharſus* ingendred the Tharſians, which was the ancient name of the Cilicians, as it appeareth by the name of their renowned and Metropolitane City Tharſis; whoſe firſt letter is O in ſtead of *Th*. *Chetinus* obtained the Ile of K Chetine, called at this day Cypris, (whence it hapneth, that not onely all the Ilands, but alſo diuers other places on the Sea-coaſt are by the Hebrewes called by this word Cethim) witneſſe one of the City of Cypris, which hath had the reputation to conſerue her ancient name. For it is called Citium, by thoſe that wreſt the ſame to the Greeke ſenſe, a word not very much varying from Cethim. Theſe nations were occupied by the ſonnes and yong children of *Iaphet*. But I will firſt publiſh that which perhaps is vnknowne to the Greekes, and then proſecute my purpoſed narration which I haue omitted, that is, that theſe names are formed after the manner of the Greeks, to the end they ſhould be more ſweet and pleaſant to them that ſhould ouer-read them. For this termination is not proper to our nation, which hath but one forme, and no variation of termination: for whereas the Greekes pronounce Ἀδαμος, we ſay *Adam*: and where they L ſay *Noches*, the Hebrewes ſay *Noe*, and keepe this termination in all things.

The progenie of Iaphet Noes firſt begotten ſonne.

The progenie of the ſonnes of Gomar.

The progenie of the ſonnes of Iauan.

Tharſus Saint Pauls country *Acts* 9.

Whence grew the change of names.

But the ſonnes of *Cham* poſſeſſed Syria and all the region that abutteth on the mountaines of Amanus and Libanus; extruding their Empire towards the ſea, and ſignioriſing all whatſoeuer euen vnto the ſea. Whoſe names are partly wholly aboliſhed, and partly changed, and applied to others; ſo as they are very hard to bee vnderſtood: for of the foure Sonnes of *Cham*, the name of *Chus* hath not beene changed by time: for the Ægyptians, (ouer whom they extend their Dominion) haue beene named Chuſeans by them, and by all, the Aſians: the name of Miſraim hath continued alſo in the memory of men: for we that bound vpon Ægypt, call that Countrey the Countrey of Miſraim, and the Æthiopians Miſramites. *Phut* likewiſe firmed the Colonies of Libya, and called the inhabitants thereof according to his name, Phutians; M and there is a riuer in the country of Mauritania, which hath the ſame name, of which it is moſt manifeſt that diuers Greeke hiſtories make mention, as alſo of the countrey neere adioyning, which they call the Countrey of Phut, but it hath changed his preſent name by the means of one *Licis* one of the ſonnes of *Miſraim*; (but why it is called Africa, I will hereafter ſignifie vnto you.) As touching *Canaan* the fourth ſonne of *Cham*, he dwelled in the countrey at this day called Iudæa, and called it the Countrey of Canaan according to his name. They alſo had chil-

Of the ſons of Cham and their progeny

Libya or Africa.

The progeny of the Chananeans.

dren:

A dren: for *Chus* had ſixe, amongſt whom *Sabas* eſtabliſhed the Sabians, and *Euilas* the Euileans, at this day called Gerulians. *Sabathes* engendred the Sabatheans, whom the Greekes name Aſtracrabians. *Sabactes* peopled the Sabactians: and the Romanes were founded by *Romulus* who alſo had two ſonnes, of whom *Indos* dwelt in the countrey of the Indians, amongſt thoſe that are called Heſperians in Æthiopia, and *Sabæus* founded the Sabeans.

The yeere of the world, 1790. before Chriſts Natiuity, 2174.

Nimrod the ſonne of *Chus*, ſettled his Colony vpon the confines of Babylon, and tyrannized there as heretofore I haue declared.

Nabrodes or Nembroth.

All the eight ſonnes of *Miſraim*, occupied all the country from Gaza vnto Egypt: Onely the countrey where Philiſtims gouerned, hath conſerued his name: for the Greekes call Paleſtine a B part thereof. As touching the reſt, *Lom*, *Enam*, and *Labim* (who only inhabited Libya and called the countrey by his name) likewiſe as touching *Nethom*, *Phetroſim*, *Chreſeen* and *Chepthom*, wee know neither of their countries, nor of their names. For, the Æthiopian war (whereof hereafter we will make mention) hath ouerthrowne their Cities. *Chanaan* alſo had ſons, amongſt whom *Sidonius* builded and named Sidon (a city in Phœnicia) and *Amathus* builded Amate, which at this day the inhabitants call Amatha: but the Macedonians haue named it Epiphania (which is as much to ſay as famous) by reaſon of ſome that deſcended from Epiphanes. *Arudeus* poſſeſſed the Iles of Aradus, and *Araceus* builded the City of Arce, ſituate in Libanus. And as touching the other ſeuen, the Eueans, Chetteans, Iebuſæans, Eudæans, Semæans, Samarians, and Gergeſæans; there is no memory remaining in ſacred Scriptures but onely their names: for the C Hebrewes razed their Cities vpon theſe occaſions.

Paleſtine ſo named of Philiſtine.

The children of Chanaan.

After the Deluge, when the earth was eſtabliſhed in his former eſtate, *Noe* gaue himſelfe to tillage, and planted vineyards, and when the fruit thereof was ripe (and he had preſſed and made wine therof) he dranke and banquetted after he had done ſacrifice: Being thereby made drunke, and ouerpreſſed with ſleepe, hee lay diſcouered in a moſt vnſeemely and ſhamefull faſhion; which when his younger ſonne beheld, he ſcornefully diſcouered it to his brothers: who being aſhamed, couered their Fathers ſhame with reuerence. Which fact of his, comming at laſt to light, and the knowledge of *Noe*, he wiſhed all felicity to the two other, and as touching *Cham* (by reaſon he was his ally in blood) he curſed him not, but his poſterity after him. But although the others eſcaped this malediction, yet God inflicted it on the ſucceſſours of Chanaan, D whereof we will ſpeake more hereafter. But *Sem* the third ſonne of *Noe* had fiue ſonnes, who inhabited the countrey of Aſia, beginning at Euphrates, and extending to the Indian Ocean ſea. For *Elymis* left the Elemians or Elamites for his ſucceſſors, whence proceeded the Perſians. *Aſſur* made his abode in Niniue, and impoſed on his ſubiects the name of Aſſyrians (who were rich amongſt all the reſt.) *Arphaxad* named thoſe of his command Arphaxadians; who at this day are called Chaldeans. *Aram* had the Arameans (whom the Greekes called Syrians) and that they are now called Lidi, and in times paſt *Ludi*, tooke their deſcent from *Ludas*. Of thoſe foure ſonnes which *Aram* had, *Vſes* dwelt in Trachonite; and in the country of Damaſco (ſituate betweene Paleſtine and Syria, ſurnamed Cælen or hallow) *Otrus* obtained Armenia: *Gether*, Bactria. *Miſas* was father to the *Miſureans* (who dwelt in a fort which is called at this day E Praſine.) *Sale*, *Arphaxads* ſonne was *Hebers* father, by whoſe name in times paſt the Hebrews were called: *Heber* begat *Loctan* and *Phaleg*, who was ſo called, for that he was borne at ſuch time as the land was parted: for *Phaleg* in Hebrew ſignifieth partage. They that follow were ſonnes of *Loctan*: *Elmodad*, *Saleph*, *Azermoth*, *Erais*, *Edoram*, *Vzalis*, *Dallis*, *Ebal*, *Ebimarl*, *Saphas*, *Ophir*, *Euilus*, and *Iobel*: who occupied ſome parcell of that which was about Cophen a riuer of India, and the hither Syria. Hitherto haue we ſpoken of the progenie of *Sem*, hereafter will I ſpeake of the Hebrewes; of *Phaleg* the ſonne of *Heber Ragaus*, by whom was begot *Seruch*, whence *Nachor* is deſcended, and of *Nachor*, *Thares*, who was *Abrahams* father, the tenth in accompt from *Noe*, and borne in the yeere 292. after the Deluge. For *Thares* being ſeuenty yeeres old, begat *Abraham*. *Nachor* at ſixe ſcore yeeres of his age, begat *Thares*. *Nachor* was F borne to *Seruch*, when he was about the yeeres of 132. of his life. And *Ragaus* begat *Seruch* when he was thirty two yeeres old, and about thoſe yeeres *Phaleg* begat *Ragaus*. But *Heber* in the 34. yeere of his age, begat *Phaleg*: (himſelfe begotten by *Sela*, when he was one hundreth thirty and fiue yeeres old:) which *Sela* was begotten by *Arphaxad*, when he was 135. yeeres of age. And *Arphaxad* was the ſonne of *Sem*, whom he begat ſome two yeeres after the Deluge. *Abraham* had two brothers, *Nachor* and *Aram*, of whom *Aram* left *Lot* for his ſonne, and *Sara* and *Melcha* for his daughters, and afterwards died in the land of Canaan in a City called *Vr* of the Chaldies, where his ſepulchre is to be ſeene euen at this day. His daughters were married,

Hedio and Ruffinus, chap. 13. *Gen.* 9. Noe is made drunke, lieth naked, and is ſcorned, and curſeth him that derideth him. Hedio & Ruffinus, cap. 14. *Gen.* 7. 1. Of the ſonnes of Sem the third ſonne of Noe, and of theirs and Abrahams progeny.

The originall of the Hebrewes.

Abrahams gencalogy.

Melcha

Melcha to *Nachor*, and *Sara* to *Abraham*. But *Thares* growing wearie of Chaldæa, after the funerals of *Aram*, they all of them transported themselues into Charan a city of Mesapotamia, in which place they buried *Thares*, when he had liued the space of 250. yeers. For, about this time the life of man was abridged, and grew more short vntill the time of *Moses:* when as the space of mans life limited by God himselfe was 120. yeers old, to which tearme of yeers *Moses* had attained. *Nachor* had eight children by *Melcha* his wife; *Vx, Barux, Mauel, Zacham, Azam, Phel-dus, Ladelphus* and *Bathuel*, (who were the legitimate sonnes of *Nachor*.) But *Tabæus* and *Gadan, Taucus* and *Macham* were begotten by him on his concubine *Ruma*. To *Bathuel* one of the legitimate sonnes of *Nachor*, was borne a daughter named *Rebecca*, and a sonne called *Laban*.

The yeere of the world, 1950. before the Natiuitie of Christ. 2014.

The tearme of mans life about this tearme, 120.

CHAP. VIII.

How ABRAHAM *the Author of our Nation departed from the land of the Chaldeans, and dwelt in a certaine countrey of the Chanaanites, which is now called* IVDEA.

ABRAHAM hauing no issue, adopted *Lot* the son of *Aram* his brother, and brother to *Sara* his wife: he departed out of the country of Chaldeis, when he was 75. yeers old (hauing had commandement from God to depart thence into Canaan) in which country he remained, and left the same to his posterity after him. He was a man accomplished in all things, full of vnderstanding, and apt to perswade those that gaue eare vnto him, without any default in his foresight & prouidence. For this cause he was supposed to surmount all men in vertue, & was he that first vndertook to conuince the receiued and erroneous opinions of men, as touching the Deitie. He therfore first of all did most manifestly preach, and proue, that there was but one God, Gouernour and Maker of all things, and that otherwise if any thing conferred or furthered our felicity, it happened vnto vs not by our owne workings, but his holy will. And this obserued and approued he by that, which chanceth both in the earth and the sea, as also those things, which he saw daily occurre by the influences of the Sunne, the Moone, and other Starres: namely, that there was a certaine power that disposed them, and decently administred all things, without whose assistance, nothing would be profitable vnto vs; whereas nothing of himselfe hath any vertue, but all things are obedient to his omnipotent will, and for that cause, that honour and thanksgiuing should wholly be ascribed to him. For which causes and counsels of his (seeing the Chaldeans & Mesapotamians began to mutiny against him) he thought it expedient to forsake that country, and following the wil and fauour of God, he went and dwelt at Chanaan; where being seated, he builded an Altar, & sacrificed vnto God. *Berosus* amongst other things maketh mention of our father *Abraham*, although he named him not, when he speaketh after this maner: *After the Deluge, and during the tenth generation, there dwelt amongst the Chaldeans, a most iust, excellent, and vpright man, and exercised in the knowledge of the celestiall bodies.* But *Hecatæus* made more then a mention of him: for he hath left a volume which he hath writtē of him. And as touching *Nicholaus Damascenus*, heare what he saith of the fourth booke of his Histories: Abraham *raigned in Damasco (where he was a stranger) whither he arriued with his army from a countrey situate aboue Babylon called Chaldæa, who a little while after (departing out of that region) went and dwelt with his people in a country at that time called Chanaan, and at this day Iudæa, and his posteritie multiplyed therein.* In another treatise I will recite that which is reported of him: The name of *Abraham* euen at this day, is honourable in the country of Damasco, and there is a village to be seene which beareth his name, and is called *Abrahams* house.

The yeer of the world, 2024. before Christs Natiuitie, 1940.

Hedio & Ruffinus, cha. 15. *Gen.* 11. 12.

The wisdome of Abraham.

Abraham the first Preacher of the Word.

Berosus.

Hecatæus.

Nicholaus Damascenus.

Abrahams house.

CHAP. IX.

ABRAHAM *oppressed by famine, departeth into Egypt, where staying a while, at last he returned backe againe.*

AFTER this (when famine had inuaded the land of Chanaan, *Abraham* had intelligence that the Ægyptians abounded in all plenty, and decreed with himselfe to retire himselfe towards them: as well to conferre with their Priests (and discourse with them of diuine things, and their knowledge as touching God) as also to follow them, if they were more grounded in vnderstanding, or reconcile them, if his iudgement were more assured then theirs. He led with him his wife *Sara:* and vnderstanding that the Ægyptians were much addicted vnto women,

The yeere of the world, 2026. before Christs Natiuity, 1938.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 16. *Gen.* 12. 13.

A men (to the end the King ſhould not put him to death, of purpoſe that he might enioy his Wife *Sara*, who was very beautifull) he deuiſed this excuſe, to ſay that ſhe was his ſiſter; charging her, that if the matter came in queſtion, ſhee ſhould not faile, but confirme the like. But no ſooner came he into Ægypt, but the like fortune encountred them, as *Abraham* had beforetime ſuſpected: for the beautie of his Wife was ſodainly publiſhed in euery place. For which cauſe, *Pharao*, the King of that Nation (deſirous to ſee that with his eyes, the which he had heard with his eares) he ſought for, ſent, and luſted after her: but God withſtood this his vnbridled luſt, by afflicting the Kings ſubjects with a Plague, and his affaires by ſedition. Whereupon taking counſell of the Prieſts, what remedie might be vſed, and meanes might be ſought to appeaſe the Diuine Majeſty, they anſwered him, That this was the cauſe of their afflictions, for that he thought to haue done
B violence to the ſtrangers Wife: whereat being much affrighted, the King firſt queſtioneth with the woman, what ſhe was, and who her companion ſhould be? and at laſt reſolued of the truth, he ſatisfied *Abraham*, ſaying, he ſuppoſed her to be his ſiſter, not his Wife; and that his purpoſe was not to offer injurie, but ſeeke alliance: ſo giuing him a great ſumme of money, he gaue him leaue to conferre with the moſt excellenteſt and learnedeſt Prieſts among the Egyptians. Whence it came to paſſe, that he grew into great eſtimation, in regard of his vertues: for whereas that Nation was diuided into different Sects and opinions, and through mutuall contempt and diuiſion were incenſed the one againſt the other; hee declared, that their opinions (different, and confuted by themſelues) in reſpect of Religion, were moſt vaine, and deuoid of all truth. For theſe his diſputations he was held in great regard among them, and eſteemed for a man moſt wiſe, and a per-
C ſonage moſt excellent; not onely in well-conceiuing, but alſo in expreſſing and perſwading that which he vndertooke to teach. To theſe moſt graciouſly imparted he the Science of Arithmetick, and the obſeruation of the celeſtiall Bodies: for before that *Abraham* came into Ægypt, the Ægyptians were altogether ignorant of thoſe Sciences. But hee tranſported them from Chaldæa into Ægypt, and from thence are they deriued to the Greekes. As ſoone as he returned into Chanaan, he diuided the countrey with *Lot*: and for that there grew a contention betwixt their ſhepheards (as touching the bounding of thoſe paſtures where they fed their cattell) he gaue *Lot* the choice and election of that countrey which beſt pleaſed him, retaining vnto himſelfe that which was left. Thus pitching his tents neere the mountaine, in a Citie called Hebron (which is by ſeuen yeeres more ancient then Tanis in Ægypt) he dwelled there. But *Lot* choſe the Plaine neere to
D the flood of Iordan, not farre from Sodom; which in thoſe dayes was a goodly Citie: but at this preſent, by the diuine juſtice and wrath of God, is vtterly defaced; ſo that no memorie remaineth thereof. The cauſes of which judgement ſhall be expreſſed hereafter.

The yeere of the world, 2026. before Chriſts Natiuity, 1938.

The luſt of the Egyptians

Abraham taught the Egyptians Religion and Arts.

Abraham an excellent Aſtronomer.

The diuiſion of the fields betweene Abraham and Lot.

CHAP. X.

The ouerthrow of the Sodomites by the Syrians.

E AT that time when the Aſſyrians were Lords ouer all Aſia, the eſtate of Sodom flouriſhed in all affluence, encreaſed in great riches, and multitude of gallant youths, and the countrey was gouerned by fiue Kings; theſe were, *Ballas*, *Bareas*, *Senabarus*, *Symoborus*, and *Balin*, (each one particularly ſeized of his Prouince and Kingdome.) Againſt theſe, the Aſſyrians encamped themſelues; and hauing diuided their armie into foure parts (vnder the conduct of foure Gouernours) they waged battell with them; in which the Aſſyrians attaining the day, they impoſed a tribute on the Kings of Sodom: who (after they had for twelue yeeres ſpace performed their dutie, and payd their tribute) in the thirteenth yeere reuolted from them. Whereby it came to paſſe, that the Aſſyrians leuied a new armie againſt them, vnder the conduct and command of *Marphad*, *Arioch*, *Chodollogomar*, and *Thargal*, who ſacked all Syria, and extinguiſhed the poſteritie of the Gyants. And drawing neere to Sodom, they incamped neere to the bituminous Pits (for at that time there were Pits in that place:) but as ſoone as Sodom was deſtroyed, there aroſe a
F Lake in that place, which (by reaſon of the bituminous matter that flowed in the ſame) was called *Aſphaltites*, that is to ſay, bituminous. Of this Lake, hereafter we will ſpeake ſomewhat. But the Sodomites encountring with the Aſſyrians, there was a dangerous skirmiſh fought, wherein many periſhed on both ſides, and the reſt were eyther ſlaine or taken; amongſt whom, was *Lot* led away captiue, who came thither to aſſiſt the Sodomites.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 17. *Gen.* 14. Fiue Kings of Sodom.

The yeer of the world, 2031. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1933.

The Lake of Aſphaltites.

CHAP. XI.

ABRAHAM *purſueth the Aſſyrians, and returneth victorious.*

The yeere of the world, 2031. before Chriſts Natiuity, 1933.

ABRAHAM hearing of theſe things, and mooued (both with the ſurpriſall of his couſin *Lot*, as alſo with the ſlaughter of his friends and neighbours) preſently addreſſed himſelfe with all his followers, to giue them ſuccours: and ſuch diligence ſhewed he in purſuit of them, that the fift night after hee encountred the Aſſyrians neere to Dan, which is one of the ſources of Iordan.

Hedio and Ruffinus, chap. 18. *Gen.* 14. 15.

Where ſurpriſing them on the ſodaine (vnſuſpicious, and diſarmed) he killed thoſe that were aſleepe, without ſuſpition of his comming; and they that were not yet aſleepe, and lay wallowing in their drunkenneſſe, he eaſily defeated and put to flight; purſuing them in ſuch ſort, that the ſecond day after he draue them all into Soba, a Citie of Damaſco. Declaring hereby, that Victorie conſiſteth not in the multitude of thoſe that manage their Armes, but rather in the courage of thoſe that fight; and that a few generous hearts are more worth alwayes, then a faint-hearted multitude: for he had not with him aboue three hundred and eighteene of his houſehold ſeruants, and three of his friends, to defeat this huge Armie. So that whatſoeuer they were that eſcaped out of this ſlaughter by flight, returned vnto their houſes with ignominie.

On what, Victorie dependeth.

Abraham bringeth back both Lot and the Sodomites that were priſoners. The Kings field. Solyma was afterward called Ieruſalem. Melchiſedech the iuſt King.

As ſoone as *Abraham* had reſcued thoſe priſoners of Sodom which were taken by the Syrians, and his nephew *Lot*, he returned into his countrey, and met in his way with the King of Sodom (in a place called the Kings field) where alſo he was entertained by the King of Solyma, called *Melchiſedech* (which is as much to ſay as the juſt King:) for in truth he was no leſſe; but was held worthy, by reaſon of his juſtice, in all mens opinion, to ſacrifice, as the High Prieſt of Almightie God. This Solyma in proceſſe of time was called Ieruſalem. This *Melchiſedech* did friendly entertaine all the followers of *Abraham*, not ſuffering them to want any thing that was fit for their ſuſtenance; but entertaining him alſo at his owne Table, he highly prayſed him, and ſung due Hymnes of prayſe to the great God, for that by his fauour he had vouchſafed to grant him victorie. *Abraham* on the other ſide preſented him with the tenths of his ſpoyles: but the King of Sodom remitted all the prey that was taken, and onely required to be poſſeſſed of thoſe Captiues which were of the countrey: which condition hee accepted not, anſwering, That hee would receiue no profit of that prey, but that which he muſt needly haue for the entertainment of his ſeruants. Yet gaue he a portion vnto his friends who had ſuccoured him; the firſt whereof was called *Eſchol*; and the two other, *Ennerus* and *Mambres*. For this cauſe God prayſed *Abraham*, ſaying, Thou ſhalt not want the reward which is due vnto thee for thy valiant acts. To which he replyed, And what good ſhall I reape of this recompence, if I haue not an heire to poſſeſſe it after my deceaſe? for as yet he had no iſſue. Then did God promiſe him a ſonne, whoſe poſteritie ſhould be ſo multiplied, that they might in number equall the ſtarres of Heauen: which when he vnderſtood, he offered ſacrifice vnto God, following that Commandement which he had receiued: hee tooke therefore a Heifer of three yeeres old, a Goat of three yeeres, and a Ramme of three yeeres, and a Turtle, and a Pigeon; all which he diuided in twaine, as he was commanded, the birds onely excepted. But before the Altar was prepared (at ſuch time as the fowles houered about, to haue part of the blood of thoſe beaſts which were ſacrificed) he receiued an Oracle, that told him, That his progenie ſhould haue euill neighbours in Ægypt for the ſpace of foure hundred yeeres; and that after they had ſuffered an inſupportable ſeruitude, they ſhould at laſt obtaine the victorie ouer their enemies: and after that they had by ſtrong hand conquered the Chanaanites, they ſhould be Lords and poſſeſſors of their Countries and Cities. *Abraham* at that time dwelt neere to the Oake that was called Ogis, in the country of Chanaan, neere to the Citie of Hebron. There, being much grieued that his Wife conceiued not, he beſought God to giue him an iſſue male: God commanded him to be of good cheere in all things, and that being come from Meſopotamia vpon good occaſions, he alſo ſhould haue children. At that time *Sara*, by the cõmandement of God, cauſed one of her handmaids, which was an Ægyptian borne, to enter in vnto her husband, to the end he might haue iſſue by her: now *Agar*, as ſoone as ſhe perceiued that ſhe had conceiued, began to contemne *Sara*, aſpiring to principalitie, and ſuppoſing that her iſſue ſhould ſucceed in the kingdome. For which cauſe, *Abraham* deliuered her vnto his Wife, to the end ſhe ſhould puniſh her: which ſhe perceiuing, ſhe decreed to flye, in that ſhe was afraid of puniſhment, beſeeching God to haue mercy on her: and as ſhe trauailed on her way thorow the deſart, the Angel of God appeared vnto her, commanding her, that ſhe ſhould returne

Geneſ. 15.

God promiſeth Abraham a ſonne.

God promiſeth Abraham a progenie, that ſhould many yeeres haue ill neighbours of the Ægyptians.

Gen. 16. Sara bringeth Agar, her handmaid, to Abrahams Bed. Agar contemneth Sara.

A returne vnto her maſter and miſtris, aſſuring her, that if hereafter ſhee would bee more modeſt, ſhee ſhould bee better intreated;and how at that preſent ſhee was fallen into thoſe miſeries, by reaſon ſhe had proudly and inſolently behaued her ſelfe towards her Miſtris. Telling her moreouer that if ſhe diſobeyed God, and wandred any further, ſhe ſhould die the death: but that if ſhe returned from whence ſhee came, ſhe ſhould be the mother of a ſonne, who ſhould one day be King of that countrey where ſhee then was.

The yeere of the world, 2034. *before Chriſts Natiuity.* 1930

The promiſe of Iſmael.

To this commandement of God *Agar* ſubmitted her ſelfe with all obedience, and returning backe againe to her Maſter and Miſtris, ſhee obtained pardon at their hands, and after a while brought forth *Iſmael,* which is as much to ſay as, Heard of God, becauſe God had heard the mothers prayers. *Iſmael* was borne to *Abraham* when he was foureſcore and ſixe yeeres old: but in
B the foureſcore and nineteenth yeere of his age God appeared vnto him, and told him that hee ſhould haue a ſonne by *Sara*, charging him to call him *Iſaac*; giuing him to vnderſtand, that great Nations and Kings ſhould iſſue from his loines, who by force of armes ſhould conquer all the countrey of Chanaan, from Sidon euen vnto Ægypt. Commanding him, that his poſteritie ſhould be circumciſed in their priuities, and that this circumciſion ſhould bee done the viii. day after their birth, by reaſon that he would not that *Abrahams* poſteritie ſhould be intermedled with other nations. But hereafter will I declare the cauſe of our circumciſion. *Abraham* alſo asked counſell of God as touching *Iſmael,* whether he ſhould liue or no: who told him that he ſhould flouriſh many yeeres, and that he ſhould become a father of many worthy nations. Then gaue *Abraham* thankes vnto God, and preſently circumciſed himſelfe, his ſonne *Iſmael,* with all
C his family: and *Iſmael* at that time was thirteene yeeres old, but *Abraham* about foureſcore and nineteeene yeeres of age.

Iſaac promiſed. *Gen.* 17.

CHAP. XII.

The puniſhment of Sodom.

ABOVT that time the inhabitants of Sodom became immeaſurably proud, by reaſon of their affluence, proſperitie, and great riches; and committed outrages againſt men, and impieties againſt God: in ſuch manner as they had forgotten the benefites which they had receiued at his hands, hating ſtrangers, and diſdaining to conuerſe the one
D with the other, but in diſordinate and abominable inceſts. Whereat God beeing diſpleaſed, hee decreed to puniſh their intolerable pride, to ruinate their Citie from the top to the bottome, and in ſuch ſort to make deſolate their countrey, that from thence-forward it ſhould neither nouriſh plant, nor bring forth fruit. After that God had pronounced this ſentence againſt the Sodomites; *Abraham* (as he ſat vnder the Oake at Mambres before the doore of his tent) beheld three Angels, and ſuppoſing them to bee men and ſtrangers, he aroſe and ſaluted them; and approching neere vnto them, hee deſired them that they would accept of his entertainment, and lodge with him. Whereunto when they had condiſcended, hee commanded his ſeruants to bake them bread of the fineſt flower, and hauing killed and roſted a calfe, hee ſet it before them (as they ſate vnder the Oake) ſuppoſing they would eate: but they inquired of him
E where *Sara* his wife was: to whom he anſwered that ſhe was within in the tent. They told him then that they would returne againe;and that they ſhould find her a Mother. But when his wife ſmiled thereat, and ſaid that it was impoſſible for her to beare children; eſpecially in that her ſelfe was at that time 90. yeeres old, and her husband 100. they diſcouered themſelues, and ſaid they were Angels of God, and that they were ſent one of them to aſſure him that he ſhould haue a ſonne; the other two to deſtroy the Sodomites. Which when *Abraham* heard, hee was ſorry for the Sodomites, and ariſing beſought God that he would not deſtroy both the iuſt and the vniuſt together. To whom God gaue this anſwer, that there was not one iuſt man among the Sodomites, and that if he might but find tenne, he would ſpare the city from puniſhment. Whereupon *Abraham* held his peace, and the Angels entred into Sodom: where no ſooner
F were they arriued, but *Lot* inuited them to take their lodging in his houſe (for hee was a man much giuen to hoſpitality, and ſuch a one as for bounty had beene *Abrahams* ſcholler.) But the Sodomites perceiuing that thoſe young men which were entred *Lots* houſe, were of excellent beauty; began to offer outrage and villany to their perſons: notwithſtanding that *Lot* exhorted them to moderate themſelues, and not to offer villany to his gueſts, but in ſome ſort to haue a reſpect to his houſe: telling them, that rather then they ſhould continue in that intemperance, hee would giue them his daughters to vſe at their pleaſure. But hee preuailed nothing with

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 19 The ſinnes of the Sodomites.

Abraham entertaineth Angels.

The yeere of the world, 2048. *before the Natiuitie of Chriſt.* 1916.

The Angels promiſed Abraham that hee ſhall haue a ſonne, and foretell the deſtruction of Sodom.

The Angels enter Lors houſe.

The yeere of the world, 2948. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1916.

The Sodomites are blinded. Lot and his family are ſaued

Lot fled to Zoar.

The interpretation of the names of Moab and Ammon. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 20. *Geneſ.* 19.

Abimelech ſurprized with the loue of Sara.

Berſabe the pit of ſwearing.

Iſaac laughter

them: whereupon God was in ſuch wiſe prouoked by their iniquity, that he blinded their eyes G in ſuch ſort, as they could not find the gate to enter into *Lots* houſe, and condemned the Sodomites to a generall perdition. But *Lot* foremoniſhed by him of their future ruine, departed from them, and tooke with him his wife and his two daughters as yet vnmarried (for their betrothed husbands, although they were forwarned by him, contemned and held him for a dotard.) Then did God ſhoot his arrow vpon the City, burning it, and all the inhabitants therein: and deſolating by the ſame fire all the countries round about; in ſuch ſort as it hath already bin declared by me in the Hiſtory I wrote of the warres of the Iewes. But *Lots* wife, as they retired thence, looking backe towards the City, and more curiouſly beholding the deſtruction thereof, contrary to the commandement of God, was transformed into a pillar of ſalt, which I haue ſeen: H for it remaineth euen vntill this day. As touching *Lot*, hee and his daughters fled and dwelt in a little country farre from the fire, which was called Zoar (which in Hebrew ſignifieth little:) In this place) which was void of men, and ſcant of victuals) *Lot* dwelled a long time, leading a ſolitary and poore life: and his daughters ſuppoſing that all mankind was extinguiſhed vpon the earth, ſubtilly circumuenting their father, they lay with him when he leaſt ſuſpected it: and the reaſon that drew them thereunto was, for that they feared leſt mankind ſhould be vtterly exterminated. By this their approachment, they bare him two ſons: the elder *Moab* (which is as much to ſay as, of my father) and this is he that was the father of the Moabites, which euen at this day are yet a great nation: and of the yonger ſiſter, came *Ammon* (which ſignifieth the ſonne of Race or kind) and both theſe two nations inhabite the country of Cœloſyria. In this ſort de- I parted *Lot* from the Sodomites.

As touching *Abraham*, hee went and dwelt in Gerar, in the countrey of Paleſtine; leading with him his wife *Sara* in manner of his ſiſter; (vſing the ſame ſubtilty which beforetime hee had practiſed for feare of the Ægyptians:) for he feared *Abimelech* the King of that countrey, who ſurprized with the loue of *Sara*, would haue rauiſhed her, had he not bin hindred by a moſt grieuous ſickneſſe, which God inflicted vpon him: ſo that being out of all hope of recouery, at ſuch time as he ſlept, there appeared vnto him a viſion, which told him that he ſhould take heed leſt he offered any outrage to the ſtrangers wife, who was come into his countrey: and after he was ſomewhat recouered, hee told his friends how God had ſent him that ſickneſſe to warrantize the right of the ſtranger, and to preſerue his wife from violence; for that ſhe was not his ſi- K ſter, but his lawfull wife; willing *Abraham* thenceforward to be of good cheere, promiſing him, that the honour of his wife was inuiolate. This ſaid, he diſmiſſed *Abraham* by the counſell of his friends; and told him that he needed not to ſuſpect his wife, by reaſon ſhee had ſuffered no villany: Aſſuring him that God had care of her, and that he deliuered her in ſafety to him (being to that end protected by his mighty power) and in confirmation thereof he called God to record, and the womans conſcience, vowing that he would not haue required her, if hee had knowne ſhee had beene married: moreouer he required him to be at peace with him, and by his prayers to appeaſe Gods wrath, which was kindled againſt him. And that if thenceforward he would ſtay with him, he ſhould want nothing: or if he liſted to depart, he promiſed him guides and all other things, for which he came vnto him. *Abraham* anſwered him, that he had in no ſort L diſſembled with him as touching the alliance of his wife; but that ſhe was his brothers daughter, and that he thought he might not ſafely trauell thorow his country, except he had vſed that ſubtilty; auowing moreouer that he had not beene the cauſe of that ſickneſſe which had befalne him: but that he ſingularly affected his good, and was ready to abide with him.

Whereupon *Abimelech* imparted vnto him both lands and money, and accorded to conuerſe with him in all vprightneſſe, and without offer of offence, and made a couenant and ſware vnto him by a certaine pit which was called Berſabe (that is to ſay, the pit of ſwearing or couenant) which name that place retaineth vntill this day. Not long time after, *Abraham* had a ſonne by *Sara* his wife according as God had promiſed him, and he called his name *Iſaac* (which in the Hebrew tongue ſignifieth laughter) becauſe *Sara* laughed at ſuch time as God ſaid vnto her ſhe M ſhould beare a ſonne, hauing in her ſelfe no likelihood of conceiuing, by reaſon ſhee was ſtriken in yeeres. For at that time ſhe was ninety yeeres old, and *Abraham* one hundreth when the child was borne, and incontinently the eighth day after was he circumciſed; which cuſtome is yet continued amongſt the Iewes, who circumciſe on the eighth day.

CHAP. XIII.

of ISMAEL ABRAHAMS *ſonne, and of the Arabians his poſterity.*

BVT the Arabians celebrate it in the thirteenth yeere. For *Iſmael* the author thereof, and *Abrahams* ſonne by the concubine, was circumciſed in the thirteenth yeere after hee was borne. Of which *Iſmael* it behooueth we ſpeake more exactly in this place. *Sara* loued *Iſmael*(begotten on her ſeruant *Agar*) from the beginning, with no leſſe affection then as if he had beene her owne ſonne,for he was brought vp as *Abrahams* heire.But after ſhe had brought forth *Iſaac*, ſhe thought it no more requiſite that *Iſmael* ſhould be brought vp with her ſonne,in that he was elder, and for feare leſt after his fathers deceaſe, he ſhould offer his younger brother iniurie. Shee incited *Abraham* therefore to ſend both him and his mother to ſome other place: but at the firſt he gaue no eare to *Saraes* requeſt, thinking it to be more then barbarous cruelty, to driue away a tender childe and his mother, deſtitute of all neceſſaries. At length by the commandement of God he liſtened to his wiues counſell,and committed the child vnto his mother (being of himſelfe as yet vnapt to trauell)and giuing them a pitcher of water and bread, he commanded them to goe thither, whither their neceſſitie ſhould driue them. And when their victuals failed them, and their water was conſumed, ſhee laid the childe being faint and weak vnder an Oake; and to the end that in her preſence he ſhould not breathe his laſt,ſhe went far away from him. At that time an Angel of God appeared vnto her, ſhewing her a fountaine hard by that place, and charging her to looke to the carefull education of her childe: becauſe that by the conſeruation of *Iſmael*, ſhe was to expect great happineſſe. Vpon theſe promiſes ſhe tooke comfort, and falling into the company of ſheepheards, ſhee by their bounty eſcaped from miſerie.

The yeere of the world, 2048. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 1916.

Hedio and Ruffinus, chap. 12. *Gen.* 21.

The Iewes were wont to circumciſe on the eight day.

The Arabians not before 13. yeeres.

Abraham baniſheth Iſmael and Agar.

The Angell of God meeteth with Agar.

Afterwards, when he attained mans eſtate, he married a wife of the nation of the Egyptians (from whence his mother had her originall)by whom *Iſmael* had twelue ſonnes: namely,*Nabaioth,Cedarus,Abdeel,Edumas,Maſſamus,Memaſſus, Maſmeſus,Chodamus, Themanus,Ieturus,Naphæſus,Calmaſus*(all which inhabite the lands which are between Euphrates and the Red ſea;the name of which countrey is Nabathæa. Theſe are they that began and made famous the nation of the Arabians,as well in reſpect of their proweſſe,as alſo in reſpect of the dignity of *Abraham*.

The twelue ſonnes of Iſmael. *Gen.* 25.

The Region of Nabathæa.

CHAP. XIIII.

of ISAAC ABRAHAMS *legitimate ſonne.*

AS touching *Iſaac*, *Abraham* loued him with an intire and fatherly affection;as his onely begotten ſonne engendered in his age by the bounty of God. The child alſo addicting himſelfe vnto all vertue, carefull to honour his father and mother,and ſtudious of the ſeruice of God,inuited both his parents the rather to affect and loue him. So that *Abraham* was very deſirous to forſake this preſent life: prouided, that he might leaue behind him all the goods which he had, vnto his ſonne;which through the mercy of God he happily effected. Whereupon (vnder triall and conformitie of his faith)God appeared vnto him, & reckned vp all the benefits which he had beſtowed on him, how he had granted him victory ouer his enemies (and how he had eſtabliſht and bleſt him with preſent felicity by his fauour) for which cauſe he required him to ſacrifice and make an oblation vnto him of his ſonne *Iſaac*, commanding him that he ſhould conduct him to the mountaine of Morea, and there to ſacrifice him. In doing whereof, he ſhould manifeſt the deſire he had to ſerue him (in preferring that which was agreeable to God before the life of his ſonne.) *Abraham* ſuppoſing that it was no waies lawfull to diſobey God, but that he ought to ſubmit himſelfe to his will, (as to him by whoſe prouidence all things had their being) ſaid nothing to his wife, as concerning that which God had commanded him, neither how he had determined the death of his ſonne.

The yeere of the world, 2074 before Chriſts Natiuity, 1890.

Abrahams obedience.

Moreouer, he made it knowne to no one of his houſhold ſeruants, becauſe (as he ſuppoſed) they might haue hindered him from the ſeruice of God. Hee therefore tooke his ſonne *Iſaac* with two ſeruants (loading an Aſſe with ſuch things as were requiſite for ſacrifice) and trauelled towards the mountaine, his ſeruants attending him for two dayes ſpace; and on the third day following, as ſoone as he perceiued the mountaine, he left the reſt of thoſe that accompanied him in the Plaine, and attended onely by his ſonne and himſelfe, hee came vp vnto the mountaine

The yeer of the world, 2074. before Christs Natiuitie, 1890.

taine (vpon which afterward King *Dauid* appointed that the Temple ſhould be builded.) They G carried with them alſo the reſt of thoſe things which were requiſite for ſacrifice (ſaue onely the beaſt that was to be offered:)now about this time, *Iſaac* was fiue and twenty yeeres old,and did himſelfe prepare the Altar, and inquired of his father what he ſhould offer, conſidering that as yet they had no ſheep for ſacrifice. *Abraham* anſwered him,that God would furniſh them, who was of power ſufficient to giue men that in abundance, whereof they had need, and to depriue them of that they had, and whereof they held themſelues throughly poſſeſſed: and that it was he would giue them wherewith to ſacrifice,(if it ſhould pleaſe him to ſhew himſelfe fauourable, and propitious to that ſacrifice of his:)now as ſoon as the Altar was made ready,and the wood prepared and laid vpon the ſame,and all things were in readineſſe, he addreſſed his ſpeech vnto his ſonne, and ſaid thus:

Iſaac was 25. yeeres old when he ſhould haue beene ſacrificed.

Abrahams oration at ſuch time as his ſonne ſhould haue beene ſacrificed.

My ſonne, I haue oftentimes demanded at Gods hands that he ſhould giue thee life, by my H infinite interceſſions and prayers, and euer ſince thou wert borne into this world, I haue intermitted no care and diligence in thine education, neither haue I thought that in any thing I might be made more happy, then that departing out of this world, I might ſee thee at mans eſtate, and leaue thee the heire and Lord of all my ſubſtance: but ſince it hath pleaſed God, that I ſhould be thy father, and that the ſame God likewiſe now thinketh good that I ſhould forſake thee, put vpon thee a conſtant minde, and take in good part that thus thou muſt be ſacrificed: " for in ſo doing I fulfill the Commandements of God: who requireth at our hands that we doe " him this honour, for the fauours which he hath beſtowed vpon me, in aſſiſting me, and in familiar manner conuerſing, and aſſociating me both in warre and peace. Since therefore that be- I " ing borne, thou art to die, (not after the accuſtomed manner of the liuing) but being offered in " ſacrifice by thine owne father, to the generall Father, God: I deeme it reaſonable, that ſince it " ſeemeth good vnto him that thou depart out of this life (not by ſickneſſe, nor by warre, nor by " any other inconuenience, that naturally hapneth vnto men) that it is behoofefull alſo that thou " render thy ſoule vnto him in the midſt of prayers,and the celebration of this ſacrifice,to the end " he may receiue and ſeate thee neere himſelfe: Thou ſhalt be my purueyor and ſtay of mine age " (which is the cauſe for which I haue nouriſhed thee) if thou leaue me God for my purueyor " and comfort in thy place. Then *Iſaac* with a noble heart (like the gracious ſonne of ſo godly a father) heard all that which his father ſaid with great contentment, and aſſured that he would " rather neuer haue beene borne, then he ſhould once neglect the ordinance of God and of his K " father: or ſhew himſelfe negligent to ſubmit his will to both their pleaſures, conſidering that " if his father onely ſhould command the ſame, he ſhould doe very euill if he diſobeyed him: " which ſaid, he marched towards the Altar, and offered himſelfe to the ſlaughter: which had " ſurely hapned at that inſtant, if God had not regarded him: for with a loud voice he called *Abraham* by his name, commanding him that he ſhould not kill his ſonne,auerring that hee had not giuen him that commandement, becauſe he tooke pleaſure in humane blood, neither for that by ſuch impietie hee would depriue them of that ſonne, of whom it was his pleaſure to make him the father, but that by this act he intended to prooue his affection,to ſee whether being commanded ſuch a thing,he would be obedient; and for that he had made triall of his faith and readineſſe, and his vnſpeakeable pietie, hee did not repent him of that good he had done L vnto him: that the time ſhould neuer be wherein he would forget to haue care of him, and his race, whenſoeuer he ſhould pray vnto him, and that when the courſe of his yeers were happily ouerpaſt, he ſhould leaue a great ſigniory to thoſe of his children, which ſhould be good and legitimate. He told him moreouer,that he would multiply the race in diuers Nations,and that he would beſtow great benefits vpon them,and that the memorie of the chiefe of his of-ſpring ſhould be enuied by all men for their greatneſſe. After that God had ſpoken after this manner, it pleaſed him on the ſudden (no man knoweth how) to cauſe a Ramme to be ſeene, and found thereabouts for the ſacrifice. And thus (being deliuered from all euils and inconueniences beyond their expectations, after they had heard ſo many promiſes of ſo many bleſſings) they embraced one another, and celebrated the ſacrifice; which done, they returned towards *Sara* in M ſafety, and paſt the remnant of their liues in happineſſe, God giuing them his bleſſing in whatſoeuer they vndertooke.

Iſaacs anſwer.

God offereth a Ramme to Abraham to ſacrifice in ſtead of Iſaac.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

The death of SARA ABRAHAMS *Wife.*

NOT long time after this, *Sara* died; after ſhe had liued one hundred twenty and ſeuen yeeres; and was buried in Hebron: (for the Chananeans freely offered them free buriall) yet *Abraham* choſe rather to buy a place to bury in, of *Ephrem* a certaine Citizen of Hebron, for foure hundreth ſicles, where the monuments both of him and his poſterity are builded.

The yeere of the world, 2087. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt. 1878.

CHAP. XVI.

How the Nation of the Troglodytes came of CHETVRA *the Wife of* ABRAHAM.

Hedio & Ruf. finus, chap. 23. *Gen.* 23. The age of Sarah. 127. *Geneſ.* 7. 25, 1.

AFTER this, *Abraham* married *Chetura*, by whom he had ſixe children, ſtrong in trauell, and excellent in wiſedome: namely *Zembranes*, *Iazar*, *Madar*, *Madian*, *Louſobac*, *Suus*, who likewiſe had ſonnes; *Suus* had *Sabacan* and *Dadanes*. Of *Dadanes* iſſued *Latuſimus*, *Aſſurus*, *Luures*. The children of *Madian* were *Epha*, *Ophres*, *Anochus*, *Ebidas*, *Eldas*. Of all theſe children and their ſucceſſors, *Abraham* gathered and eſtabliſhed the Colonies which poſſeſſed the country of the Troglodytes, and al the country of Arabia the happy, whoſe confines extend euen vnto the red ſea. Some report that this *Ophres* conducted an Army into Libya and poſſeſſed the ſame: and that his ſucceſſors (making their abode in that country) called it by the name of Africa. And this my opinion is confirmed by *Alexander Polyhiſtor* who writeth after this manner. *Cleodemus* the Prophet who is alſo called *Malchus*, & hath writtē the acts of the Iews (according as *Moſes* their law-maker hath compiled the ſame in writing) ſaith, that of *Chetura* there were diuers children borne vnto *Abraham*, and he nameth three by their names: to wit, *Apher*, *Surim* and *Iapher*; and that of *Surem* the Aſſyrians tooke their name: of the two others *Apher* and *Iapher*, the Citie of Affricke and the countrey of Africa take their names. That they warred with *Hercules* againſt *Libya* and *Antæus*, and how *Hercules* hauing taken *Ophra* his daughter to his wife, had begotten of her *Dedor*, who was father to *Sophon*, from whom thoſe Babarians that are called *Sophaces* haue taken their name.

Libya called Africa. Alexander Polyhiſtor.

But *Abraham* knowing that he ſhould prouide a wife for *Iſaac* his ſonne, being almoſt forty yeeres old, ſent the oldeſt ſeruant of his family to betroth and intreate for *Rebecca* the daughter of the ſonne of *Nachor* his brother for *Iſaac*, and bound him to the performance thereof with great oathes (celebrated according to theſe Ceremonies, which were, that laying their two hands one ore anothers thighes, they ſhould call God to witneſſe of their intent) he ſent alſo ſtrange preſents vnto them, ſuch as were ſeldome ſeene in thoſe parts: hee then departing from him, was long time vpon the way (becauſe that in winter time it is troubleſome to trauell thorow *Meſopotamia*, by reaſon of the deep bogs, and in ſummer for want of water) beſides the robberies of the country, wch ſtrāgers & trauellers could not poſſibly eſcape, except they ſtood vpon their guard, and had conuoy. Hereupon at length he arriued and entred a City called Carras, & being in the ſuburbes of the ſame, he encountred with diuers damſels that went to fetch water, whereupō he inwardly beſought God, that if the marriage were pleaſing in his ſight, he might find *Rebecca* amongſt them, for whoſe cauſe *Abraham* had ſent him thither to require her in marriage for his ſon: and that he might know her by this ſigne, that asking all the reſt for water, they ſhould refuſe him, and ſhe only ſhould ſatisfie him. Tormented & toſſed with theſe thoughts, he approched the Well, & required thoſe Virgins that they would giue him drink, wch they denied him, ſaying, that they could not get water but with great labour, wch they muſt beare into their houſes, and not lauiſhly beſtow on others: whereupon one amongſt them reproued the reſt for that diſcourtiſie, which they vſed towards the ſtranger; ſaying that they had neuer beene conuerſant amongſt men, that refuſed to giue him water that requeſted it, wherupō ſhe gaue him drink with an amiable countenance: and he conceiuing good hope of all his buſineſſe, yet being further deſirous to know the euent of the matter, he praiſed the honeſty and courtiſie of *Rebecca*, who had not refuſed to trauell in her owne perſon to ſatisfie his neceſſitie, asking her of what parents ſhe was, tearming them happy that had ſuch a daughter, praying God that it might pleaſe him to grant them the good hap to marry her to their contentment, and match her with a man of honeſt reputation, by whom ſhe might be plentifull in good and lawfull children: *Rebecca* made no difficulty to tell him the names of her Parents, (the better to gratifie him) neither concealed ſhee her owne name, but anſwered in this ſort, I am called, ſaid ſhe, *Rebecca*, my father was named *Bathuel*,

Hedio & Ruf. finus, chap. 4. Iſaac marrieth Rebecca. The manner of ſwearing among the anciēt Iewes.

The yeere of the world, 2089. before Chriſts Natiuity, 1875.

The yeere of the world, 2089. before the Natiuitie of Christ. 1875.

thuel, who is long ſince dead. *Laban* is our brother, who together with my mother hath care of G all our family, and hath the charge and protection of my virginity. Which when he vnderſtood, he reioyced at al that which had hapned vnto him, and was comforted with thoſe things which he had heard, perceiuing manifeſtly how God had proſpered his iourney. Wherupon drawing out a Iewell (with certaine other ornaments, ſuch as Virgins take delight to weare) he offred them vnto the maide, telling her that he gaue her theſe preſents, in requitall of that kindnes ſhe had offred him in ſatisfying his thirſt, for that ſhe amongſt ſo many other Virgins had onely ſhewed her ſelfe affable and gracious; requiring her that he might be entertained in her brothers houſe (by reaſon that night had depriued him of the meanes from trauelling any further) and that he was charged with certaine Iewels of an eſpouſed of great price, which in no place (as H he ſaid) might be in more ſafety then in their cuſtody, whō in effect he had found ſo courteous and honeſt: aſſuring her that the vertue which appeared in her, gaue him ſufficient teſtimony both of the courteſie of her mother and brother, who would not (as he ſuppoſed) take it in ill part if he were entertained: to conclude, that he would in no wayes be chargeable vnto them, but would pay for his lodging and expences.

Rebecca growes acquainted with Abrahams ſeruant.

The talke which Abrahams ſeruant had with Rebecca.

To this *Rebecca* anſwered, that he had reaſon to conceiue a good opinion of her Parents humanity, but yet did in ſome ſort preiudice them in ſuſpecting their liberality, aſſuring him that his entertainment ſhould in no ſort be mercenary, but voluntary, and free and acccording to their affection. Yet firſt (ſaid ſhe) I will certifie my brother *Laban* hereof, and afterwards guide and entertaine you in our houſe: which done, ſhe conducted him into their tent, commanding her I brother *Labans* ſeruants to take care of his Camels, as for himſelfe, ſhe entertained and feaſted him at her brother *Labans* table.

The yeere of the world, 2124. before Christs Natiuity, 1840.

When ſupper was paſt, he ſpake both to the brother and mother of the Virgin after this manner: *Abraham* the ſonne of *Thares* is your couſin. For, *Nachor* (good miſtris) the grand-father of your children, was *Abrahams* brother of one & the ſame father and mother. He now ſendeth me vnto you, requiring you to giue this Damſell for wife to his legitimate and only ſon, educated and brought vp to be heire of all his ſubſtance: whom although he might haue matcht with the richeſt maidens of his countrey, yet hath he refuſed all of them, deſiring rather to impart this honour to one of his kindred and nation: ſet not light therefore his good affection and deſire. For, beſides all other bleſſings and good fortunes, which haue happily befallen me in this K my iourney, I haue by Gods eſpeciall prouidence, found out both the maid, & your houſe. For, at ſuch time as I drew neere the City, and beholding many Virgins that went a watering, I beſought God that I might light vpon this maiden, and he vouchſafed me my deſire: Ratifie therfore on your part this marriage contracted by Gods prouidence, and honour *Abraham* in granting your conſent by this your daughters marriage, whom I am ſent to requeſt at your hands, with moſt intire affection. Now they, in that they both allowed a thing ſo behoofefull, and perceiued alſo that it was conformable to the will of God, they ſent their ſiſter vnto him vnder the conditions demanded: and *Iſaac* then married her at ſuch time as he had the managing of *Abrahams* affaires, by reaſon that the other ſonnes of *Abraham* were already departed to take poſſeſſion of their Colonies. L

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 28. *Gen.* 24.

CHAP. XVII.

of ABRAHAMS *death.*

Abraham died after he had liued 175. yeeres.

A Few daies after this, *Abraham* deceaſed (a man full of vertue vntill his laſt end) and honoured by God (according to that intire loue he had to vertue) with great affection. All the dayes of his life contained one hundreth ſeuenty and fiue yeeres, and he was buried in Hebron with his wife *Sara,* and by his ſonnes *Iſaac* and *Iſmael.*

CHAP. XVIII. M

of ISAACS *ſonnes,* ESAV *and* IACOB, *and of their natiuity and education.*

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 26. *Gen.* 25.

AFTER the death of *Abraham, Rebecca (Iſaacs wife)* waxed bigge with childe, and the time of her reckoning being neere at hand, *Iſaac* was ſore troubled, and ſought counſell at Gods hands: who anſwered him, that *Rebecca* ſhould bring forth two twins, and that of thoſe two ſons, two nations ſhould be deriued, both which ſhould be called by their names, and that he who ſeemed to be the leaſt of them, ſhould grow to be the greateſt: not long time after

A after(according as God had foretold him) ſhe was brought to bed of two twinnes,the eldeſt of whom was very hairy from the top of the head vnto the ſoale of the foote: and at ſuch time as he iſſued out of his mothers wombe, his younger brother held him by the heele,the Father loued the elder,who was called *Eſau*, and *Seir* by reaſon of his haire, (which the Hebrewes call *Seir* in their language) but the younger who was called *Iacob*, was dearely beloued by his mother.

The yeere of the world, 2124. before Chriſts Natiuity, 1840.

Now for that a great famine raigned in that country, *Iſaac* (hauing reſolued to retyre himſelfe to Egypt, by reaſon of the abundance and plenty of that countrey) hee went and dwelt at Gerar, according as God had commanded: In which place King *Abimelech* receiued and entertained him(according to the law of hoſpitality,and the league of friendſhip which was betwixt *Abraham* his father and him.) In the beginning therefore, hee ſhewed vnto him great ſignes of friendſhip,but afterwards,the enuy he had conceiued, hindered him from perſiſting in the ſame: for perceiuing that God was fauourable vnto *Iſaac*,and had an eſpeciall care ouer him,he draue him out of his countrey: but he perceiuing well that enuy had altered him, and that *Abimelech* began to be changed;he retyred himſelfe not farre from Gerar into a place called the ſtraights: and as hee there digged to finde out a watering, *Abimelechs* ſhepheards came and ſet vpon him, and hindred him in ſuch ſort as he could not finiſh his purpoſe: and for that he purpoſely retyred from them, they verily ſuppoſed they had gotten the victory: Anon after, when he began to dig in another place, other ſhepheards of *Abimelech*, outraged him anew, as at the firſt: for which cauſe hee left this fountaine imperfect alſo, expecting with ripe iudgement a more conuenient opportunity,which was afterwards offered him,by reaſon that the King gaue him leaue to dig, whereupon hee laboured out a fountaine, and called it by the name of Rooboth, which ſignifieth *large*. And as touching the other two, he called the firſt of them Eſcon, which is as much to ſay as *ſtrife:* and the other Sienna, which ſignifieth *hoſtility*.

B Iſaac came vnto Gerar, *Geneſ.* 26.

C Abimelech expelleth Iſaac, being moued thereunto by enuy, Fauces.

Thus increaſed he daily more and more both in power and riches. But *Abimelech* ſuppoſing that his affluence would be many wayes hurtfull vnto him, and remembring himſelfe that hee had not faithfully entertained friendſhip with him,but in ſome ſort giuen occaſion of ſuſpition, by means of ſome hard meaſure:fearing leſt hereafter the iniuries freſh in memory,ſhould more diſtract him then their old and ancient plighted friendſhip, and miſdoubting his reuenge, hee repaired vnto him,and contracted a new league of amity with him, leading with him one of his chiefeſt Captaines, as an arbiter betweene them, by whoſe meanes he obtained whatſoeuer hee required: ſo courteous was *Iſaac*, and ſo ready in memory of his fathers old couenant to forgiue new iniuries. And ſo *Abimelech* hauing obtained his purpoſe, returned to his houſe. *Eſau* one of the two ſonnes of *Iſaac* (whom the father eſpecially loued aboue all the reſt) hauing attained the age of forty yeeres, tooke two wiues *Ada*, the daughter of *Edom*, and *Alibama* the daughter of *Eſebeon*,two Princes of the Chanaanites (and that of his owne authority, without his fathers aduice or priuity,who would not haue conſented, had the matter been remitted vnto him,becauſe he held it inconuenient to mixe and ioyne him,or his, in affinity with any dwellers or inhabitants of the countrey.) This notwithſtanding, he would not diſpleaſe his ſonne by commanding him to giue ouer his wiues: but determined with himſelfe to conceale and keepe the matter ſilent.

D Abimelech reneweth friendſhip with Iſaac,

E Eſau his wiues.

When *Iſaac* was waxen old and wholly depriued of his ſight,he called for *Eſau* his ſonne and ſaid vnto him: that although he had not any default or blindneſſe in him,yet his age would hinder him to doe that ſeruice, which he both ought and wiſhed to doe: and therefore he willed him to goe on hunting, and that he ſhould make ready ſome meate for him that he might eate, and after his repaſt,he might pray vnto God that it would pleaſe him to be aſſiſtant vnto him all his life time,and bee a comforter and aide vnto him: proteſting moreouer, that ſince he was vncertaine of the houre of his death,he thought good to bleſſe him,and by his prayers to procure Gods mercy towards him,before he ſlept with the dead. Hereupon *Eſau* went on hunting: but *Rebecca* in the meane time(deſirous that *Iſaacs* bleſſing ſhould light vpon her ſonne *Iacob*) contrarie to her husbands intent and minde, commanded him to goe, and kill two kids, and prepare a repaſt for his father. *Iacob* beeing obſequious and obedient to his mother in all things, fulfilled her command, and as ſoone as the meate was ready, hee wrapped his armes and couered his hands with the Goats skins,hoping by the hairineſſe thereof,to make his father beleeue,that hee was *Eſau*. For being his brother at one and the ſame birth, he reſembled him in all things, except in the thing onely: but fearing leſt hee ſhould be ſurprized in his ſubtilty before his father *Iſaac* had finiſhed his prayers,and in ſtead of his bleſſings he might be loaden with his curſes,he pre-

Gen. 27.

Iſaac ſendeth Eſau on hunting.

The yeere of the world, 2186. before chriſts Natiuity,1778.

F Iacob by his mothers counſell ſtealeth his brothers bleſſing.

The yeer of the world, 2189. before Christs Natiuitie, 1778.

preſented the meat vnto his father. But *Iſaac* perceiuing ſome alteration in his voice, called his ſonne, who ſtretching out his hands vnto him couered with the kids skinnes, Thou art (ſaith he) more like vnto *Iacob* in thy voice; but by thy hairineſſe, thou ſeemeſt vnto me to be *Eſau*. Thus ſuſpecting no deceit, and hauing already eaten, hee addreſſed himſelfe to pray, and called vpon God, ſaying, O Lord of all ages, and maker of all creatures, thou haſt promiſed great bleſſings vnto my father, and haſt giuen me many and preſent felicities, and haſt vowed that thou wouldſt be mercifull vnto my poſterity, and plentifully powre vpon them more and more ample benefits: let this thy fauour, I beſeech thee, be continued towards me, neither deſpiſe thou me by reaſon of this my preſent weakneſſe, which is the cauſe that I haue more need of thy helpe. Saue and keepe this my ſon by thy clemency, warrantize him from all euill, giue him a happy life, and poſſeſſion of all bleſſings and benefits which are in thy power to beſtow vpon him: make him fearefull to his enemies, and gracious to his friends. Thus prayed he vnto God, thinking he had bleſſed *Eſau*. Scarce had he finiſhed his prayers, but *Eſau* returned from hunting, which though *Iſaac* perceiued, he was no waies moued with diſpleaſure, but held himſelfe ſilent. *Eſau* beſought him that he might obtaine as much as he had vouchſafed his brother: but *Iſaac* denied him, in that he had beſtowed all his bleſſings vpon *Iacob*: for which cauſe *Eſau* lamented and wept. His father (amated and moued by his teares) foretold him that he ſhould excell in hunting, in force of body, in armes, and other ſuch exerciſes, whereby he ſhould purchaſe immortal glory both to himſelfe and his poſterity, yet notwithſtanding that he ſhould be his brothers vaſſall. But for that *Iacob* feared leſt his brother ſhould ſeeke to bee reuenged of him for robbing him of his fathers bleſſing, he was by his mothers means deliuered from this perill. For ſhe perſwaded her husband to take *Iacob* a wife neere allied vnto her, out of Meſopotamia. *Eſau* at that time had married another wife called *Baſſemath* the daughter of *Iſmael*: for neither *Iſaac* nor his were well-affectioned towards the Chanaanites: but were offended by reaſon of his former eſpouſals. For which cauſe *Eſau* to giue them contentment married *Baſſemath*, whom afterward hee loued more entirely then all the reſt.

Eſau required a bleſſing.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 27.

CHAP. XIX.

How IACOB *fled into Meſopotamia for feare of his brother.*

Gen. 28.

BVt *Iacob* being ſent into Meſopotamia by his mother, vnder hope to marry the daughter of *Laban* her brother, (whereunto *Iſaac* conſented through the counſell of his wife) paſſed thorow the country of Chanaan. And for that there was a conceiued and open hatred betwixt *Iſaacs* people and the inhabitants of Chanaan, he would not take vp his lodging amongſt any of them, but lay abroad in the fields, reſting his head vpon ſtones, which he had heaped together in ſtead of a pillow: and during the time of his reſt, this viſion following was preſented vnto him. It ſeemed vnto him that he ſaw a ladder, that extending it ſelfe from the earth, reached vp vnto heauen, along the ſteps whereof there deſcended certaine reſemblances more excellent to looke on, then the ordinary port of humane nature could impart, and on the top thereof God manifeſtly appeared, and calling him by his name, ſpake vnto him after this manner: *Iacob*, ſure thou art the ſon of a good father, and deſcended from a grandfather renowned and famous for his great vertue: thou muſt not be daunted, or appauled by thy preſent trauels, but rather be confirmed in hope of future good hap. For by mine aſſiſtance thou ſhalt be bleſſed, and endowed with many benefits. For I am he that brought *Abraham* hither, from the countrey of Meſopotamia, at ſuch time as he was purſued by his parents: I haue alſo made thy father happy, and will be no leſſe gracious and fauourable vnto thy ſelfe.

Iacobs ladder.

God ſpeaketh vnto Iacob.

Be confident therefore, and proſecute thy iourney vnder mine aſſiſtance. The marriage which thou purſueſt ſhall haue a happy iſſue, and thou ſhalt haue good children, who in number ſhall grow infinite, and ſhall likewiſe leaue after them a plentifull and famous poſterity, and I wil giue them the ſoueraignty ouer this country, both to them and their ſucceſſors, and they ſhall people and repleniſh both the earth and the Sea, as farre as the Sunne enlightneth the world. Let not therefore any danger diſmay thee, nor trauaile diſcomfort thee: for beſides all this, whatſoeuer thou ſhalt vndertake, I will not ceaſe to aſſiſt thee. Theſe things did God foretell vnto *Iacob*, who very highly reioycing at that which he had ſeene, and that which had beene denounced vnto him, anointed the ſtones on which the promiſes of ſo many bleſſings had beene made, and vowed to offer ſacrifice vnto God on the ſame, if at ſuch time as hee had attained the good hee ſought, he ſhould grant him the grace to returne in health and ſafety into his countrey: which

Iacob voweth a ſacrifice vnto God, and calleth the place Bethel, which is the houſe of God.

as

A as ſoone as he returned backe, he performed, offering vnto God the tenth of all that which he had giuen him. And as touching the place where the Viſion appeared vnto him, he hallowed it, and called it by the name of *Bethel*, which in the Greeke Tongue ſignifieth the Houſe of God. Continuing thus his journey into Meſopotamia, he trauelled ſo long, till at laſt he arriued at Charran: and hauing met in the ſuburbs of the Citie with certaine ſhepheards and yong men, accompanied with yong maidens, ſitting neere to a certaine fountaine, he drew neere vnto them, deſiring them to giue him drinke; and falling in diſcourſe with them, he asked them, Whether they knew one that was called *Laban*, and whether he were yet aliue? All of them anſwered, That they knew him well; and that he was a man of that reputation, that his name could not be concealed; that his daughter was accuſtomed to feede her flocke with them, and that they wondred that ſhe was
B not yet arriued; of whom (ſaid they) thou mayſt perfectly vnderſtand all that which thou deſireſt to know. Whileſt thus they paſt the time in talke, the Damſell drew neere, accompanied with her ſhepheards; whom one of the companie informed, that *Iacob* was inquiſitiue after her father: who, rejoycing after the manner of yong maidens, asked him what he was, and whence he came, and what neceſſitie had driuen him thither? wiſhing ſhee had the meanes to ſupply whatſoeuer his neceſſities required. *Iacob* being ouercome, not by the force of affinitie, or by her good behauiour and courteſie, but with the loue of the maiden, was inflamed, ſeeing her ſo faire and matchleſſe in beautie, and ſaid vnto her: If thou art the daughter of *Laban*, there is a greater and more ancient conjunction betwixt both thy father, thy ſelfe, and me, then either thy yeeres or my birth can attaine vnto: for, *Abraham*, *Aran*, and *Nachor*, were *Thares* ſonnes; *Bathuel*, thy grand-father,
C was *Nachors* ſonne; *Iſaac*, my father, was the ſonne of *Abraham*; and *Sara*, daughter of *Aran*. There is yet a neerer and dearer bond of friendſhip, wherewith we are linked one vnto another: for, *Rebecca*, my mother, is ſiſter vnto *Laban* thy father, borne of one father & mother; ſo that you and I are couſins: and therefore now am I come at this preſent to ſalute you, and renew that ancient loue which our alliance requireth at our hands. But ſhe remembring her of all thoſe things which her father was wont to report and diſcourſe of *Rebecca*, and knowing, that her Parents were deſirous to heare ſome newes from her, ſhe wept for joy, remembring her of the loue of her father, and hung about his necke, and embraced the yong man; and after ſhe had ſaluted him, ſhe ſaid vnto him: Thou bringeſt a moſt deſired and great pleaſure to my father and all his family, who neuer forgetteth thy mother, but oftentimes maketh mention of her; and would eſteeme it
D a great felicitie, to heare tidings from her. Then deſired ſhe him preſently to follow her to her father, leſt any longer he might be depriued of ſo deſired a pleaſure. This ſaid, ſhe brought him vnto *Laban*; where, being acknowledged by his Vncle, he both by that meanes liued ſecurely amongſt his friends, as alſo brought him great contentment, by his vnexpected acceſſe vnto them. Some few dayes after, this *Laban* told him, that he tooke ſo much contentment in his preſence, that he could not expreſſe it in words; yet required he him to manifeſt the cauſe that had induced him to leaue his father and mother in that extreme age, at ſuch time as they had moſt need of him, to find him out: moreouer, he promiſed him all aſſiſtance and fauour in whatſoeuer caſe he had to make vſe of him. Whereupon *Iacob* diſcourſed vnto him the whole matter: that *Iſaac* had two ſonnes; himſelfe, and *Eſau*: that his brother (in that, by his mothers deuice and coun-
E ſell, he had defrauded him of his fathers bleſſing) ſought and deſired to kill him, as he that was the rauiſher of that principalitie from him that was deſtinated vnto him by God, and the ſurpriſer of all his fathers other intended Vowes: that this, as alſo his mothers command, was the cauſe why he came thither; by reaſon they are all brothers, and by reaſon that in eſpeciall his mother was their neereſt akinne: telling him, that next after God, he hoped to find his greateſt aſſiſtance and helpe by the meanes of his Vncle. Whereupon *Laban* promiſing vnto him whatſoeuer humanitie he could imagine (as well in reſpect of their common anceſtors, as for the loue he bare vnto his mother; towards whom, although ſhe were abſent, he would expreſſe his good affection, in ſhewing himſelfe well affected towards him that was there preſent:) he told him then, that he would giue him the charge of his flocke, and make him maſter ouer all his ſhep-
F heards; and that when he ſhould thinke good to returne backe againe to his friends, he ſhould depart with ſuch rewards and honours as might well beſeeme a friend ſo neerely allyed vnto him as he was. Which when *Iacob* vnderſtood, he anſwered, That he would willingly endure any ſort of labour in *Labans* ſeruice, and that his deuoire towards him would be a delight to himſelfe: but that in lieu of his labours, he required *Rachel* to Wife; who deſerued to be honoured by him with no leſſe Title, for many cauſes; but in eſpeciall, for that ſhe had brought him thither: auowing, that the loue which he bare vnto her, was the cauſe why he vſed thoſe ſpeeches. *Laban* (being

The yeere of the world, 2186. before Chriſts Nativity, 1778.

Geneſ. 29.

Iacob arriueth at Charran in Meſopotamia, among his mothers kindred.

Iacobs talke with Rachel. Rachels excellent beautie.

Iacobs talke with Laban.

The yeere of the world, 2103. before Chriſts Nativitie, 1771.

Iacob, for recompence, requireth Rachel for his Wife.

The yeere of the world, 2103. before Christs Natiuitie, 1771.

(being highly delighted and contented with this his discourse) granted him his consent in the marriage, telling him, that he could not haue wisht for a better sonne in law: and that if he would sojourne a while with him, he would make him Lord of all that his heart desired, especially for that he was no wayes minded to send his daughter among the Chanaanites; and that it repented him, that (by reason of marriage) his sister had beene drawne thither. *Iacob* condescended vpon these conditions, and couenanted to abide with him for the space of seuen yeeres (for he determined to serue his father in law during that terme of yeeres, to the end, that hauing made proofe of his vertue, it might the better appeare what he was.) Now the time which was couenanted betweene them being expired, and *Iacob* expecting the contented possession of his loue which was promised him, *Laban* prepared a nuptiall feast: and when the night drew on, and *Iacob* least suspected, he bringeth his daughter, lesse faire in face, and more elder in yeeres, and layeth her by him; who deceiued with the darkenesse, and for that he had drunke liberally, lay with her: but the day after discouering the deceit, he questioned with *Laban*, and accused him; who asked him pardon, alledging the necessitie which inforced him to doe that which he did. For, he had not brought in *Lea* vnder intent to deceiue him, but that the custome of the countrey compelled him thereunto: yet that the same should no wayes hinder him, but that he should enioy *Rachel*, and receiue, see, and haue vse of her, after seuen yeeres more were fully expired. Herewith *Iacob* grew pacified, and suffered himselfe to be perswaded (in that the loue which he bare vnto *Rachel*, suffered him to doe no otherwayes) and when the other seuen yeeres were expired, he married *Rachel*. Now, both of these had two chamber-maids, which their father had giuen them: *Leas* maide was called *Zelpha*, and *Rachels*, *Bala*; who were no slaues, but onely subjects. *Lea* was touched with great griefe, in that *Iacob* bare greater affection to her sister then to her selfe, bethinking her oftentimes, that if she might haue children, she should be better esteemed and beloued by her husband: for which cause she continually besought Almightie God, that it might please him to giue her issue: whereupon it happened that God gaue her a sonne, and *Iacobs* affection was turned towards her; for which cause shee called him *Ruben*, that is to say, the sonne of Vision, because she had obtained him through the mercie of God.

Iacob, in stead of Rachel, lyeth with Lea.

G H I

The explication and names of Iacobs sons, Gen. 30. Rachel brings in Iacob to Bala.

Lea bringeth in Zelpha.

After him she bare three children; *Simeon*, (whose name signifieth, that God had heard her) *Leui*, (which is as much to say, as the firmenesse of societie) and last of all *Iuda*, (which signifieth thanksgiuing.) At that time *Rachel* fearing lest she should lose the better part of her husbands loue, by reason of the fertilitie and fruitfulnesse of her sister, caused her chamber-maid *Bala* to lye with him; by whom he had a sonne called *Dan*, that is to say, the judgement of God; and after him *Nepthalim*, (which signifieth ingenious; by reason, that she vsed subtiltie to requite her sisters subtilitie.) In like sort, of *Zelpha* he begat *Gad*, (which signifieth aduenturous) and after him *Asar*, (that is to say, good hap bringer) because that *Lea* was more honoured by the multitude of her progenie.

K

The yeere of the world, 2206. before the Natiuitie of Christ. 1758.

Gen. 31.

Ruben, the eldest of all the sonnes of *Lea*, brought his mother Apples of Mandragora; which when *Rachel* had perceiued, she desired her to giue her a part thereof, in that she longed to taste of the same: whereunto *Lea* would yeeld no consent, replying, That she ought to content her selfe, in that she had the prerogatiue in loue, in respect of both their beloued, which was *Iacob*. *Rachel* mollifying the heart of her sister with kind words, said vnto her, That she would be content that *Iacob* should lye with her for that night; which *Iacob* performed for the loue of *Rachel*: and *Lea* once more had children, namely, *Isachar*, (which signifieth, Come by hire) and *Zabulon*, which importeth a pledge of good will; besides whom, she had a daughter also, called *Dina*. Not long after this, *Rachel* lay with *Iacob*, & brought forth a sonne, who was called *Ioseph*; which name signifieth an addition. During all this time (which was for the space of twentie yeeres) *Iacob* had the gouernment of his father in lawes flocks: but afterwards he thought good (accompanied with his wiues) to returne to his owne inheritance: which when his father in law perceiued, he would in no sort giue his consent thereunto; for which cause, he couertly determined to forsake him. To this intent he made triall of his wiues, to see how they were affected towards his flight; who hartned him by their consents: insomuch, as *Rachel* hauing surprized the Images of those gods which were honored in that country, fled away with her sister; who both of them led with them all their children on both sides, their handmaids, with the rest of all their substance. *Iacob* also draue away the moitie of the cattell, without the witting or will of *Laban*. *Rachel* also bare with her the Images of the gods, althogh she had bin taught by *Iacob* to contemne them, and yeeld them no honor: but she supposed, that if *Laban* pursued & ouertook them, in hauing recourse to them, she might obtaine pardon. But *Laban*, a day after the departure of *Iacob* and his wiues, had

L

Iacob, with his wiues, children, & flocks, flye without his fathers priuitie.

Rachel beareth away with her, her fathers household gods.

Laban pursueth Iacob, but God deliuereth him from his purpose.

M

A had notice thereof;and being therewith ſore agrieued,he purſued after them,intending to aſſaile them by force, and on the ſeuenth day hee ouertooke them, vpon a certaine hill where they ſat them downe to take their reſt,in that it was euening:butGod appearing to him in a dreame,gaue him counſell to vſe no violence, neither towards his ſonne in law, nor his daughters;but rather to pacifie his yre towards them,and to liſten to a peaceable accord betwixt himſelfe and *Iacob:* aſſuring him that if in contempt of *Iacobs* weakneſſe he ſhould lift vp his arme to aſſaile him, that he himſelfe would ioyne with *Iacob* to yeeld him ſuccours. *The yeere of the world, 2200. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt.1758.*

The next day, after that *Laban* had receiued this Oracle from the mouth of God,as ſoone as it was day he called *Iacob* vnto him, to the end they might conferre together (hiding nothing from him which the night before he had beheld in his dreame.)As ſoone as *Iacob* was come vn-
B to him vnder ſafe conduct, he began to accuſe him; alledging that he had receiued him into his houſe, at ſuch time as he came vnto him being poore and naked of all meanes: and how he had giuen him great aboundance of goods. I haue (ſaith hee) giuen thee my daughters in marriage, hoping by that meanes to increaſe thy loue towards me more and more; but thou haſt had neither reſpect of thy mother, neither of the acquaintance or parentage betwixt thee and mee, neither of the wiues which thou haſt eſpouſed,neither of thy children whoſe grandfather I am; but haſt dealt with me after an iniurious and hoſtile manner, driuing away that which appertained vnto me,ſeducing my daughters to abandon him that begat them,and carry away my houſhold gods with them,which both I and my predeceſſours haue ſerued and honoured; and euen as much,as men of warre would not haue done vnto their enemies,that haſt thou done vnto me:
C yea thou that art my kinſman, my ſiſters ſonne, the husband of my daughters, my pledge and my familiar ſeruant,haſt dealt thus with me: On the other ſide *Iacob* alleadged for himſelfe,that God had not onely made impreſſion in his heart,but thar all men alſo are wholly addicted to the loue of their countrey;and that after ſo long ſpace of time, it ſeemed good vnto him to viſit his natiue ſoyle. And as concerning that crime (ſaith he) which thou obiecteſt againſt me,as touching the prey,if any other but thy ſelfbe Iudge,thou ſhalt be conuicted to haue dealt vniuſtly with me: for whereas thou oughteſt to haue rewarded me, for the maintenance and increaſe I haue made of thy goods,haſt thou not done vs great wrong to enuie vs a little part and portion thereof? And as concerning thy daughters,know this,that they haue not followed me by reaſon they haue been conueyed away by ſubtiltie,but vnder that loue and duty which married wiues beare
D vnto their husbands: they doe not therefore onely follow me, but they come after their children. Theſe things alleadged he for himſelfe. Further he replyed and accuſed *Laban,* becauſe that being his mothers brother,and hauing giuen his daughters to wife,he had notwithſtanding bitterly vexed him by his ſeuere commandements, vnder which he had beene obedient during the ſpace of twenty yeeres, that the troubles he had endured vnder colour of marriage with *Rachel* had beene cumberſome vnto him; yet notwithſtanding that it was but a trifle in reſpect of that which he ſuffered afterwards; which, had he borne him an enuious affection or hoſtile hatred, he could very well haue eſcaped. In effect *Laban* had dealt moſt maliciouſly with *Iacob.* For ſeeing that God aſſiſted him in all that he enterprized, *Laban* promiſed to giue him all the cattell that were borne white,and ſometime that which was brought forth blacke:and when as
E that which *Iacob* had named and choſen did increaſe, then did not *Laban* performe his promiſe vnto him, but deferred him ouer to the next yeeres increaſe, by reaſon he had alwaies a reſpect of the greater flocke, and promiſed that which he hoped would not come to paſſe, and which if it fell contrary, he was ready to infringe.And as touching the gods,he told him that he might make ſearch for them.

Labans accuſation againſt Iacob.

Iacobs anſwer to Labans obiection.

Iacobs accuſation againſt Laban.

Labans ſubtill dealing with Iacob.

Labans couenant with Iacob. *Gen.* 32.

This condition did *Laban* accept: but *Rachel* vnderſtanding thereof, thruſt the ſaid gods into a ſacke, and made them to be carried on a Camels backe, and ſhee ſat vpon them, ſaying, that ſhe was indiſpoſed, by reaſon at that time ſhee had her naturall purgations. And for this cauſe *Laban* deſiſted from ſearching any further,ſuppoſing his daughter being ſo affected would not conceale or ſet her ſelfe ſo neere things that were ſo ſacred: and he made a couenant with
F *Iacob,* that none of them ſhould call to remembrance the interchangeable vnkindneſſes that had paſt betwixt them,but that he ſhould cheriſh his daughters, all which they bound with an oath. This couenant was made vpon a certaine mountaine, where they reared a pillar in the forme of an Altar: whence it came to paſſe that this pillar was called Galaad, that is to ſay, the hill of witneſſe, from whence the countrey of Galaad had taken his name euen vntill this day: and after that the alliance was made, and that they had banquetted together, *Laban* returned backe againe into his owne countrey.

The yeere of the world, 2206. before Christs Nativitie, 1758.

Iacob ſendeth meſſengers to his brother Eſau.

But as *Iacob* trauelled towards the countrey of Chanaan, he encountred many viſions, which preſaged vnto him good hope and fortunes to come; and he called the place where this thing hapned, The Field of God. And being deſirous to know how his brother *Eſau* was affected towards him, he ſent meſſengers before him to ſound and gather the exact truth thereof, by reaſon he ſtood in feare leſt the memory of his old diſcontent ſhould be renewed: charging his meſſengers to ſignifie vnto *Eſau*, that *Iacob* (deeming it to be a thing inconuenient to liue with his brother, who was diſpleaſed with him) had of his owne free will forſaken the countrey, and that at this preſent he was vpon his returne, thinking that the length of time were ſufficient to procure a reconciliation betweene them. He therefore led with him his wiues and children, with all thoſe riches which God had giuen him; offering himſelfe vnto *Eſau* with all that of moſt eſteeme which he had, by reaſon that he thought it the greateſt benefit that might happen to him, to impart vnto his brother a part of thoſe commodities, which he had receiued at Gods hands. All which they ſignified vnto *Eſau*, who reioyced very much thereat, and went foorth to meete his brother, accompanied with foure hundred armed men. But *Iacob* hearing that he marched forward to meete him, attended by ſo many men at armes, was very much afraid: yet fixing his confidence in God, he prouided for the time, leſt any detriment ſhould happen vnto him, ſtudying euery way to defend both him, and his, from inuaſion. Whereupon diuiding his troupes, he cauſed ſome to march before, and the reſt to follow ſpeedily after: ſo that if any did aſſault the firſt, they might retire themſelues to the troupe that followed.

Geneſ. 38.

Iacob reconcileth his brother with rewards.

After this manner hauing ordered all things about him, he ſent certaine with preſents to his brother, namely, with beaſts of charge, and a great number of diuers kinds of foure-footed beaſts, (which for their rareneſſe might worke more content and admiration in thoſe to whom they were preſented.) All theſe marched one after another, to the intent, that being encountred thus in rankes, they might ſeeme to be of greater number then they were: to the end, that if as yet there remained any diſcontent in the heart of *Eſau*, theſe preſents might ſerue to mitigate the ſame. He commanded them alſo that marched formoſt, that they ſhould vſe courteous ſalutation towards *Eſau*. Hauing thus all the day diſpoſed his troupes, as ſoone as the night was come, he cauſed all his companies to march, who paſſed the riuer of Iaboch: but *Iacob*, who was left hindmoſt, was encountred with a viſion, in which hee wraſtled with an apparition, and hee became victor.

Iacob wraſtleth with an Angel, and is called Iſrael.

Now this viſion ſpake vnto him, exhorting him to reioyce at that which had hapned vnto him, aſſuring him that he had not atchieued an eaſie matter, but that he had ſurmounted an Angell of God, which was a ſigne of great good which would befortune him, and that his poſterity ſhould be inuincible, and that neuer man whatſoeuer hee were, ſhould ouercome him: commanding him to call his name *Iſrael*, that is to ſay, according to the Hebrewes, *a reſiſter of an Angell*. Theſe things were foretold vnto *Iacob* vpon his requeſt, who perceiuing alſo that he was an Angel of God, prayed him to informe him of that which ſhould happen vnto him: which the viſion did, and afterwards vaniſhed. *Iacob* tooke great pleaſure thereat, and called the place Phanuel, that is to ſay, the face of God: and for that in wraſtling he had hurt his broad nerue, he afterwards abſtained from eating of the ſame, and by reaſon thereof our nation doe neuer feede thereon.

Iacob ſaluteth his brother Eſau.

Now when he had intelligence that his brother neerely approached him, he commanded his wiues that they ſhould march forward euery one with their handmaidens, to the end that they might from afarre behold the fight of the men, if ſo be that his brother ſhould aſſaile them. But himſelfe he humbled in reuerencing his brother, who drew neere vnto him, without intent of circumuention; and *Eſau* ſaluted him, and enquired of him as touching the companies of women and children; and after he vnderſtood how all went, he was deſirous to lead them to his father.

Gen. 34.

Iacob cõmeth to Scenas.

But *Iacob* excuſed himſelfe, by reaſon of the wearineſſe of his cattell, and *Eſau* retired to Sair where he made his abode, and had impoſed that name on that countrey, by reaſon of his thicke haire. *Iacob* alſo retired himſelfe to a place, which at this day is alſo called the Tents, and from thence into Sichem, a city of the Chanaanites.

The Hiſtory of Dina, Iacobs daughter.

Now at ſuch time as the Sichemites celebrated their feaſt, *Dina* which was *Iacobs* only daughter, went into the city to ſee the brauery of the women of that countrey. But *Sichem* the ſonne of King *Emmor* rauiſhed her, and deflowred her: and being ſurpriſed with her loue, hee beſought his father that he might take her to wife: who liſtening therunto, went vnto *Iacob*, praying him to ioyne *Dina* his daughter, in lawfull marriage, with his ſonne *Sichem*. *Iacob* not daring to contradict him by reaſon of his authority and qualitie; and on the other ſide, not thinking it to be

A be eyther a thing lawfull, or conuenient, to match his daughter with a ſtranger, required at his hands a time of deliberation to conſult thereupon. Hereon the King departed, hoping that *Iacob* would liſten to the marriage. But *Iacob* hauing diſcouered vnto his ſonnes the rauiſhment of their ſiſter, and the requeſt of *Emmor*, deſired them to deliberate amongſt themſelues, what thing was to be done in the matter: whereupon ſome held their peace, not knowing what to ſay; but *Simeon* and *Leui* (the brothers of the ſame Wombe, with their ſiſter) complotted together this practice: In as much as it was a feſtiuall, and that the Sichemites intended nought but pleaſure, and banquetting, they iſſued by night vpon their firſt guards, and killed them that were a bed; and from thence entring into the Citie, they killed all the males (and with them, the King and his ſonne) but to the women they offered no violence. Which being executed without the know-
B ledge of their father, they brought their ſiſter backe againe. *Iacob* was very much aſtoniſhed at this accident, ſo ſtrangely executed, and was wroth with his children: but God appeared vnto him, and comforted him, and commanded him, that he ſhould purifie his Tents, and accompliſh thoſe ſacrifices which he had vowed to performe, at ſuch time when firſt he went into Meſopotamia, and the Viſion appeared vnto him. Whileſt then he cleanſed thoſe which followed him, he found the gods of *Laban*, which (beſide his knowledge) *Rachel* had ſtolne, and hid them in Sichem, in the earth, vnder an Oake.

The yeere of the world, 2206. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt. 1758.

Simeon and Leui kill the Sichemites. *Gen.* 35.

Iacob digging vp Labans gods, goeth and ſacrificeth at Bethel.

Afterwards departing from thence, he ſacrificed in Bethel, where he had ſeene the Viſion, at ſuch time as he firſt of all tooke his journey into Meſopotamia: and as he trauailed in the Land of Ephrata, *Rachel* died in child-bed, and was buried there: (and ſhe onely hath not enjoyed the
C honour, which is done in Hebron to thoſe of her parentage.) After he had made great lamentation, he named the child which ſhe bare at that time, *Beniamin*, (by reaſon of the dolours which happened vnto his mother.) Theſe are all the children of *Iacob*, twelue males, and one daughter; of whom, eight were begotten on his lawfull Wiues; ſixe of *Lea*, and two of *Rachel*; and on their chamber-maids, foure; two, of each of them; whoſe names I haue heretofore recorded. From thence went *Iacob* to Hebron, a Citie of Chanaan, where *Iſaac* made his abode; and they liued but a ſmall time together, becauſe *Rachel* was dead, and departed from him.

Rachel dyeth in Child-bed. Hedio and Ruffinus, chap. 28.

CHAP. XX.

D

ISAAC *dieth, and is buried in Hebron.*

ISAAC died a little time after the arriuall of his ſonne, and was buried with his Wife, by his ſonne, in Hebron, among their fathers. This *Iſaac* was a man beloued of God, and guided by his eſpeciall prouidence. After the deceaſe of *Abraham*, he liued a long time: and after he had paſſed his life in all vertue for the ſpace of 185. yeeres, he deceaſed.

The yeer of the world, 2230. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1734.

Iſaac dyeth, 185. yeeres old. *Geneſ.* 35.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF
E
THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES: WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the ſecond Booke.

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2. *How* Ioſeph, *the yongeſt of* Iacobs *ſonnes, by reaſon of his Dreames, which fore-told his future felicitie, incurred his brothers enuie.*
F 3. *How* Ioſeph *was ſold by his brethren into Egypt, and grew in great authoritie in that countrey: and how at length he had his brothers vnder his power.*
4. *How* Iacob, *with all his progenie, came vnto his ſonne.*
5. *Of the affliction of the Hebrewes in Egypt, for the ſpace of* 400. *yeeres.*
6. *How, vnder the conduct of* Moſes, *they forſooke Egypt.*
7. *How the red Sea diuided it ſelfe, and gaue the Hebrewes a paſſage, at ſuch time as they fled out of Egypt.*

CHAP. I.

How ESAV *and* IACOB, ISAACS *ſonnes, diuided their inhabitance: and how Idumæa fell to* ESAVS *lot, and Chanaan to* IACOBS.

The yeere of the world, 2230. before Chriſts Natiuity, 1734.

BVT when *Iſaac* was dead, the ſonnes diuided their habitations among themſelues, and were neither of them content with that which they inherited by their father: but *Eſau* leauing the Citie of Hebron to his brother, went and dwelt in Seir, and was Lord of the countrey of Idumæa; which he named by his name (for it was ſurnamed Edom) for the occaſion which followeth. He being very young, returned one day ſore wearied, trauailed, and hungry, from hunting: and finding his brother dreſſing for himſelfe a Meſſe of Lentill Pottage, which were very red in colour, and further encreaſed and incenſed his appetite; he required them at his hands, that he might eate them. But he taking the opportunitie and occaſion of his brother *Eſau's* hunger, conſtrained him to forſake his birth-right, and to ſell him the ſame, on condition, he ſhould giue him what to eate. *Eſau* then tranſported with famine, ſurrendred vnto him his birth-right, and confirmed it with a ſolemne oath. And thereupon, his equals in age, in way of mockerie, called him *Edom*, by reaſon of his red meat; for *Edom* in Hebrew, ſignifieth Red. His countrey likewiſe was called Edom. But the Greekes, to the end they might make the name more currant, called it Idumæa. He became the father of fiue children: of whom, he had three by his Wife *Alibamma*, whoſe names were *Iaus*, *Iolamus*, and *Choræus*: as touching the other two, *Aliphaces* was the ſonne of *Aza*; and *Raguel*, of *Moſametha*: theſe children had *Eſau*. *Aliphaces* had fiue legitimate children, *Theman*, *Omar*, *Ophus*, *Iotham*, *Ocauaxes*, (for *Amelech* was illegitimate, borne by one of his Concubines, whoſe name was *Themana.*) Theſe dwelled in that part of Idumæa, which is called Gobolitus; and in that part, which by reaſon of *Amelech*, is called Amalechitis. For, Idumæa being in times paſt a Land of great extent, continued the name of Idumæa thorow the whole countrey: and the particular Prouinces of the ſame, kept the names of thoſe that firſt inhabited the ſame.

Iſaacs ſonnes departed their habitations.

Eſau, the firſt begotten, ſelleth his birth-right.

Eſau called Edom. *Geneſ. 36.*

Eſaus ſonnes and poſterity.

CHAP. II.

IOSEPH, *the youngeſt of* IACOBS *children, is enuied by his brothers.*

The yeere of the world, 2106. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1658.

BVT *Iacob* attained to that felicitie, that ſcarcely any other had beene ſo happy; for he ſurpaſſed all the inhabitants of that countrey in riches: and by reaſon of the vertues of his children, he was both enuied and regarded. For, they were accompliſhed in all perfections, animated and endowed with ſtout hearts, prepared to execute any worke of the hand, and to endure all ſorts of trauaile: finally, all of them were furniſhed with knowledge and prouidence. But God had ſuch care of him, and ſo diligently procured and furthered his good fortunes, that that which ſeemed vnto him to be griefefull and contrary, he brought to an iſſue proſperous for him, and encreaſefull for his riches; and brought to paſſe, that both he and his children were the firſt motiue to our anceſtors to forſake the Land of Ægypt, for that cauſe which here enſueth. *Iacob* hauing begotten *Ioſeph* of *Rachel*, loued him entirely, both in reſpect of the beautie of his body, as alſo of the ornaments and vertues of his ſpirit: and beſides both theſe, his prudence, wherein he out-ſtripped all his other brothers. This cordiall affection of his father, moued enuie and hatred amongſt his brothers towards him. And beſides theſe, the Dreames which he had ſeene, and told both to his father and brethren; which fore-prophecied vnto him a ſingular felicitie. For, it is the common cuſtome of men to be jealous of their proſperitie, with whom they are familiar.

Gen. 37. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 2.

Iacobs ſonnes hated their brother Ioſeph.

Now the Viſions which *Ioſeph* ſaw in his Dreame, were theſe. Being ſent by his father, in the companie of his brothers, to reape Corne in the time of Harueſt, he ſaw a Viſion (farre different from thoſe which accuſtomably happen in ſleepe) which (as ſoone as he awoke) he told vnto his brethren, to the end they ſhould interpret it. He told them therefore, that he thought in his Dreame the night paſt, that his ſheafe of Corne was ſettled in a place where he had fixed it, and that theirs ranne towards his, and worſhipped the ſame. Which Viſion of his, ſeemed to foretell him of his ample fortune; and how he ſhould obtaine the Lordſhip ouer all of them. But they concealed all theſe things from *Ioſeph*; making ſhew, that they could in no ſort interpret the Dreame: but being by themſelues apart, they breathed forth contrarie imprecations; wiſhing, that

Ioſephs Dreame.

A that nothing of that which they interpreted, as touching his Dreame, might take effect, but perſeuering more and more in enuie and hatred towards him. But God (oppoſing his power againſt their enuie) ſent *Ioſeph* a ſecond and more ſtrange Viſion: for he dreamed, that the Sunne, the Moone, and eleuen of the ſtarres deſcended downe to the earth, and humbled themſelues before him. Which Viſion he reuealed to his father, in the preſence of his brethren, (without ſuſpition of any hatred in them towards him) and beſought him to interpret vnto him the meaning thereof. Now as touching *Iacob*, he greatly rejoyced at this Dreame, by reaſon he conceiued in his mind the interpretation thereof, and (in comparing and alluding his conjectures not raſhly, but with prudence) he rejoyced at thoſe great matters which were ſignified by that Dreame: which fore-told, that his ſonne *Ioſeph* ſhould be highly fortunate, and happy; and that the time ſhould
B come, in which his father, mother, and brethren ſhould honour him, and worſhip before him. For, he compared the Moone (which ripeneth and encreaſeth all things that grow) to his mother; and the Sunne (which giueth forme and force) to his father. And as touching his brothers, who were eleuen in number, he compared them to the eleuen ſtarres, (which receiued their force both from the Sunne and the Moone.) Neither did *Iacob*, without judgement and conſideration, ſo interpret this Viſion. But *Ioſephs* brothers were highly aggrieued at this preſage, conceiuing as hainouſly and hatefully thereof, as if this felicitie had beene portended to a ſtranger, and not to their brother, with whom they might equally partake his good fortunes whatſoeuer, being as well allyed in felicitie vnto him, as in conſanguinitie. Whereupon they reſolued on his death and deſtruction: and hauing complotted theſe counſailes amongſt themſelues, and gathered in
C their Harueſt, they retyred themſelues with their flockes, towards Sichem, (which was a part of that countrey) very fit to nouriſh and feede their cattell; where they kept their flockes, without giuing any notice of their departure to their father. But he perceiuing that no man came from the Heard, that might tell him any tydings, being ſorrowfull and carefull of his ſonnes, he ſent *Ioſeph* to the flockes, to vnderſtand how they did, and how their affaires proſpered.

The yeere of the world, 2206. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt. 1758.

Ioſephs dream of the Sunne, Moone, and ſtarres.

The interpretation of Ioſephs dreame.

Ioſephs brothers complot his death.

Sichem a fit place to graze in.

CHAP. III.

How IOSEPH *was ſold into Egypt by his brethren, and grew in great credit in that countrey: and how his brethren at length were vnder his ſubiection.*

D

BVT ſo ſoone as they ſaw their brother comming towards them, they rejoyced, not as at the arriuall of one of their houſehold friends, ſent vnto them by their father, but as if their enemie had encountred them; who by the will of God was deliuered into their hands. They therfore mutually agreed to put him to death, and not to let ſlip the preſent opportunitie. But *Ruben*, the eldeſt amongſt them, ſeeing their diſpoſition and conſpiracie to kill him, endeuored to diſſwade them; ſetting before their eyes, how haynous and wicked the enterpriſe was, and what hatred they might incurre thereby. For (ſaid he) if before God and before men it be a wicked and deteſtable thing, to lay hands on, and to murther a ſtranger; how much more haynous a crime will it be held for vs, to be conuicted to be the murtherers of our brother? whoſe
E death will heape ſorrow on our fathers head, and draw our mother into great griefe and deſolation, through the loſſe of her ſonne, robbed and bereft from her, beyond the ordinarie courſe of men. For which cauſe, he prayed them to be aduiſed in theſe things; and that they would conſider in their mindes, what thing might happen, if this child, who was faire, vertuous, and yong, ſhould be done to death: praying them to giue ouer this vnnaturall reſolution, and to feare God, who was both the Iudge and Witneſſe of their deliberation intended againſt their brother: and that if they would deſiſt from this haynous act, God would take pleaſure in their repentance and reconcilement: but if they proceeded in their enterpriſe, he aſſured them, that he would puniſh them like fratricides; ſince nothing is hidden from his prouidence, whether it be committed in the Deſart, or attempted in the Citie. For, whereſoeuer men are, there is it alwayes
F to be thought, that God likewiſe is. Further, that when they ſhould haue perpetrated this fact, they ſhould alwayes haue their Conſciences as an armed Aduerſarie againſt them, which neuer would forſake them, whether they were good, or whether ſuch as theirs would be, if they ſhould fortune to murther their brother. Furthermore he alledged, that it was an impious fact to kill a mans owne brother, although he had done him injurie; and much more meritorious, to forgiue a mans friend, that had offended againſt him. Moreouer he ſaid, that *Ioſeph* had done them no wrong, whoſe tender yeeres rather required care and compaſſion at their hands,

Ioſeph commeth vnto his brothers, who reſolue to murther him.

Ruben diſſwadeth his brothers death.

The yeer of the world, 2217. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1747.

The yeere of the world, 2217. before Christs Natiuity, 1747.

then hate and tyrannie. Besides that, the cause of his slaughter would aggrauate their offence, G if it should be knowne, that for enuie of his future felicitie they should take away his life; all which good hap they likewise might participate, by reason of consanguinitie: and that it was their dutie to thinke, that whatsoeuer blessing God imparted to *Ioseph*, was theirs; and that for that cause they were to imagine, that God would be more displeased against them, if they should endeuour to depriue him of his life, whom he had esteemed and adjudged worthy of prosperitie to come. *Ruben* alledging these and many other things, besought them and laboured to diuert them from shedding their brothers bloud. But seeing that all these his motiues could in no sort mollifie them, but that they hastened the rather to commit and perpetrate the murther; he counselled them, that at least-wise they should allot him some milder kinde of death: telling them, that he endeuoured all what in him lay, at the first to dissuade them. But since it was throughly H resolued among them, that he should not liue; that lesse mischiefe should follow of it, if they would be ruled by his counsaile: for by that meanes their will should haue effect, yet a more milde, and lesse hurtfull, in comparison of murther; that it were better for them to temper their hands, and keepe them immaculate, by casting him into the next Pit, and there leauing him in the hands of death. To this counsaile, all of them agreed. So *Ruben* tooke *Ioseph*, and bound him with cords, and let him downe easily into a Pit, which was dric: which done, he departed, to seeke out a more conuenient place for pasture.

Ruben perswadeth them to cast Ioseph into a Pit. Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 3.

Gen. 37. 39.

But when *Ruben* was gone, *Iuda*, one of *Iacobs* sonnes, (espying certaine merchants of Arabia, of the countrey of the Ismaelites, who from the countrey of Galadena carried Spicerie and Syrian merchandise into Ægypt) counselled his brothers to draw vp *Ioseph* out of the Well, and to I sell him to those Arabians: assuring them, by that meanes it would come to passe, that *Ioseph* should die the farther off from them, amongst strangers; and as touching themselues, they should be exempt from that pollution. Which counsell of his being commended by them all, they drew *Ioseph* out of the Pit, and sold him to the Arabians for the summe of twentie siluerlings, at such time as he was seuenteene yeeres of age. Now had *Ruben* resolued in himselfe to saue *Ioseph*, without his brothers priuitie: for which cause comming by night vnto the Pit, he called him with a loud voice; and seeing that he gaue him no answer, he began to conjecture with himselfe, that his brethren had done him to death; he reproued them therefore very bitterly: but after they had told him what was become of him, he gaue ouer his mourning. After these things were thus brought to passe, the brethren consulted among themselues, in what sort they might cleere K themselues from their fathers suspition; and concluded among themselues, to teare the Coat wherewith *Ioseph* was attired at such time as he came vnto them, and which they had taken from him when they cast him into the Well; to the end, that hauing defiled it in the bloud of a Goat, they might afterwards beare it vnto their father, and shew it him, to the end he might suppose, that *Ioseph* was slaine by wilde beasts. Which done, they came vnto the old man (not altogether ignorant of his sonnes misfortunes) and told him, that they had not seene their brother *Ioseph*, neyther could they assure him what mishap had befallen him: but that notwithstanding, they had found his Ierkin, altogether bebloudied and torne; which made them suspect, that he was slaine by some wilde beasts, if so be he were sent vnto them attired in that Coat.

Ioseph is sold by the Arabian merchants.

Ruben by night cõmeth to the Pit.

Iosephs brothers perswade his father, that he is deuoured by wilde beasts.

But *Iacob* (that hitherto expected and hoped for more successefull tidings, in that he supposed L and hoped that *Ioseph* had onely beene captiue) gaue ouer this opinion, and tooke the Coat for a most assured testimonie of his sonnes death; for he knew that he was apparelled therewith, at such time as he sent him to his brothers: for which cause he lamented *Ioseph*, from that time forward, as being dead, and as if he had not any more sonnes. And such was the griefe of his heart, that he conceiued no consolation in the rest, but suffered himselfe to be perswaded by the brothers, that *Ioseph* had beene slaine by sauage beasts. He therefore sat him downe, being clothed in sack-cloth, and charged with sorrow; and neyther could his sonnes, by their counsailes, mitigate his moanes, nor he himselfe remit the rigor of his lamentation.

Iacob bewayleth Ioseph, for dead.

Now *Ioseph* was sold by the merchants, and bought by *Putiphar*, (an Ægyptian Lord, and a Steward of King *Pharaohs* household) who held him in high estimation, and trayned him vp in M all liberall Sciences, suffering him to liue, not after a seruile, but liberall manner, and committing vnto his charge the care of his household; all which fauours he made vse of. Yet was he no wayes diuerted, by these his priuiledges and promotions, from his innated vertue; testifying hereby, that prudence doth not submit to aduerse fortune, if a man vse the same orderly, and not at that time onely when fortune fawneth and flattereth.

Ioseph is sold in Ægypt, to Putiphar.

Putiphars wife soliciteth Ioseph to lye with her.

It fortuned not long after, that his masters Wife was enamoured with him, both in respect of his

his beautie,as alſo of his dexteritie and diligence; ſuppoſing, that if ſhe opened her minde vnto him, ſhe might the more eaſily enjoy him; and that he might eſteeme it a part of his felicitie,to be beloued by his Miſtris. All which ſhe ſuppoſed and imagined, hauing onely regard of that ſeruile condition wherein at that preſent hee was, and not of his manners, which continued alwayes entire,notwithſtanding any change that could happen vnto him. For which cauſe ſhe diſcouered vnto him her deſire,and deſired him to grant her an amorous encounter: but he refuſed her demand, alledging, that it were a moſt wicked requitall of him towards his Maſter, if it ſhould come to paſſe, that he who had bought him,and ſo greatly honoured him,ſhould receiue ſo great an injurie and outrage. For which cauſe, he exhorted her to conquer her appetite, depriuing her of all hope of euer compaſſing her concupiſcence; alledging vnto her,That deſire is then leſſe actiue,when hope is extinguiſhed: auowing,that he had rather ſuffer all the miſchiefes that might be imagined, then to conſent or condiſcend vnto her in that wickedneſſe. And although (ſaid he) it be vndecent for a ſeruant to contradict the will of his Miſtris,yet that the filthineſſe of the fact did diſſwade him from attempting the ſame. But this his repulſe did more and more inflame her,for that ſhe ſuppoſed that *Ioſeph* ſhould not denie her: and her diſordinate affections encreaſing dayly, ſhe deuiſed and complotted a new meanes,in hope to bring her loue to her deſired iſſue.

The yeere of the world, 2217. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1747.

Whereas therefore a ſolemne and publike feaſt was at hand,wherein (according to cuſtome) the Ladies were wont to dignifie the ſolemnitie,by their aſſiſtance; ſhe fained a ſickneſſe,perſwading her husband thereunto, hoping by that meanes ſhe might haue the better opportunitie (in being ſolitary,and alone)to ſollicite *Ioſeph*: which falling out accordingly(as ſhe had her ſelfe deſired) ſhe began to court and compaſſe him by theſe flattering and fawning allurements and perſwaſions: telling him, That he had done well,if(vpon her firſt requeſt)he had obeyed her,without any contradiction,in reſpect of her dignitie who required the ſame,& her incredible paſſion, which had ſo farre commanded her, that notwithſtanding ſhe were his Miſtris,ſhe ſhould indignifie and forget her ſelfe ſo much as to ſollicite him: that now hee ſhould behaue himſelfe more wiſely and better; if in amends of his forepaſſed obſtinacy he now at laſt would conſent. For if he reſpected this her ſecond ſummons, it was farre more affectionate and importunate then the former,for (ſaith ſhee) I haue fained ſickneſſe to this end, to ſollicite and prefer thy company before a publike triumph. Or if at firſt thou didſt miſtruſt mee,thou maiſt hereby conceiue that I doe not maliciouſly tempt thee, in that I yet continue in the ſame affection. For which cauſe either make choice of this preſent pleaſure,and be obſequious to her that loueth thee, vnder hope of further preferments, or be aſſured of my hate and reuenge, if thou preferreſt thy opinion of chaſtitie before my fauour. For be aſſured,that thy chaſtitie ſhall profit thee nothing, if I ſhall accuſe thee to my husband, and auow,that thou haſt ſought to violate me: for although thy allegations be more true, yet ſhall my words be of more force,and my accuſations more acceptable in *Putiphars* eares then thine. But neither by theſe words, nor her teares the witneſſes of her vowes, could *Ioſeph* bee peruerted, neither could remorſe ouer-worke him, nor terrour compell him to forſake his purpoſed chaſtitie, but that hee conſtantly reſiſted againſt thoſe iniuſt afflictions, wherewith ſhee threatned him: chooſing rather to ſuffer any miſery whatſoeuer, then to be priſoned with the poſſeſſion of her offered adulteries, being well aſſured that he was worthy of extreme puniſhment, if on a womans intreaty hee ſhould condiſcend to any ſuch treachery.Hee likewiſe admoniſhed her of her duty, alledging the lawes, rights, and cuſtomes of Matrimony, willing her rather to reſpect them, then her monentany luſt: for that the one was ſpeedily followed with repentance, proceeding ſuddenly of griefe, not amendment of ſinne, with a continuall and great feare likewiſe, leſt the fact ſhould be diſcouered: whereas the company ſhee might haue with her husband,was voide of danger, and attended by a conſcience, as well before God as men. Moreouer, that it was more conuenient for her to gouerne and command him as his Lady and Miſtris, rather then to be ſhamed, in making him the Secretarie of their common ſinne: for that it is more conuenient to be aſſured in the confidence of a good life, then in ſecret to commit ſinne. In theſe and ſuch words ſought he to abate the brunt of her furious affection, and to reuoke her from her depraued fancies,to ſubmit to the law of reaſon: but ſhe, the more inſtantly he diſſwaded, the more earneſtly inuaded him; and where by no meanes ſhe could peruert him by words, ſhe layd violent hands vpon him, to conſtraine him perforce. But *Ioſeph* (vnable to endure any longer the intemperancie of the woman, leauing his Garment behind him,whereby ſhe held him) brake ſuddenly out of the chamber. She,partly impelled by the griefe of repulſe, partly affrighted with feare,leſt her laſciuiouſneſſe ſhould be made knowne to

Putiphars wife complotteth a ſecond ſubtiltie,to allure Ioſeph.

Ioſeph once more repulſeth the aſſaults of her luſt.

Ioſeph leauing his rayment behind him,fled from the adultreſſe.

The yeere of the world, 2217. before Christs Natiuity. 1747

The adulteresse accusation against Ioseph.

to her husband, decreed first of all falsely to accuse *Ioseph*, and by this meanes to take reuenge vpon him; holding it to be a craft worthy a womans wit, to anticipate and first of all to accuse her accuser. She therefore sat her downe sad and perplexed, colouring the griefe of her defrauded lust, vnder the cloake of indignation, for her attempted honor and violated chastitie. Now, when her husband came home, and (being troubled in minde to behold these her agonies) demanded the cause thereof: Liue thou no longer (said she) my husband, except thou rigorously punish that wretched slaue, who attempted to violate thy Bed, forgetting both what he was when he came into thy house, and with how great beneuolence thou hast entertained him; yea, who was to be esteemed more ingrate then ingratitude, except euery way he approoued himselfe faithfull vnto thee: yet hath he not forborne to offer injurie, no, not to thine owne Wife; and that which is more, on a holy day, and in thine absence: whereby it manifestly appeareth, that the moderation which hitherto he pretended, rather proceeded of seruile feare, then natiue modestie. And that which hath the more emboldened him, is, in that (besides all hope, and beyond his merit) thou hast fauoured him: for seeing all thy goods were committed to his trust and dispensation, and perceiuing that he was preferred before all thine ancient seruants, he thought it lawfull likewise for him to attempt and outrage thy Wife. And to procure more credit to her words, she produced his garment, which (as she said) he left behind him, at such time as he sought to violate her. But *Putiphar* intangled by the words and teares of a woman, and attributing too much to his Wiues dissembling loue, omitting the further and faithfull inquisition of the truth, after he had first of all praysed his Wiues faith and loyaltie, he cast *Ioseph*, thus condemned of haynous wickednesse, into the prison of malefactors; esteeming his Wiues chastitie, and commending it the more, in that he was now made a witnesse of her approoued honestie.

Ioseph is cast into prison.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 4. *Gen.* 39.

Iosephs patience in bonds.

The keeper of the prison dealeth friendly with Ioseph.

But *Ioseph* committing his innocencie vnto God, neyther tooke care how to excuse himselfe, neyther to expresse how the matter fell out: but silently suffering the necessitie of his bonds, he was onely comforted with this one hope, namely, that God was more powerfull then they that had imprisoned him; whose prouidence he presently experimented. For the keeper of the prison considering both his faith and diligence in all that wherein he imployed him, as also the dignitie of his forme, loosed him out of bonds, and by that meanes in some sort lessened his miserie; giuing him also an allowance more liberall then the rest of the prisoners had. Now, when they that were in the prison (as often as they had intermission from their labour) conferred together (as men in miserie are wont to doe) and questioned among themselues, of the cause of their damnation; a certaine Butler neere about the King (condemned by him, in displeasure, to be cast into Irons) grew familiar with *Ioseph*: and for that he accounted him to be a prudent and prouident man, he told him his Dreame, praying him, that if any presage might be gathered thereby, that he would expound it vnto him; lamenting his misfortune, who not onely was persecuted by the Kings displeasure, but also when he should take his rest, troubled from Heauen by Dreames. For he said, that in his sleepe he beheld three great clusters of Grapes hanging on three seuerall branches of a Vine, which were all ripe, and readie to be gathered; and that him thought he pressed them into a Cup, which the King held; and that afterwards, hauing strained the Must, he offered it to the King, and that he willingly drank thereof. Now, when he had shewed him his Dreame, he desired him, that if he had any knowledge giuen him from God, he would vouchsafe to interpret his Vision vnto him. *Ioseph* answered him, that he should be of good courage; willing him to expect, that within three dayes he should be deliuered from his bonds, and be admitted againe to the Kings seruice, and restored to his former credit. For he interpreted, that the Vine bringeth forth a fruit very good, and profitable for mans vse; for that by the mediation thereof, faith and friendship is fixed and confirmed amongst them, and discords dissolued: furthermore, that troubles and sorrowes were asswaged by the vse thereof; in stead of which, pleasures succeeded. This said he, as thou tellest me that the King receiued, being pressed out by thy hands. Know therefore, that thou hast a good Dreame offered thee, and that it signifieth thy deliuerance from miserie within three dayes, according to the number of those Clusters which thou gatheredst in thy Dreame. Remember me therefore, I pray thee, as soone as the euent hath approoued this my prediction to be faithfull and vnfained; and when thou art at libertie, forget vs not, that are left here to lye in miserie, who departest to enjoy thy fore-told felicitie: for I am not here thrust into bonds for my wickednesse, but I am punished like a malefactor for my vertue and modestie; in that I rather respected the honour of the house in which I liued, and his credit who committed me to prison, then mine owne pleasure. And thus the Butler, as it became him, rejoyced at the interpretation of his Dreame, and expected the euent. Now a certaine other seruant, who had the command

The Butlers Dreame expounded.

The yeere of the world, 2238. before the Natiuitie of Christ, 1736.

The yeere of the world, 2228. before Christs Natiuitie, 1726.

command of the Kings Bakers, and liuing in the ſame priſon with the Butler, conceiuing ſome hope through *Ioſephs* ſo happy interpretation (for that he likewiſe had ſeene a viſion)deſired him to expound vnto him what interpretation was to bee had of a dreame, which hee had the night paſt, which he expreſſed in theſe words. Me thought (ſaid hee) that I carried three baskets on my head: of which, two were repleniſhed with bread,and the other with fleſh (and diuers other kinds of cates, ſuch as are prepared for Kings.) But the birds of the ayre houering round about me, deuoured all the victuals, being nothing appauled by me, although I droue them from thence. Which ſaid, he expected a preſage no leſſe fortunate then the former.

The yeere of the world, 2228. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt, 1736.

The Bakers dreame.

But *Ioſeph* (after he had coniectured vpon the circumſtances of the dreame, and foretold him that he would rather haue informed him of more ſucceſſefull fortunes, then his dreame did intend:)told him that he had onely two dayes left him, wherein he was to liue. For theſe were deſignated by the two baskets: but by the third, that hee ſhould be hanged and deuoured by the fowles,which he could not driue from him.Neither did it otherwiſe fall out with both of them, then *Ioſeph* had foretold: For vpon the prefixed day, the King (celebrating the feaſt of his natiuitie) commanded that the Baker ſhould be hanged: but as touching the Butler, hee deliuered him from his bonds,and reſtored him to his former office. But God deliuered *Ioſeph*(after he had for the ſpace of two yeeres ſpent his time in the miſerie of the priſon: and was in the meane ſpace no wayes aſſiſted by the vngratefull Butler) by preordinating this meanes and maner of his libertie. Whereas King *Pharaoh* had that night in his ſleepe ſeene two viſions, and had alſo receiued the interpretation thereof, forgetting the one, he onely remembred him of the dreames, which in his opinion had no fortunate ſignification. Whereupon early in the morning (calling before him the learneſt among the Egyptians) hee required the interpretation thereof. Now when hee could in no ſort be ſatisfied by them,the King was the more and more moued: which when the Butler apperceiued, hee remembred him of *Ioſeph*, and of his wiſedome and prudence in theſe ſorts of coniectures; and repairing vnto the King, told him of *Ioſeph* and of his viſion, and the euent thereof, which he had whileſt hee was in priſon, together with *Ioſephs* interpretation; and how the ſame day, the maſter of the Bakers condemned to the gallowes, gaue greater credit to his predictions: how he was kept priſoner as a ſlaue by *Putifar* the maſter of his houſhold, and that he ſaid how amongſt the Hebrewes he was deſcended of good and honorable parents. Command him therefore (ſaid he) to be ſent for, neither deſpiſe the man for his preſent miſerie, for thou maieſt manifeſtly vnderſtand by him, the ſignification of thy dreames. Whereupon the King ſent for him preſently, and friendly taking him by the hand, hee ſpake vnto him after this manner: Good young man, in that I vnderſtand by the report of my ſeruant, that thou art prudent; ſhew me the interpretation of my dreames in ſuch manner as thou diſcoueredſt his vnto him, and thou ſhalt doe me a high pleaſure: but beware thou neither conceale any thing for feare, or ſpeake ought for flatterie, or to feede me with falſhoods, but tell me all things truely, although they ſhall in a ſort breed my diſcontent to heare them. Me ſeemed that I walked by a riuer ſide,and that I ſaw ſeuen well fed & very fat kine,which retyred themſelues from the floud into the paſture: and againe, me thought that ſeuen others came from the paſture to encounter them, who were very leane and vgly to behold, who when they had deuoured the ſeuen others that were fat and great,yet neuer the more increaſed, but were all of them miſerably vexed with hunger. But after this viſion being awaked out of my ſleepe, and troubled in my minde, thinking with my ſelfe, what that viſion might ſignifie, beeing ſeized by little and little by a pleaſant ſlumber, I fell aſleepe once againe. And againe, I ſaw a viſion more prodigious then the former, which doth likewiſe trouble and terrifie me the more. For I ſaw ſeuen eares ſprung out of one roote,that hung downe and bowed their heads, becauſe they were loaden with graine ready to be reapt: after which, there appeared ſeuen other,weake,and languiſhing for want of deaw, who deuouring thoſe other great and full eares, left me highly aſtoniſhed. Hereunto *Ioſeph* anſwered: This dreame(O King)although it hath been ſeene in two figures,yet ſo it is that it importeth one and the ſame accident, which is to enſue. For both thoſe Oxen (which are creatures borne and bred vp for the plough and labour) which you ſaw deuoured by the leaner, and thoſe eares of corne conſumed by the weaker,fore-ſignifie a famine and ſcarcity in Egypt for ſo many yeers, as there were Oxen and eares of corne in good plight: ſo that the fertilitie of theſe good yeeres ſhall be conſumed by the ſterilitie of ſo many other yeeres,according to their number; and there ſhall be ſuch ſcarcity of neceſſary prouiſion, that it ſhall be hard to preuent and ſupply their defects: all which is ſignified by thoſe ſeuen leane kine,who, hauing deuoured the good, could not be ſatisfied by the ſame. All theſe things God foretelleth vnto men, not to the end they ſhould be

Gen. 41.

The expoſition of the Bakers dreame.

Pharao the king of Egypt his dreame.

Ioſeph is deliuered from bonds.

Pharaos dreame of the ſeuen kine.

The yeere of the world, 2231. before Chriſts Natiuity, 1732.

The yeere of the world, 2238. before Chriſts Natiuity. 1726

The interpretation of Pharaos dreame.

The yeere of the world, 2238. before Christs Natiuitie, 1726.

By Ioſephs counſell the ſucceeding ſcarcitie is made more tolerable.

Ioſeph is entitled by Pharao to great honours.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 5.

Ioſeph marrieth a wife in Egypt, on whom he begat Manaſſes and Ephraim.

The famine in Egypt.

Iacob ſendeth his ſonnes into Egypt to buy wheat.

Gen. 42.

Ioſeph ſoundeth his brothers, to the end he might vnderſtand his fathers & Beniamins eſtate.

Rubens anſwer vnto Ioſeph both for himſelfe and his brothers.

be terrified and affrighted; but that being forewarned, they might prouide for themſelues, to the end they might more eaſily preuent the eminent danger. If therefore thou ſhalt lay vp and ſtore the aboundance of the plentifull yeeres, Egypt ſhall not feele the penurie that ſhall follow. And when as the King (admiring at *Ioſephs* prudence and wiſedome) demanded after what maner he might prouide in the time of plenty, how to preuent and redreſſe the future ſterilitie: hee warned and counſelled him, that the Egyptians ſhould vſe parcimony, and that that which remained of thoſe yeers ſuperfluitie, might be reſerued for future neceſſities. He counſelled him alſo to bind the husbandmen, that they ſhould hoard vp their corne in their barnes, and onely to diſtribute to the people as much as was ſufficient, and no more. Hereupon the King (not onely praiſing *Ioſephs* counſell, but alſo his interpretation of his dreames) made him Lord and Commiſſarie of all the ſtore; and commanded him to prouide whatſoeuer hee thought neceſſarie in that behalfe, either of his owne or of the peoples: aſſuring him that he thought no man more neceſſarie to execute this counſell, then himſelfe who was the author thereof. Hauing therefore this authority giuen him by the King to vſe his owne ſignet, and to be cloathed in purple, he was conducted thorow all the countrey vpon a Chariot: and he aſſembled the labourers of corne, and diſtributed to euery one by meaſure, that which they wanted for ſeede corne, and for their nouriſhment, without letting any man vnderſtand for what cauſe he did it.

About this time had hee already attained to thirty yeeres old, beeing held in great honour by the King, and was for his incredible prudence, ſurnamed by him *Pſontom phanechus*, which ſignifieth the diſcouerer of hidden things: he was alſo honoured with a Wife of great dignity: for by the procuration of the King, he tooke to wife a Virgin, daughter to *Putifar* the *Heliopolitan* prieſt, whoſe name was *Aſaneth*, by whom he begat children alſo, before the famine began in Egypt. The elder of whom was called *Manaſſes*, which ſignifieth Obliuion (becauſe attaining better fortune, he grew in obliuion of his former miſery:) but the younger was called *Ephraim* (which ſignifieth Returne, for that he was reſtored to the liberty of his anceſtors.) Now when as according to *Ioſephs* interpretation, the ſeuen yeeres of plenty and affluence were ouerpaſſed in Egypt; the eight yeere of famine beganne to infeſt the land, and for that the euill was vnexpected, the headlong multitude grieuouſly trauelled with hunger and miſery, began to flocke about the Kings gates and garners. Hereon the King called for *Ioſeph*, who preſently diſtributing graine to thoſe that wanted it, became without controuerſie, the father and conſeruer of the comminaltie. Neither did he onely make merchandize with thoſe that inhabited that countrey: but with ſtrangers alſo, deeming that the whole race of mankinde was allied the one with the other; and that it was conuenient, that ſuch as wanted, ſhould be ſuccoured by their meanes who had better fortune. And becauſe the ſame calamitie both oppreſſed Chanaan and other Kingdomes of the world, *Iacob* alſo ſent all his ſonnes into Egypt to fetch corne; (as ſoone as hee vnderſtood that ſtrangers alſo had liberty to traffique in that place) onely with himſelfe he retained *Beniamin*, whom he begat on *Rachel*, and who was brother german vnto *Ioſeph*: who as ſoone as they arriued in Egypt, repaired vnto *Ioſeph*, beſeeching him that they might be permitted to buy corne, (for nothing was done without his expreſſe command) for euen then found each man fit occaſion to honour the King, when they bethought themſelues how to honour *Ioſeph*. Hee taking knowledge of his brothers, who thought on nothing leſſe then of him (by reaſon that in his youth he was ſold away by them, and age had altered the lineaments of his face; and beſides, no one of them might ſuſpect that hee had attained to ſo great dignitie:) determined to trie and tempt them, to the end he might the better gather how they were affected. For he both denied them his licence to buy corne, & commanded them alſo to be apprehended for ſpies, telling them that they were gathered of diuers nations, and that they fained kinred: for how can it be (ſaith he) that a priuate man ſhould bring vp ſo many worthy ſons; which felicitie ſcarcely and very ſeldome is granted vnto Kings? This did he, to the end he might gather ſome intelligence of his father, and in what eſtate hee liued, during the time of his abſence; and what was become of *Beniamin* his brother: for he was ſore afraid, leſt they had offered the ſame hard meaſure to the Lad, which they had inflicted vpon him. But they were ſtrooken with a mighty feare, bethinking them on their imminent perill, ſuppoſing that they had trauelled this long iourney all in vaine: and for that they ſaw their accuſation muſt be anſwered; *Reuben* the eldeſt of them, began after this manner to plead their common cauſe. Neither are we come hither (ſaid he) as ſpies, neither vnder pretence to indamage the King; but dire famine (whoſe furie we ſeeke to preuent) hath compelled vs to come into this countrey, grounding our ſelues on your humanity; who (as we haue heard) haue not onely made offer of ſale of corne, and meanes of ſuſtenance to your citizens: but alſo

vnto

A vnto all ſtrangers. And that we are brothers,and borne of the ſame father,our very countenances teſtifie no leſſe, in that they varie not very much the one from the other. Our father, by name,is *Iacob*; by Nation,an Hebrew: who begat vs,his twelue ſonnes,on foure women: who, while they all were in ſafetie,our affaires were fortunate and proſperous; but one of them being dead,whoſe name was *Ioſeph*, our domeſticall fortunes began to grow to ruine. Our father languiſheth in continuall lamentations,whoſe teares doe no leſſe afflict vs,then in times paſt the vntimely death of our deareſt brother did affect vs. Now are we come to buy Corne,hauing left in our fathers cuſtodie the yongeſt of our brothers,called *Beniamin*. That thus it is,if ſo thou pleaſe to ſend any one vnto our houſe,thou mayſt be aſſured. Thus ſpake *Ruben*, both on his owne and his brothers behalfe, whereby he might exempt from *Ioſeph* his ſiniſter opinion of them: who

The yeer of the world, 2238. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1726.

B knowing that both his father and brother were in health, commanded them to be ſhut in priſon, vnder pretence to call them to further examination,vpon his better leyſure. Some three dayes after (calling them before him) he began thus: Since (ſaith he) you proteſt, that you came not hither into this Kingdome on purpoſe, either to prejudice the King,or worke Treaſons towards the State,and that you pretend your ſelues to be the ſonnes of one father; you ſhall induce me to beleeue, that your allegations be true, if leauing ſome one with me as pledge of your loyalties, (who ſhall be well entertained) you beare hence your deſired Corne vnto your father, and returne againe vnto me, bringing with you your brother,whom (as you ſay) you left behind you: for this ſhall be an Argument, that you faine not. Amazed at theſe words, and ſuppoſing that their extreme calamitie was at hand, they lamented their fortunes; oftentimes expoſtulating a-

Ioſeph commandeth his brothers to priſon.

C mongſt themſelues,that the dire reuenge of their brother,oppreſſed with vndecent tyrannie,was fallen vpon them. Moreouer,*Ruben* reprehended their too late & vnprofitable penitencie,ſaying, That thoſe afflictions which God (the juſt reuenger of innocencie) had inflicted on his impious brothers, were conſtantly to be borne. After this manner ſpake they one vnto another, ſuppoſing that no man was preſent who vnderſtood the Hebrew Tongue: and they all lamented, being inwardly touched with the words of *Ruben*; and condemned their perpetrated wickedneſſe, as if they had not beene the authors of the fact: for which, at that time, they thought that God did moſt juſtly puniſh them. *Ioſeph* beholding them in this perplexitie,vnable to diſſemble any longer his brotherly loue,in that the teares alreadie began to burſt out of his eyes,which at that time he deſired to conceale,he departed from among them.

Ioſephs brothers repent them of that euill they had done vnto him.

D Not long after returning againe vnto them, he retained *Simeon* with him, who in the meane time ſhould remaine as pledge with him, vntill their back returne; and giuing them licence to buy their Corne, he commanded them to depart: giuing withall a ſpeciall commandement to one of his ſeruants,that the mony which they had brought to buy Corne,ſhould ſecretly be ſhut vp into their ſackes, and they permitted to depart; all which his ſeruant performed. But *Iacobs* ſonnes returning into Chanaan,told their father all that which had hapned vnto them in Ægypt, and how they were attached for ſpies,and traitors to that country:and that when they proteſted, that they were brethren,and that the eleuenth was left at home with their father,they would not beleeue them. Moreouer,that *Simeon* was left pledge with the Gouernour, vntill *Beniamin* came thither to giue teſtimony of their truth: whereupon they deſired their Father, without con-

Ioſeph ſendeth away his brothers,and onely retaineth Simeon.

E tradiction or ſiniſter conceit, to ſend their younger brother with them. But *Iacob* was diſpleaſed with that which his ſonnes had done; and whereas hee was not a little grieued that *Simeon* was left behinde,he thought it worſe then death alſo to be depriued of *Beniamin*; and neither could *Ruben* with his prayers (offering his ſonnes for pledges, that if any ſiniſter fortune ſhould fall vpon *Beniamin* by the way,the Grandfather might reuenge him on his children) perſwade *Iacob* to yeeld conſent: but they vncertain what to do,were more and more terrified,in that they found their money incloſed in their ſackes of corne. Now when corne began already to faile them; *Iacob* being compelled by force of famine,determined to ſend *Beniamin* with his other brothers: for it was vnlawfull for them to returne into Ægypt, except they kept their couenant. And whereas neceſſity preſſed them daily more and more, and his ſonnes ceaſed not inſtantly to call

Iacob is ſore grieued for Simeons abſence, and becauſe Beniamin ſhould depart from him. *Gen. 39.*

F vpon him; yet,as yet was he doubtfull and vnreſolued: at laſt *Iuda*, a man vehement by nature, began more liberally to reproue his father, in that he was too carefull of his brother,to whom nothing might happen without the will of God, whether it were abroad or at home: and that without reaſon he had care of his ſonne *Beniamin*, in ſuch ſort as it was not poſſible for them to get aught out of *Pharaos* countrey which was neceſſary for their nouriſhment; that he ought alſo to haue care of the life of *Simeon*, leſt whileſt hee dallied and delayed to ſend *Beniamin* on the journey, *Simeon* in the meane time ſhould be ſlaine by the Ægyptians. Moreouer hee exhorted him

Iacobs ſonnes, but in eſpecial Iuda, vrge their father to ſend Beniamin with them.

The yeere of the world, 2238. before Christs Natiuitie, 1726.

Iacob sendeth his sonnes with presents into Ægypt.

him to commit the care of his sonne vnto God, promising to bring him backe againe in safetie, G
or else to die together with him. Moreouer he said, that certaine gifts gathered from the profits
of Chanaan, as the juice of Mirabolans, Stacte, Terebinth, and Honey, should be sent as presents
vnto *Ioseph*, together with the double price of their Corne. Thus shedding teares on both sides,
they depart from their father, leauing him miserably tormented for the health of his sonnes; and
contrariwise suspecting with themselues, lest through his absence their father should be slaine
with sorrow. In this perplexitie spent they a whole day. At last, the old man remained in his
house wholly afflicted; and they trauelling into Ægypt, did mitigate their present griefe with the
hope of better fortune: where no sooner were they arriued, but they repaired vnto *Ioseph*; being
fore afraid, lest it should be layd to their charge, that vnder colour of fraud and deceit they had
carried away with them the price of their former Corne: which presently, before *Iosephs* stew- H
ard, they carefully excused, saying, That they found the money among their Wheat at such time

Iacobs sonnes arriue in Ægypt, and Simeon is set at libertie.

as they emptied their sacks; which now, in discharge of their truth, they had brought back againe.
But he denying that he euer missed their money, and they being deliuered from this feare, began
to be more secure; so that *Simeon* was suddenly set at libertie, to conuerse among his brethren.
Now, when *Ioseph* was returned from the seruice of the King, they offer him presents: and inqui-
ring of them, how their father did? they answered, that he was in health. Then perceiuing that
Beniamin was yet aliue, whom he saw among them, he asked, whether that were their yonger bro-
ther? and hearing that it was he, he onely vttered these words, That God had the prouidence of
all things; and departed from them, being vnwilling that any of them should see him shed teares,

Ioseph vnknowne to his brethren, saluteth both thē and Beniamin

which he could not any longer containe. Inuiting them afterwards vnto a Banquet, he comman- I
ded them to sit downe in order, according as they were wont to doe when they were with their
father; and whereas he kindly entertained all of them, he honored *Beniamin* with a double share.
After the Banquet, at such time as they were all layd downe to rest, he commanded the steward
to measure out the Wheat which euery one should beare away with him, and to hide the price
thereof againe in their sacks: but in *Beniamins* sacke, he commanded him to put his Cup wherein
he most delighted. Which he therefore did, with intent to make triall of their loues towards

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 6. *Gen.* 44.

Beniamin; and whether they would stick vnto him, being accused of theft; or leauing him behind
as a malefactor, returne vnto their father, as if the matter no wayes touched them. Which being
done according as he had commanded it, early in the morning all *Iacobs* sonnes arose, and taking

Ioseph tempteth Beniamins brothers whether they would assist him.

with them *Simeon*, departed onwards of their journey; rejoycing as well at his restitution, as K
Beniamins returne, whom they both promised and protested to bring back againe to their father;
when behold, suddenly a troupe of horsemen roundly beset them; amongst whom, was that
seruant who had hid the Cup in the sacke. Now they being troubled by this sudden incursion,
and asking them, why they set vpon them whom they so lately had both inuited and entertained
so honourably? The Ægyptians answered and exclaimed against them, calling them wicked
men, who forgetting their late benefits receiued, and *Iosephs* gentlenesse and humanitie, were so
wicked, as to returne him injuries for his courtesies; threatning them, that they should be puni-
shed for their theft: and telling them, that although for a time they had deceiued the Minister
of the Table, yet could they not deceiue God; and againe asking them, whether they were well
in their wits, in supposing that for this offence they should not be incontinently punished? In L
these, or such like speeches, the seruant insulted ouer them. But they, who nothing at all suspe-
cted this subtiltie, accused him, saying, That they wondred at the mans intemperancie, who durst
so rashly accuse them of theft, who did not keepe backe, no, not the price of their Corne, which
they found in their sacks, whereas none but themselues knew aught of that money; so farre were
they from purposely offering any wrong. Yet in that they thought this inquisition would better
satisfie them, then denyall, they bid them search their sacks; offering themselues, each of them,
to suffer punishment, if any one of them were found guiltie of the theft. This search which they
offered, the Ægyptians accepted; yet referred they the punishment, to be inflicted onely on him
who had done the injurie. Afterwards beginning to search, and orderly looking into each mans
sack, at length they came to *Beniamin*; not that they were ignorant the Cup was hid in his sack, M
but that they might seeme to discharge their dutie more cunningly. Now all the rest being
secured in themselues, they onely as yet were carefull of their brother *Beniamin*; they hoped
also, that he would not be found guiltie of falsehood: for which cause, they more freely vp-
braided their persecutors; objecting vnto them, how through their importunitie they had beene
hindered the better part of their journey. Now as they searched *Beniamins* sacke, they found
the Cup: whereupon all the brothers began to mourne & lament, both bewayling their brothers
fortune,

Iacobs sonnes are accused of theft.

A fortune, who was like presently to suffer death for the theft; and their owne mishap, who hauing plighted their faiths vnto their father for *Beniamins* safe returne, were compelled to falsifie the same through this present accident. And thatwhich further increased their griefe, was, that when as they most of all hoped to free from dangers, they were by fortunes enuy thrust into so great calamitie: confessing themselues to be the authors both of their fathers, and this their brothers misfortune; who neuer ceased to importune and compell their father (although he were vnwilling and resisted) to send the child with them. *The yeere of the world, 2238. before the Nativitie of Christ, 1726.*

Now the horsemen hauing laid hands on *Beniamin*, led him vnto *Ioseph*; whom his brothers presently followed. Who beholding his brother thrust into prison, and the rest bemoaning them round about them in mourning habits: Haue you, said he (O most wicked men) either so contemned my humanity, or Gods prouidence, as that you durst attempt and offer such an hainous B iniury against him, who entertained you with hospitality, and dismissed you with benefits? To whom they answered, that they were ready to suffer punishment for *Beniamin*, calling againe to their remembrance *Iosephs* iniuries, saying: that he was happy, who deliuered by death from life was exempt from all calamities; and that (if he liued) God inflicted that plague on them for his sake. They said also, that they were the plague and great misfortune of their father, because that (to his former sorrow, which he had conceiued euen vntil that time, of *Iosephs* death) they had also annexed this new misery: neither did *Ruben* desist to reprehend them in bitter manner of that wickednesse which they had committed. But *Ioseph* told them that he dismissed them all (saying that their innocency was approoued vnto him) and that hee onely would be contented with the C Lads punishment: For (said he) neither is it reasonable that he should be deliuered for the loue of those who had not offended; neither that they should bee punished for him, who had done the theft. He commanded them therefore to depart, and promised them safe conduct on their way. Beniamin is attached for theft.

Whilest all of them were grieuously wounded with these words (so that scarcely one of them could speak for sorrow) *Iuda* (who had perswaded his father to send *Beniamin* with them, & who amongst the rest was a man of confidence) purposed to expose himselfe to all danger, vnder resolution to deliuer his brother from perill: whereupon he addressed himselfe to *Ioseph* and spake thus: Dread Lord (quoth he) wee confesse that we are all ready to suffer punishment (although we haue not all of vs committed the offence, but only the yongest amongst vs) and although we suppose his life to be almost desperate, yet our only hope as yet resteth in your goodnes and cle- D mency. For which cause we beseech you, that you will not onely haue compassion of vs, but of your owne nature, and that in this case you would be pleased to take counsell, not of your iust indignation, but your natiue goodnesse: gouerning your wrath with a great mind, to which vulgar men both in great and small occurrences, are wont to submit. Consider, I pray you, whether it stand with your dignity to kill those, who present thēselues to be punished, & desire in no sort to liue, except it be by the benefit of your mercy. Suffer not your selfe to be depriued of this honour: that after you haue deliuered vs from famine, and liberally furnished vs with corne, so of your mercy likewise you haue permitted vs to returne vnto our family, being trauelled by the same perill, and to bring them home sustenance. For one and the same bounty is it to continue them in life, who are trauelled with famine; and to forgiue them death, who haue merited it by E their offences: to whom their wickednesse hath enuied that bounty which you haue heroically extended towards them. It is one and the same grace imparted by you in diuers maners. For thou shalt saue those whom thou hast fed; & that life which thou wouldest not suffer to faile by force of famine, thou shalt redeliuer and giue againe: whereby thy clemency may be more commendable, whilest both thou giuest life, and those things likewise wherby life is maintained. Moreouer, I thinke that God himselfe hath giuen thee this meanes to expresse thy vertue, that it may appeare that thou settest lighter by the iniuries offered vnto thee, then by thy will to doe good; and that thou art not liberall to them onely, who are poore and innocent. For although it be a great praise to yeeld succour in aduersities; yet is a Prince no lesse honoured by his clemency, especially in a cause that concerneth his particular interest. For if they that remit small offences, F are followed by deserued praise; what is it to restraine a mans ire in a capitall crime? doth it not most neerely approximate the diuine clemencie? And had I not good experience by *Iosephs* death, how grieuously my father digesteth the want of his children, I would not so earnestly intreat for his safety, but so far forth and no otherwise, but as it might redound to the praise of thy clemency; and were there not some to whom our death would bring both griefe & discontent, we were willing all of vs to suffer punishment. But now whereas we haue not so much commiseration of our selues (although as yet we be but young, and haue not much tasted the pleasures, Iudaes Oration vnto Ioseph for Beniamin.

The yeere of the world, 2238. before the Natiuitie of Christ, 1726.

and fruit of this life) as of our wretched Parent, being drowned in yeeres and cares, we offer vp G
vnto thee these our prayers in his name also, and beseech thee to grant vs life, though at this day
wee are vnder thy justice for our offences. Assuredly hee is a good man, and begat vs, that wee
should be like vnto him: worthy is he neuer to taste or be tried by any such calamitie, who now
through our absence, is discruciate with care and sorrow. Now, if so be he should receiue any
» tidings, either of our death, or the cause thereof, he will not endure any more to liue: the infamie
» of our deaths will shorten his dayes, and make his death by this meanes more vnhappy; who, ra-
» ther then he should heare the rumours of our shame, would hasten his death, in supposing them.
» All these well considered, (although thou art justly mooued by this offence) remit the reuenge
» vnto our father, and rather let thy pitie towards him, then our iniquitie towards thee, preuaile
» with thee. Impart this honour to his old age; which if it be depriued of our presence, neyther H
» will, nor can desire to liue: yeeld this respect to thy fathers memorie; yea, ascribe it to the very
» name of a father, wherewith thou art honoured: so God, the Father of all men, will blesse thee
» in that name, and fortunate thee in thy encrease; whom also thou shalt honour, if in respect of
» that common name, thou take compassion of our father, in considering the sorrow that he shall
» endure, if perhaps he shall be depriued of his children. It now lyeth in your power to giue vs
» that, which you may depriue vs of, by that power which God hath giuen you: and in doing vs
» this fauour, you shall imitate the nature of God; and in this respect, become like vnto him. For,
» since it lyeth in your power to doe both the one and the other, it were better thou didst good
Power giuen to saue. then euill; and contenting thy selfe with thy power, not to remember or vrge thy reuenge: but
onely to thinke, that thy power was giuen thee, to keepe and conserue men; and that the more I
» mercie thou extendest towards many, the more honour thou redoublest on thy head. Now it ly-
» eth in thy power, by forgiuing our brothers error, to giue vs all life. For neyther can we be safe,
» except he be saued; neyther may we returne home vnto our father, except he returne: but here
» must we suffer whatsoeuer our brother suffereth. Neyther doe we craue any other mercie at thy
» hand (dread Prince) if we be repulsed in this, but that thou wilt inflict one and the same punish-
» ment on vs, in no other manner, then as if we had beene partakers of the Felony: for this were
» more better for vs, then that we our selues, through sorrow, should offer violence to our owne
» soules. I will not alledge or vrge his youth, or judgement, as yet vnripened; neyther will I in-
» ferre, that pardon is vsually granted vnto such: but here will I make an end, That whether we be
» condemned, in that I haue not sufficiently pleaded his cause, or whether we be absolued, we may K
» wholly ascribe this grace to your fauour and clemencie: to the bounds of whose prayse, this like-
» wise shall be added, That not onely thou hast saued vs; but also, in pardoning vs of the punish-
» ment which we haue justly deserued, hast had more care of vs then we our selues. If therefore it
» be thy pleasure to adjudge him to dye, suffer me to suffer for him, and send him backe vnto our
» father: or if it please thee to retaine him for thy slaue, I am more fit then hee to doe all sorts of
Gen. 40. seruices, as you may perceiue; and am ready to suffer all that which may be inflicted on me. When
Iuda had spoken thus, he humbled himselfe at *Iosephs* feet; endeuouring, as much as in him lay, to
mollifie and appease his ire: in like sort also all the other brothers prostrated themselues, offe-
ring themselues to die for *Beniamin*.

Ioseph maketh himselfe knowne to his brethren. But *Ioseph* conquered with pitie, and vnable any longer to personate a displeased man, sent L
away all those that were present; and being alone with them, discouered himselfe vnto his bro-
thers; and in this sort to them onely he discloséd himselfe, and said: I cannot but commend the
» pietie and loue which you beare vnto your brother, which I find to be greater then I did expect,
» gathering my conjectures from those things which in times past haue hapned vnto me. For to
» this end haue I done all this, that I might make tryall of your brotherly beneuolence: whereof
» since you haue giuen me a notable proofe, I will not ascribe that which you haue done vnto me,
» to your natures, but rather wholly to the will of God; who hath at this present furnished you
» with all things which are profitable for you, and will hereafter giue you greater things, if hee
» withdraw not his fauourable hand from vs. When as therefore I vnderstood of my fathers rather
» desired then hoped health, and found you to be such as I desired you should be towards your M
» brother, I freely forget those injuries which in times past were done vnto me: rather making
» choice to giue you thankes, as the ministers of Gods prouidence, that against this time prouided
» for our common profit, then remember me (as then it seemed vnto me) of your pretensed malice.
» I therefore pray you, that forgetting those things which are past, you will be of courage, and
» waxe confident, suffering willingly the good euent of an ill intent; neyther that blushing at your
» former faults, you should be any wayes amated. Let not therfore the euil sentence which in times

past

A paſt you pronounced againſt me,any waies trouble you,ſince you perceiue it hath wanted effect: but reioyce ye at theſe works of God,and go and tell your father that which you haue ſeen, for feare leſt he being conſumed with immoderate care of you,I my ſelfe be depriued of the chiefeſt fruite of my felicitie, before hee come to my preſence and be made partaker of thoſe benefits. Wherefore depart you, and bringing with you him,your wiues, and children, and all your kindred,come backe vnto me: for it were inconuenient (my deare brethren) that you ſhould not be partakers of my felicity, eſpecially ſince this famine is as yet to continue for the terme of fiue yeeres. This ſaid,*Ioſeph* embraced his brethren: but they were wholly confounded in teares and ſorrow, and the greater was their repentance, in that they had ſinned againſt ſo kinde a brother. After all this, there followed a banquet. And the King vnderſtanding that *Ioſephs* brethren were B arriued, (as if ſome good fortune had befalne him) right heartily reioyced, and he gaue them charriots laden with corne,and gold,and ſiluer, with other preſents to preſent their father with, who enriched with diuers gifts(ſome by their brother vnto his father,other ſome to themſelues, but in eſpeciall to *Beniamin*)they returned home into their countrey. But after that *Iacob* vnderſtood by his ſonnes in what eſtate his ſonne *Ioſeph* was,that he had not only eſcaped from death (which he had ſo long time bewailed)but alſo that he liued in high proſperity, and miniſtred to the King of Ægypt,and had welny the whole gouernment of the kingdome vnder his hands:he eaſily beleeued all things that were told him, and acknowledged the great workes of God, and his goodneſſe ſhewed vnto him, although for a time it ſeemed to be intermitted. And a little time after, he addreſſed himſelfe to goe and viſit his ſonne *Ioſeph*.

The yeere of the world, 2238. before Chriſts Natiuitie,1726.

The King reioyceth to know that Ioſephs brothers were arriued.

Hedio & Ruffinus,ch.7.al 4 Iacob reioyceth to heare the promotions and honours of Ioſeph.

C

CHAP. IIII.

How IACOB *with all his progeny departed vnto his ſonne.*

BVT when hee arriued neere the fountaine of Couenant, hee offered in that place a ſacrifice vnto God; and fearing leſt his children ſhould inhabit Ægypt, by reaſon of the fertility of the place, and that his poſteritie by not returning backe into the land of Chanaan, ſhould leeſe the poſſeſſion of that which God had promiſed them; and furthermore, doubting leſt that his iourney into Ægypt, beeing by him enterprized againſt the will of God, ſhould bee ominous vnto his children; ſuſpecting likewiſe leſt hee ſhould die before hee came D to *Ioſephs* preſence: he was wonderfully perplexed in minde. Whileſt thus he ruminated and examined theſe things in his thought, hee was ſurprized with a heauy ſleepe,during which time God appeared vnto him and called him twice by his name: who asking who it was that called him, God anſwered: Doeſt thou not acknowledge (O *Iacob*)That God, who hath both protected thee and thy anceſtors, and ſuccoured you in all your neceſſities? who contrary to thy fathers purpoſe made thee Lord of his family,and when as by thy ſelfe thou diddeſt trauell into Meſopotamia,I brought to paſſe,that being matched in wedlocke very happily,thou returnedſt into thy countrey backe againe,being bleſſed with many children,and ſtored with much riches. I alſo kept thy progeny in ſafety, and when it ſeemed thou hadſt loſt *Ioſeph*, I raiſed him to that high ſteppe of dignitie wherein now he liueth; and made him the next in perſon to the King of E Ægypt. And now alſo I am come vnto thee vnto this end,that I may guide thee in this thy iourney, and that I may foretell thee that thou ſhalt leaue thy life betwixt the hands of *Ioſeph*, and that thy poſteritie ſhall bee mighty and famous for many ages, and ſhall poſſeſſe that land, the Empire whereof I haue promiſed them. Aſſured and made confident by this dreame, he more willingly haſtened,both he,his ſonnes,with all their progeny into Egypt,whoſe number amounted to the ſumme of 70. Their names, in that they are ſomewhat hard,I had not written downe, except it were to ſatisfie ſome, who contend that we are Egyptians and not Meſopotamians. The ſons of *Iacob* therefore were twelue in number, of whom *Ioſeph* came thither long before them. Now are the reſt to be reckoned vp with euery one of their progenies. *Ruben* had foure ſonnes, *Anoches, Phalles, Eßaron,* and *Charmiſus*. *Simeon* had ſixe, *Iumilus, Iaminus, Puthodus, Ia*F *chenus, Goar, Saar*. *Leui* alſo had three, *Gelſemis, Caathus,* and *Mararis*. *Iuda* had likewiſe three, *Sala, Phares, Zara*; with two ſonnes of *Phares, Eſrom* and *Amyrus*. *Iſſachar* had foure, *Thulas, Phuruas, Iobus,* and *Samaron*. *Zabulon* had three, *Saradus, Elon,* and *Ianel*. And theſe were the children he had by *Lea*,who alſo led with her *Dina* her daughter: the number of whom amounteth to 33. But *Rachel* had two ſonnes, of which the elder who was called *Ioſeph*, had likewiſe two, *Manaſſes* and *Ephraim*. But *Beniamin* had ten, *Boloſſus, Baccharis, Aſabel, Gela, Næmans, Iſes, Aros, Nomphthis, Optatis,* and *Sarodus*. Theſe fourteene added to thoſe aboue named, make vp

The yeere of the world, 2239. before Chriſts Natiuity.1725

Gen. 46. God appeareth to Iacob about the fountaine of couenant.

Iacob with his ſonnes and nephewes depart into Egypt.

Iacobs progeny.

The yeere of the world, 2293. before the Natiuitie of Christ, 1715

the number of fortie seuen. And this was the legitimate issue of *Iacob*. But on *Bala Rachels* hand- G
maid *Dan* and *Nepthalim*, who was attended by foure sonnes, *Eleinus, Gunes, Sares* and *Hellimus*. But *Dan* had onely one son called *Vsis*. Now if those be added to the aboue named, they make vp the number of 54. But *Gad* and *Asser* were borne by *Zelpha Leas* handmaid: of these, *Gad* was attended by seuen sonnes: *Zophonias, Vgis, Sunis, Zabros, Erines, Erodes* and *Ariel*. *Asser* had one daughter and sixe male children, whose names were *Iomnes, Essus, Iebus, Baris, Abarus, Melmiel*. These fifteene being added to the foresaid fifty foure, make vp the number aboue named, together with *Iacob*. But *Ioseph* vnderstanding that his father was at hand (for *Iuda* posted before to giue him notice thereof) he went out to meete him, and incountred him neere to a towne called Heros, who was seazed with such extreme and vnexpected ioy, that he had almost expired; but *Ioseph* recomforted him, being himselfe almost endangered through extreme ioy, yet H
not in such extasie and extremity as his father: afterwards desiring him to march softly onward, he taking with him his fiue brethren, hasted vnto the King, signifying vnto him that his father with all his family were arriu'd. Who no sooner vnderstood therof, but that he ioyfully asked *Ioseph* in what studies he took delight: who answered him that his exercise was keeping of cattell, and that he had no other trade. And this answer made he, to the intent they might not be diuided one from another, but that liuing all together, they might take care of their father: another reason was, lest emulation should happen betwixt them & the Egyptians, if so be they should be conuersant in the same studies; for it was not lawfull for that nation to exercise the shepheards trade. Now when *Iacob* was brought into the kings presence, & after he had done him reuerence, and prayed God for the prosperitie both of him and his Realme; *Pharao* asked him how long he I
had liued; and when he had vnderstood that he was a hundred and thirty yeeres old, he admired at the age of the man; and after he had certified him that his ancestors had liued far longer time, he commanded him and his sonnes to dwell in Heliopolis, where also the Kings shepheards had their pastures. But the famine increased in Egypt, and the euil augmented more and more, by reason that Nilus did not ouerflow the earth, neither extended his armes ouer the same: on the other side God rained not vpon the earth: Moreouer in that the euill was vnsuspected, it was more grieuous especially to the communaltie, who had laid vp nothing, neither did *Ioseph* giue them corne without ready money; which when they began to want, they exchanged their cattell and slaues for corne; but they that had lands, sold a certaine portion thereof vnto the King for their prouision. And when as by this means all these possessions came into the Kings hands; they went K
to inhabit the one heere, the other there, to the end that the King might be more assured of the possession of their land: the sacrificers only were excepted, to whom the lands which they had, remained intire. Finally, this necessity reduced both the bodies and minds of the whole nation into seruitude after such a manner, that they esteemed no labour or meanes vnseemely, that might serue them towards the maintenance of their sustenance. But when the famine ceased, & the earth watered by the ouerflow of the flood, began to gather her former fertility; *Ioseph* visiting euery city of the kingdom, & assembling the multitude in euery one of them, restored them the profits of those lands which they had sold vnto the King, and exhorted them to manure the same in no worse maner then they would do their own, cõmanding them to pay the fift part vnto the king, which was due vnto him by his prerogatiue and kingly right. Who reioycing at this vnexpected L
restitution, earnestly intended and prosecuted their tillage: and by this meanes not onely *Iosephs* authoritie, but also the peoples hearts were not a little tied vnto the King: and the inheritance of the fift part of the profits remained with the Kings that succeeded and all their posteritie.

Iacob almost deceased for ioy.

Ioseph with his fiue brethren resorteth to Pharao.

Gen. 47. Iacob talketh with Pharao, and is appointed to inhabit Heliopolis.

The famine in Egypt.

The yeere of the world, 2245. before Christs Natiuitie, 1719.

A great profit redounded to the King by this famine.

Ioseph commanded them to pay the fift part of their profits to the King.

But *Iacob*, after he had liued seuenteene yeeres in Egypt, ended his life betwixt the hands of his sonnes, hauing first besought God to giue them prosperitie and aboundance, and prophecied that euery one of their posteritie should attaine to the possession of a part of the land of Chanaan, all which not long after came to passe. Besides, praising his sonne *Ioseph*, for that forgetting the iniuries done vnto him, he had bestowed diuers benefits on his brethren, yea and such as well beseemed his benefactors; he commanded his sonnes, that they should admit *Iosephs* sons *Ephraim* and *Manasses* into their number, at such time as they should diuide the land of Chanaan, M
as hereafter it shall be declared. Last of all, he praied them to bury him in Hebron. And he died at such time as he had liued one hundred and fiftie yeeres wanting three, being second to none of his ancestors in pietie, and obtained the reward which he ought iustly to possesse, in that hee was a man adorned with so many vertues. But *Ioseph* by the Kings permission went and transported his fathers bodie into Hebron, and there buried it very magnificently. But his brothers fearing to returne with him, and refusing to follow him, in that they suspected their father being dead

Hedio and Ruffinus, chap. 8.

Iacob died when he was 147. yeers old.

Iacob is buried in Hebron.

A dead, that he would be reuenged on them in that they had not any friend left aliue, vnder whose fauour they might hope for pardon, he commanded them, that laying their suspitions aside, they should suspect no euill: and hauing brought them backe againe with him, hee gaue them great possessions; neither did he euer intermit to entertaine them with brotherly kindnes. But he likewise died, when he had liued one hundreth and ten yeeres; a man endowed with admirable vertue, and prudent in all affaires, and moderate in his gouernment: by which means it came to passe, that neither his forraine birth, neither his calamities wherof we haue spoken, did any waies hinder him, but that he was exalted and continued in high dignitie. The rest of his brothers also, hauing spent their liues in happinesse, died in Ægypt, whose bodies their sons and nephewes transported and buried in Hebron: but *Iosephs* bones were afterwards translated by the Hebrewes
B into Chanaan, at such time as they departed out of Ægypt into Chanaan: for hereunto had he bound them by Oath. But in that I am to declare this, and other actions of this Nation, I will first of all shew the cause why they departed out of Ægypt.

The yeere of the world, 2311. before Christs Natiuitie, 1653.

Ioseph dieth when he was 110. yeers old.

Iosephs bones translated into Chanaan.

CHAP. V.

Of the affliction which the Hebrewes endured in Egypt, for the space of foure hundreth yeeres.

THe Ægyptians are a Nation addicted vnto delicacie, and impatient of labour, subiect onely to their pleasures, and affecting gaine: whence it came to passe, that bearing hatred toward the Hebrewes, and enuying their happines, they were very euilly disposed
C towards them. For seeing the race of the Israelites flourish and to abound in riches, which they got by their labour and industrie, they conceiued an opinion that their aduancement and increase, would be the ouerthrow and decrease of the Ægyptians; so that at length they forgot the benefits which *Ioseph* had done vnto them: and after the Royaltie was transported into another familie, they committed diuers outrages against the Israelites, and complotted against them in what manner they might more grieuously afflict them. For they were inioyned by them to cut Nilus into diuers trenches, and to enuiron their Cities with walles, and to build fortifications and banks, wherby the inundations of the flood might be diuerted. They also vexed our nation in building their high and vaine Pyramides, compelling them to learn diuers artes, and to accustome themselues to endure labour; and in such afflictions led they their liues
D for the space of 400. yeeres, the Ægyptians studying nought else but to tire the Israelites with continuall labour, and our country-men endeuouring themselues alwaies to performe far more, then was expected from them. Liuing thus in this estate, there grew afterwards another occasion, which instigated them the more to seeke the ruine and desolation of our Nation. For one of the sacred secretaries (to whose predictions those kind of people doe very much attribute) foretold the King, that about that time there should be one bred & borne among the Israelites, that in time to come should grieuously afflict the estate of the Ægyptians, and wonderously enhance the good hap of the Israelites; who should surpasse all other in vertue, and purchase to himselfe immortal glory, if so be he should attaine to mans estate. Wherwith the King being greatly terrified, he published an edict by the aduice of this secretary, that whatsoeuer male-child should be
E borne amongst the Israelites, he should be cast into the floud to be drowned: hee commanded likewise the Egyptian Midwiues diligently to obserue the time when the Hebrew womē trauelled with child, carefully to keep and mark their children at such time as they were deliuered. For it was enioyned them that they should be brought to bed by such Midwiues, who by reason of consanguinity with that nation, should not transgresse the Kings commandement. He enacted also a law with a penalty, that if any should be so bold to conceale their children, both they and all their family should be done to death. Great was their calamity, not onely in that respect, because they were depriued of their children, & for that the parents themselues were made the ministers to murther their owne children; but foreseeing also the future time, they were intolerably dismayed, expecting nought else but the certaine and fatall extirpation of their whole nation, by
F reason that when the children were slaine, the parents themselues not long after were assured to die: thus conceited they in themselues into what extreme misfortune they were fallen. But no man whosoeuer, although he cōplot neuer so many stratagems, can resist the will of God. For both the child, of whom the sacred secretary had foreprophecied, was secretly brought vp vndiscouered by the Kings spies, and approoued by the euents of his life, that he was no false Prophet. *Amarames* an Hebrew borne, and a noble man amongst his Nation, fearing both the publike perill, lest the whole nation should be brought to nothing through the want of issue; and his

The Hiſtory of the booke of Exodus. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 9. *Exod.* 1.

The enuie of the Egyptians towards the Hebrewes.

The yeere of the world, 2353. before Christs Natiuity. 1611

The Hebrews insupportable seruitude.

The prophecy as touching Moses.

Pharao commanded that all the male children of the Israelites should be done to death

Exod. 2.

The yeere of the world, 2473 before the Natuitie of Christ, 1491

owne priuate misfortune, whose wife at home was big with childe and ready to lye downe; was troubled in his minde, and vncertaine what to doe. For which cause he made his recourse vnto God, beseeching him that at the length he would haue mercy on those men of whom onely he had beene perpetually honoured; and that it would please him to bring to end the present affliction which threatned the whole nation with vtter ruine and destruction. But God being mooued vnto mercy by his most humble prayer, appeared to him in a dreame, and recomforted him, commanding him to be confident: telling him that hee had in memory the piety of his ancestors, and that he would for euer remunerate them, euen as in times past he had beene gracious to their forefathers. For it was he that had increased their posterity, and multiplied them to so mighty a nation, that by his fauour, *Abraham* departing alone out of Mesopotamia into Chanaan, besides other felicities, had issue by his wife that was beforetime barren, and left ample possessions to his successors: to *Ismael, Arabia*; to *Chæturas* children *Troglottida*, and to *Isaac Chanaan*. Neither can you euer forget without note of impietie and ingratitude, the attempts also which were happily atchieued in warre by my meanes: but *Iacobs* name also is renowned amongst forraine nations, both in respect of the felicity wherein he liued, and also for that prosperitie which by hereditarie right hapned vnto his posteritie, who taking their originall from 70. men that accompanied their father into Ægypt, are now increased to the number of sixe hundreth thousand: know therefore now also, that I inwardly and heartily affect your publike securitie, and priuately thy glory. For this childe, for feare of whose natiuity, the Ægyptians haue condemned all your children vnto death, shall be borne vnto thee: hee neither shall be discouered by the constituted spies, and after he hath escaped beyond all expectation, shall he bee brought vp, and in his time shall he deliuer the Hebrews from the thraldome of the Ægyptians, and shall obtaine an eternall memory, for this his famous action, not only amongst his owne nation, but also amongst strangers: for this fauour will I extend vnto thee, and on thy posterity that followeth after thee; he shall also haue such a brother, who shall deserue both in himselfe, and in his posteritie to inherit the Priesthood for euer. After these things were declared in a vision vnto *Amram*, he awaked and told it to his wife *Iochabel*, and by reason of the prediction of this dreame, their suspicion and feare the rather increased more and more: for they were not onely pensiue in respect of their childe; but also by reason of the future great good fortune that was promised them. But anon after the woman being brought a bed, gaue credit to the Oracle; who had so easie and gentle a labour, that she beguiled the ouerseers and spies, in that she felt none of those throes which doe commonly afflict such as are in labour: so that she nourished the infant three moneths secretly in her house, without being in any sort discouered. But afterwards *Amram* fearing to be surprized, and sore doubting lest he should incurre the Kings displeasure, if the matter were discouered, whereby both he and the childe should be made away, and Gods promises should be frustrate; he had rather wholly commit the safety of his son to his prouidence; supposing that if the boy were hidden, which notwithstanding would be hard to effect, yet that it would be troublesome vnto him to liue in continuall perill both of his owne and his sonnes safety: moreouer, he thought that God would puruey some meanes of assurance, to the intent that nothing of that which he had foretold might be prooued false. Grounding himselfe on this resolution, they prepared and made a cradle of sedge, after the manner of a couch, so great as it was sufficient to lay the child in at ease, and hauing pitched it on euery side lest the water should pierce the same, they put the child into it, and suffered him to float along the streame, in committing him to the mercy of God. Whilest in this manner it was borne downe by the steame; *Mariam*, the sister of the young infant, by her mothers command went along the banke on the other side of the riuer, obseruing whither at length the basket would be carried, and where it did arriue. At that time God manifestly declared, that nothing is atchieued by mans wisedome, but that all things are brought to passe by his omnipotent bountie, and that they who for their profit and particular securitie seeke the ruine and destruction of others with neuer so much subtiltie, care, and diligence; yet are they oftentimes deceiued in their expectations: Againe, that they that submit their wils vnto Gods will, are warranted from all wrongs by such meanes as were neuer thought on; which may most manifestly be perceiued by this childe.

Amarames Moses father prayeth God to be mercifull to the Hebrewes.

Moses birth.

Moses cast into the flood.

Thermuthis the Kings daughter walking along the riuer side, espied this basket carried away by the course of the streame, and presently commanded certain swimmers to draw the cradle on drie land, and bring it before her: who executing her command, she opened the basket and beheld the child; who in that he was faire and well featured did greatly delight her. For God so loued and fauoured *Moses*, that he caused him both to be nourished and brought vp by them, who for

Thermuthis Pharaos daughter causeth Moses to be taken out of the riuer.

feare

A feare leſt he ſhould be borne, had decreed to deſtroy all the reſt of the race of the Hebrewes. *Thermuthis* therefore commanded them to fetch her ſome one Nurſe, who might giue the child ſucke: who refuſing the ſame, and all other Nurſes whatſoeuer they were ſent for to ſuckle him; *Mariam*, as if by good fortune, and not of ſet purpoſe, ſhe had light into their companie, began to ſpeake thus vnto *Thermuthis*: In vaine (ſaid ſhe) O Queene, doeſt thou endeuour, whileſt thou ſtriueſt to giue this Babe ſucke by any but an Hebrew Nurſe, for he will not accept it: for if thou call vnto thee a Nurſe of the ſame Nation, and agreeable with his nature, doubtleſſe he will take the Nipple. This ſpeech of hers being both heard, and plauſibly accepted, the Queene commanded her to execute the ſame, and to bring her an Hebrew woman that gaue ſucke: which ſhe diligently performing, returned, and brought her mother with her, whom none of the aſſiſtants B knew; who preſenting her Breſt vnto the child, he willingly tooke the Dugge: ſo, that vpon the Queenes requeſt, the nouriſhment of the child was wholly committed vnto her. And by reaſon of this accident, and for that he was caſt into the riuer, he was called *Moſes*; for the Ægyptians call water, *Mo*; and ſaued, *Yſes*: ſo this name, compoſed of theſe two, was impoſed on this child; who afterwards, without exceptions, became the wiſeſt man among the Hebrewes, according as God had afore prophecied. For he was the ſeuenth after *Abraham*: for he was *Amrams* ſonne, and *Amram* ſonne vnto *Cathus*, and he to *Leui*, and *Leui* to *Iacob*; who tooke the originall from *Iſaac*, the ſonne of *Abraham*. Hee had a judgement riper then became his age: for euen amongſt his childiſh delights, he ſhewed himſelfe more diſcreet then all his equals; and in whatſoeuer he did, it gaue teſtimonie, that at ſuch time as he ſhould attaine to mans eſtate, he would manage C mightie things. When he was but onely three yeeres old, God adorned and endowed him with an admirable audacitie. He was ſo faire and amiable, that there was not any one, how auſtere and inhumane ſoeuer he were, which but in beholding him, would not be aſtoniſhed. And it chanced alſo, that diuers, who encountred him as he was borne thorow the ſtreetes, turned themſelues about to behold him, and intermitted their other affaires, onely to looke vpon him: for the admirable and innated beautie which was in this Infant, did rauiſh all thoſe that beheld him. Whence it came to paſſe, that *Thermuthis*, in that ſhee had no other iſſue, adopted him for her heire; and conducting him vnto her father, ſhee preſented him before him, ſaying, That ſhee was carefull of a ſucceſſor, by reaſon God had not vouchſafed him to haue any iſſue. For (ſayth ſhe) I haue brought vp this Infant, no leſſe excellent in wit, then diuine in beautie, and haue receiued D him miraculouſly, by the bountie and grace of Nilus, whom I haue decreed to adopt my child, and to eſtabliſh him as ſucceſſor to thee in thy Kingdome. This ſaid, ſhe deliuered the Infant into her fathers armes: who, after he had embraced and hugged him at his breſt (to giue his daughter the more content) he put his Diademe vpon the childs head: but *Moſes* pulling it from his head after a childiſh manner, caſt it on the ground, and ſpurned it with his feete; which act of his was ſuppoſed ominous to the Realme, and dangerous for the King. Whereupon the ſacred Secretarie (who had fore-told, that his natiuitie would be the deſtruction of the Ægyptians) willed them to kill the child, and enforced himſelfe to enact it, crying out with a loud voyce, and ſpeaking vnto the King after this manner: O King, this child, by whoſe death God promiſeth vs ſecuritie, hath alreadie confirmed the preſage, inſulting ouer thy Kingdome, & ſpurning at thy Diademe: E Take from the Ægyptians that feare which they haue conceiued through him, by his death; and from the Hebrewes that hope, which they build on his courage and life. But *Thermuthis* haſtily conueyed and ſnatched him thence, and the King was not ouer-forward to lay hands on him, by reaſon that God diſpenſed all things in that ſort, in that he had a care of *Moſes* preſeruation. He was therefore very carefully brought vp: and in reſpect of him, the Hebrewes in generall were repleniſhed with good hope; but to the Ægyptians, his education both was ſuſpected and grudged at: but by reaſon that if the Lad ſhould haue beene ſlaine, there was not any one, eyther akinne, or adopted, or otherwiſe whatſoeuer, that had regard of the eſtate of the Ægyptians, they abſtained from his ſlaughter. Being therfore thus borne, and after this manner brought vp; at ſuch time as he encreaſed in yeeres, he euidently, by his vertue, made it knowne vnto the Ægyptians, F that he was borne to abaſe their pride, & to exalt the Hebrewes, by this occaſion which enſueth. The Ethiopians, who confine vpon Ægypt, hauing ſpoyled & deſtroyed the country round about them, ſpoyled and made pillage of all the goods of the Ægyptians; who, incenſed againſt them for the wrongs and injuries which they had offered, leuied an Army, intending to reuenge them of that diſgrace which their enemies had offered them: but in the battaile they were all put to flight, ſo that ſome of them were ſlaine; and the reſt ſhamefully flying, returned with ignominie worſe then death, into their owne country. The Ethiopians made proud with this good fortune, inſtantly

The yeere of the world, 2273. before Chriſts Natiuity, 1591.

The yeere of the world, 2376. before Chriſts Natiuity, 1588.

Moſes, whence he receiued his name.

Moſes, the ſeuenth after Abraham.

Moſes the adopted ſonne of Thermuthis, daughter vnto Pharao.

Moſes deliuered from death.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 10. all. 7.

The Ægyptians warre againſt the Ethiopians.

The yeer of the world, 2476. before Christs Nativitie, 1588.

instantly pursued them; and supposing it a cowardly part in them, not to take the benefit of their G
present good fortune, and conceiuing an assured hope of conquering Ægypt, they generally wasted the same: and hauing tasted of the sweetnesse of pillage, without any temper or moderation in their victorie, they were incensed to attempt greater matters. And whereas they perceiued, that hauing wasted all their neighbour Regions, no man durst sally out, to encounter them in Armes, they marched forward toward Memphis, euen vnto the Sea; arriuing neere no Citie that eyther had the heart, or durst make head against them. By which calamities, the Ægyptians being ouer-sore oppressed, they send one to aske counsell of the Oracle, in what manner they might preuent their miseries; and when as an answer was giuen them, That they should chuse an Hebrew to assist them in the warres, the King commanded his daughter to giue them *Moses*; who,

The Ægyptians require Moses to be their Captaine.

together with the Empire, might gouerne the whole Armie. Shee taking an Oath of the King, H
That no injurie or violence should be offered him, deliuered him into his hands; esteeming it to be a great good fortune for *Moses*, that he was called to the succours of her countrey: and contrariwise, shee blamed the Sacrificers, who were not ashamed to demand his aide and assistance, whom they had fore-judged, and adjudged to be slaine as their common enemie. But *Moses* exhorted by *Thermuthis* and the King, willingly tooke the charge vpon him. Whereat the Priests of both Nations were very joyfull: for the Ægyptians hoped, that when by his vertue and valour he had ouercome their enemies, they afterwards might more easily dispatch and murther him, by some Treason and sinister meanes; and the Hebrewes conceiued a hope, that they might depart out of Ægypt, by reason that *Moses* was the Generall of the Army. *Moses* therefore making haste; before such time as the enemies had any notice that he was dislodged, he leuied his I

Moses marcheth against the Ethiopians.

Army, and conducted them, not along the bankes of the riuer, but thorow the maine Land; wherein he made manifest his most admirable prudence. For the journey by Land being very dangerous, by reason of the multitude of Serpents, for the countrey thereabouts breedeth vp all sorts of them, and some of that kind, as the like thereof are not seene in any place else, all different in proprietie, malignitie, and horrible forme; and amongst these likewise there are some winged, and apt to flye, who not only offend those that they encounter on the earth very priuily, but also towre very high in the ayre, who houer about to hurt those that are not aware of them) hee, for the securitie of his Army, and to the end he might march without any inconuenience, inuented this maruailous and admirable stratagem: For he caused two Panyers of Sedge to be made, in forme of Cofers, and filled them with certaine birds which were called *Ibes*, who are mortall K
enemies to Serpents, and before whom the Serpents flee; and sometimes, in flying from them like Harts, they are layd hold of, and swallowed by them. Otherwise these birds are managed and made tame, and are not harmefull to any but to Serpents: of whom I will now cease to write any further, because the Greekes doe alreadie know what kind of bird it is.

When as therefore he arriued in the countrey of Serpents, he let flye his *Ibes* against the venemous beasts, and made vse of them to encounter the other. And when he had marched in this sort, he attained and surprized the Æthiopians, before they suspected him; and suddenly charging them, he ouercame them in battell, spoyling them of the hope they had to conquer Ægypt: and entring the towns of Æthiopia, he rased them, and made a great slaughter of the inhabitants.

The victorie which Moses and the Ægyptians had against the Ethiopians.

The Ægyptian Army hauing tasted the happie successe that happened vnto them vnder the L
conduct of *Moses*, intermitted not their occasion; especially, for that they saw that the Ethiopians were well-nigh conquered, or rather wholly destroyed: and in the end hauing driuen them euen vnto Saba, the chiefe Citie of Ethiopia, (which *Cambyses* called Meroe, for the loue which he bore vnto his sister, who was so called) they besieged them. The Citie was strong, and very hard to be assayled, by reason of the riuer Nilus, which enuironed it round about: on the other side, the riuers of Astapus and Astaborra did flow in so freshly, as they could neyther breake the course of the water, nor wade ouer the streame: for the Citie is builded in an Iland, enuironed with a strong wall round about; hauing great rampiers betwixt the riuers and the walls built, to resist the inundations of the waters: which are the cause that the Citie may be very hardly taken, although the opposite Army had found meanes to passe the water. Now, when *Moses* was very M
sore grieued that his Army profited nothing, by reason that the enemies durst not encounter them in open field; behold what a chance happened: *Tharbis*, the daughter of the King of Ethiopia, beholding *Moses* at such time as he approched with his Army neere vnto the walls of the Citie, and seeing how valiantly he fought and behaued himselfe, and wondering at the exploits and enterprises which he made, (which was the cause that the Ægyptians, almost despairing of their estates and liberty, were growne so forward) and how the Ethiopians, not long before esteemed

Saba, their chiefe Citie, besieged.

Tharbis, the King of Ethiops daughter, requireth loue and marriage at Moses hands.

A med the conquerers, and happie in their warlike exploits and fortunate executions, were in the greateſt extremitie of danger) ſhe was ſurprized with his loue: and for that this paſſion augmented more and more in her, ſhe ſent vnto him ſeuen of her moſt faithfull and houſehold ſeruants, to offer him her loue,and entreat with him of marriage. The which he accepted,vnder that condition, that ſhee ſhould deliuer the Citie into his hands; promiſing her, vnder a ſolemne Oath, That at ſuch time as he were Maſter thereof, he would take her to Wife, without falſifying or breach of his promiſe.The matter was no ſooner motioned,but the effect followed. So,that hauing ſurprized and conquered the Ethiopians, and after he had giuen thankes vnto God,*Moſes* accompliſhed the marriage,and ſent the Ægyptians backe againe into their countrey.Who conceiued an occaſion of hatred againſt *Moſes*,becauſe he had beene the cauſe of their ſafetie;and be-
B gan ſeriouſly to conſult and deuiſe amongſt themſelues, how they might betray him; ſuſpecting leſt he,by reaſon of the happie ſucceſſe he had had, ſhould begin to quicken and reuiue ſome alterations in Ægypt. They accuſed him therefore of murther before the King, who alreadie of himſelfe had him in ſuſpition, as well in reſpect of the hatred he bare him for his noble carriage and courage, during ſuch time as he was Generall, as alſo for the feare he had conceiued of the deſtruction of Ægypt, fore-told by his Prieſts, who inceſſantly incited him againſt *Moſes*: ſo that the King was vpon the point to lay hands on him,and murther him.

The yeere of the world, 2376. before Chriſts Nativity, 1588.

The yeere of the world, 2400. before Chriſts Nativity, 1564.

The Ægyptians ſeeke to betray Moſes.

But he hauing intelligence of thoſe his practices,eſcaped and fled ſecretly,flying from his preſence thorow the Deſart, by which the enemies leaſt ſuſpected that he ſhould haue fled: and al-
C though at no place in his journey he found victuals to ſuſtaine him, yet ouercame he his penurie by his patience. And arriuing neere a Citie of the Madians, ſituate vpon the ſhoare of the Red Sea,(that was named by one of *Abraham* and *Chætura's* ſonnes) he ſat him downe neere vnto a fountaine, refreſhing himſelfe, and taking his eaſe, after his laborious journey; for it was about Noone-ſtead,and the Citie alreadie appeared in his ſight. In this place there befell an occaſion vnto him, deriued from the manners and cuſtome of liuing, among the inhabitants of the countrey; by which he both expreſſed his vertue,and found an opportunitie to better his eſtate. For whereas the Region is ſore trauelled with want of water, the ſhepheards had a cuſtome,to ſtriue which of them ſhould firſt poſſeſſe the Pits, for feare leſt the water ſhould be quite conſumed by others,before that they and their cattell had quenched their thirſt. To this fountaine therefore there came ſeuen Virgins,which were ſiſters and daughters of *Raguel* the Prieſt,whom the inha-
D bitants of that place held in great eſtimation,who had the charge to attend their fathers flockes, for that it is the exerciſe wherein the Troglodites are wont to exerciſe their women. Theſe haſted themſelues to draw ſufficient water for their troupes into the Troughes,expreſſely made to receiue the water; and when in the meane time the ſhepheards came and ſurprized them, and droue away the Virgins,to the end they might be maſters of the water: *Moſes* ſuppoſing it a matter vnworthy his honour, to ſuffer this outrage, and to endure, that by violence men ſhould depriue Virgins of their right and intereſt;he droue away the ſhepheards,who would haue enjoyed that which appertained not vnto them, and gaue neceſſarie ſuccours to the diſmayed maydens. Who as ſoone as they were returned into their fathers preſence, told him the outrage that was done them by the ſhepheards,and the ſuccours that they found by the hands of a ſtranger;beſee-
E ching him,that the courteſie which he had ſhewen vnto them,ſhould not be forgotten, but that in ſome ſort he might receiue recompence. The father commending his daughters thankefulneſſe towards their benefactor, commanded them to bring *Moſes* into his preſence, to the end he might remunerate him according as he deſerued. As ſoone as he came into his preſence, *Raguel* told him, how his daughters had giuen him to vnderſtand, how kindly he had aſſiſted them: and hauing his vertue in admiration, he ſaid, that he had not aduentured himſelfe, nor done kindneſſe to thoſe that were without ſenſe of the courteſies that were ſhewed vnto them, but vnto thoſe who were capable to giue him thankes; yea, ſo readie to requite him, that the greatneſſe of their requitall ſhould farre ſurpaſſe the meaſure of his humanitie. He therefore adopted him for his ſonne, and gaue him one of his daughters to Wife, and made him ſuper-
F intendent and maſter of his flockes(in which,in times paſt,the wealth and riches of forraine Nations conſiſted.) *Moſes* hauing obtained this good fortune at *Ietheglæus* hands (for ſuch was *Raguels* ſurname) he abode there with him,and attended his flockes.But not long after he led his cattell to graze neere to the mountaine Sinai, which is the higheſt of all thoſe that are in that quarter,and good for paſturage,by reaſon of the wholſome hearbs that grow therabouts:which notwithſtanding was not fed vpon before that time, becauſe the ſhepheards durſt not frequent thereabouts, by reaſon of their opinion that dwelt in that countrey; who ſaid, that God inhabited

Exod.2.

The yeere of the world, 2413. before Chriſts Nativitie, 1551.

Hedio & Ruffinus,chap.11. all.8.

Moſes flyeth to the Citie of Madian.

Moſes aſſiſteth Raguels daughters againſt the ſhepheards.

Raguel marrieth his daughter to Moſes.

Hedio & Ruffinus,chap.12.

The yeer of the world, 2454. before Christs Natiuitie, 1510.

bited that mountaine. There happened there vnto him a maruellous prodigie, which was, That a flame of fire seemed round about him in a bush, without offensing eyther the greene herbes, or the flowers, or the boughes charged without fruit, although the flame were both great and vehement. He not a little amazed at this vnexpected spectacle, at last grew more and more amazed, when as he heard a Voyce issuing out of the fire, which called him by his name; taxing and accusing him of boldnesse, in that he was not afraid to tread vpon that ground, which hitherto was vnaccessible, and religiously reuerenced, and vnhaunted by men; counselling him, that he should depart a farre off from the flame, and content himselfe with that Vision: for, although that hee were a vertuous man, and descended from great personages, yet that he ought not to be curious, to make further search into the same. The same Voyce also told him, That the honour and glorie which he obtained amongst men, was by the assistance of God; charging him to be of a good courage, and to repaire into Ægypt, for that in that place he should be captaine and guide of the Hebrew Nation, and should deliuer that people which were therein, from the outrage and seruitude which they suffered. For (said the Voyce) they shall inhabit this happie countrey, wherein your father *Abraham* hath dwelt; and they shall enjoy all sorts of blessings, vnder the conduct of thee and thy prudence. Moreouer, it commanded him, That hauing brought the Hebrewes out of Ægypt, hee should offer sacrifice of Thanksgiuing, at such time as hee should arriue againe in that place. And such was the Oracle which he receiued from out of the flame. *Moses* altogether

» rauished at that which he had both heard and seene, spake thus: O Lord, it were madnesse in me,
» and no prudence, if I should distrust thy power, the which I reuerence, and which as I know hath
» beene manifested vnto my predecessors: notwithstanding, I stand in doubt, how I, who am a man
» of no eloquence, and of lesse force, should perswade my brethren, by my words, to forsake the
» countrey wherein they inhabit, to follow mee into that countrey whither I will conduct them.
» And although they should be perswaded to do the same, how can I force *Pharao* to permit them
» to depart from thence, by whose labours and trauailes the Ægyptians are dayly encreased in
» goods and riches? Whereupon God gaue him to vnderstand, that hee should take vpon him a good courage, and promised him, that he himselfe would assist him; and that if he had need of eloquence, he would bestow vpon him the facultie of perswasion; or if he were driuen to act any thing, that he would redouble his forces; commanding, that in confirmation of those promises he had made him, he should let fall his staffe vpon the ground: which hauing done, a Dragon began to creepe vpon the ground, and in turning and rowling himselfe, lifted vp his crest on high; making semblance, to defend himselfe against those that should assayle him: and againe, a little whiles after, became a staffe againe. Afterwards he commanded him to put his hand into his bosome; and no sooner had he obeyed, but that he drew it out altogether white, and in colour resembling chalke: and a little while after, it recouered his ordinarie forme. Moreouer, he further willed him to draw water out of the next Wel, and to powre it on the ground, and he saw it turned into a bloudy colour. Amazed at these accidents, he was commanded to be of good courage, and assured, that he should haue great assistance. Moreouer, that he should vse these signes before all men, to the end (sayth God) that all may beleeue, that being sent by me, thou doest all this according to my commandement. Furthermore I enjoyne thee, That without any further delay, thou haste thee into Ægypt; and that thou trauaile day and night, without leesing time, without delaying any more to succour the poore Hebrewes, grieuously afflicted in Ægypt. *Moses* hauing no cause to distrust that which God had promised him, and being confirmed by these things, whereof he was both an eye-witnesse, and auditor; he required God, that if there were any occasion to expresse the like power in Ægypt, he would vouchsafe to further the effect: beseeching him further, that he would not conceale his Name from him, to whom he had participated the hearing of his voyce, and the sight of his presence; that it might please him therefore to declare vnto him his Name, to the end, that when he should offer sacrifice vnto him, he might call vpon the same. God declared vnto him his Name, which beforetime had beene concealed amongst men, and of which also it is not lawfull for me to speake. *Moses* wrought these signes not only at that time, but also when or wheresoeuer he thought it requisit: by all which he gaue further credit to the fire which had appeared vnto him, & assured himselfe, that God would be his fauorable defender, that he would deliuer his brethren, and intangle and enwrap the Ægyptians in great calamities. And after that he had vnderstood, that *Pharao* King of Ægypt was dead, (during whose life, he fled from thence) he requested *Raguel*, that he would giue him leaue to depart into Ægypt, for the profit of those of his Nation; and taking with him *Sephora*, (who was *Raguels* daughter, and his married Wife) and *Gerson* and *Eleazar*, his children, which he had by her, he departed, to goe

Exod. 3. God appeareth to Moses in the bush.

God conuinceth Moses & the Israelites by miracles, to the end they might put trust in his promises.

Moses Rod is turned into a Serpent.

Moses hand is made white.

Moses powreth water on the earth, and it turneth to blood.

Moses is sent into Ægypt, to deliuer the Israelites.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 13. all. 10.

A goe into Ægypt. Now this name of *Gerſon*, in the Hebrew Tongue, ſignifieth *Forraine*: and *Eleazar* ſignifieth, *fauoured by God*; in memory, that *Moſes* had eſcaped from amongſt the Ægyptians by the aſſiſtance of the God of his fathers. And as he approched neere the mountaines, *Aaron*, his brother, by the commandement of God, came forth to meet him; to whom he declared all that which had happened vnto him in the mountaine, and that which God had giuen him in charge. And as they paſſed onward of their way, the men of greateſt eſtimation amongſt the Hebrewes (hauing intelligence of his comming) came out to meete him; to whom *Moſes* preſented the aboue-named tokens, by reaſon that he could not perſwade them by words: and they being aſtoniſhed at that which they had ſeene him doe, beyond their expectation, waxed confident, and conceiued a good hope of all things, ſeeing that God had a care of their ſafetie. When he perceiued that the Hebrewes were ready to obey him, and that they proteſted to follow him in all that which he ſhould command them, through the earneſt deſire they had to be at liberty: he preſented himſelfe before the King, who had newly vndertaken the gouernment, and ſhewed him the great benefits he had done vnto the Ægyptians, at ſuch time as they were deſpiſed by the Ethiopians, who had ſpoyled all their country; and how he had ſpared no trauell, but ſuſtained all the charge of the warre, as if it had beene waged for his owne proper Nation. On the other ſide, he opened vnto him the dangers which he had injuſtly ſuffered for his recompence. He afterwards diſcourſed vnto him that which had befallen him neere vnto the fountaine of Sinai, & the talke which God had in that place with him, and the ſignes in particular which had beene ſhewed vnto him, in confirmation of thoſe things whereunto he was enjoyned; exhorting the King, not to C miſtruſt or impeach the Ordinance of God. The King hearing this, began to mocke him: but *Moſes* made him ſee, in effect, the ſignes which were ſhewed vnto him neere to the mountaine of Sinai. But the King waxed wroth, and grieuouſly reuiled him; accuſing him, for that in times paſt he fled away, for feare to be ſlaine in Ægypt; and at this preſent returned thither, vnder a ſubtill pretext, cloaking his craft with Magick, and Inchantment, the more to affright him. And at the ſame inſtant he called into his preſence the Prieſts of Ægypt, to let them ſee thoſe ſignes, and to make it manifeſt, that the Ægyptians were exerciſed in thoſe Sciences: and that he onely was not Maſter in thoſe things, the which he boaſted to performe by Gods power, but that they were but deceits and ſhadowes of maruailes, to deceiue the multitude. Whereupon the Prieſts caſt downe their Rods, and they became Serpents. *Moſes* being nothing mooued herewith, ſaid:

D O King, I deſpiſe not the wiſedome of the Ægyptians; but I proteſt, that that which I haue done, " doth ſo farre ſurpaſſe all their Magick and Art, as there is difference betweene diuine & humane " things. I will therefore ſhew you, that that which I doe, is not by Inchantment, nor vnder colour " of apparant veritie, but by the prouidence and power of God. This ſaid, he caſt his Rod vpon the " ground, commanding it to change it ſelfe into a Serpent: whereunto it obeyed, and wandering here and there, it deuoured all the Rods of the Ægyptians, which ſeemed to be Serpents, vntill they were all of them conſumed; and that done, *Moſes* tooke his ſtaffe into his hand againe, and it reaſſumed his priſtine forme. But the King being neuer the more aſtoniſhed, (but the rather incenſed at that which was done) ſaid, that this wiſdome and ſubtiltie of *Moſes* ſhould profit him nothing, which he vſed in diſgrace of the Ægyptians. He commanded therefore the Ouerſeer of

E the Workes, who had the gouernment of the Hebrewes, that he ſhould remit nothing of their labour, but that he ſhould oppreſſe them with more tedious and grieuous Tasks then they were wont to be put vnto: whereupon (where he was wont to allow them ſtraw, to make their Tyle with) he forbare, after that time, to giue them that allowance; and taxing them in the day time to follow their worke, he appointed them by night to find and bring in their ſtraw; doubling thereby the weight of their former labour. Notwithſtanding all this, *Moſes* would neyther deſiſt from his purpoſe, in regard of the Kings threatning, nor the continuall cry of his countreymen, neyther was in any ſort appalled thereat; but with a confident and vnappalled mind (in regard of both) he wholly intended this, to reſtore his countreymen to their deſired libertie. Hee therefore once againe accoſted the King, perſwading him to diſmiſſe the Hebrewes, to the end

F they might repaire vnto the mount Sinai, and ſacrifice vnto God in that place: for no leſſe (ſayth he) hath he commanded, neyther can any reſiſt his will. For which cauſe, he aduiſed the King to endeuour himſelfe (leſt he ſhould ſeeme to contemne his fauours) to grant the people free paſſage; for feare, leſt if hee ſhould ſecretly forbid them the ſame, hee might accuſe and condemne himſelfe to ſuffer that which they in reaſon ought to endure, who reſiſt the will and workes of God. For to thoſe that ſtir vp the wrath of God againſt themſelues, all kind of miſhaps do flock and flow on euery ſide: The Earth befriendeth them not, neyther ſmileth the Ayre vpon them; their

The yeere of the world, 2454. before Chriſts Natiuity, 1510.

Moſes departeth from Madian, to go into Ægypt.

Moſes two ſons, Gerſon and Eleazar.

Moſes entertained by the Hebrewes, ſheweth them his miracles.

Exod. 5. 7.

Moſes perſwadeth the K. of Ægypt to diſmiſſe the Iſraelites.

Moſes ſheweth Pharao his miracles.

Moſes Rod deuoureth the Rods of the Ægyptians.

Pharao enioyneth the Hebrewes to more grieuous Taskes.

Exod. 6.

Moſes once more perſwadeth the King to diſmiſſe the Hebrewes.

The yeere of the world, 2454. before Christs Natiuity, 1510.

their children are not begotten according to nature;but all things oppoſe themſelues as enemies and contraries againſt them. Moreouer he added, that the Ægyptians ſhould feele the plague, after that the people of the Hebrewes ſhould (in deſpight of their reſiſtance) depart out of their countrey. But in that the King deſpiſed theſe words of *Moſes*,and would not be conuerted,moſt grieuous plagues fell vpon the Land of Ægypt. (The which I will particularly ſet downe, by reaſon that at that time the Ægyptians ſuffered thoſe things, which neuer before that time happened to any other people; and for that cauſe likewiſe,that I may teſtifie and declare,that *Moſes* hath not falſified or erred in any thing that he hath done: and beſides,for that it is expedient for men to learne and doe thoſe things which are agreeable to Gods will,for feare leſt he being prouoked and incenſed againſt them,ſhould puniſh them for their vnjuſtice.) For firſt of all,by the commandement of God, the riuers ouerflowed with bloud, neither was it poſſible for them to drinke, (notwithſtanding they had no other fountaine of water) neither was the water onely coloured like bloud,but when as likewiſe any one dranke thereof,it ingendred and procured in him diuers dolors,and grieuous gripings. Such was the water to the Ægyptians,but to the Hebrewes it ſeemed good and ſweet in taſte, without any wayes changing the nature thereof. Hereupon the King (not knowing what to doe,and ſeeing this ſtrange accident, and being afraid,by reaſon of the Ægyptians) permitted the Hebrewes to depart. But no ſooner was this plague ceaſed, but he preſently changed his minde, and would not permit them libertie to depart. For which cauſe,God (ſeeing his ingratitude,and that he would not be warned,notwithſtanding he had deliuered him from the former calamitie) he inflicted another plague vpon the Ægyptians. He therefore ſent an infinite number of Frogs vpon them,that couered and infected the whole countrey; and the riuers were ſo packed and ſtored with them in ſuch manner, that they that drew water to drinke,found it altogether infected with the putrifaction of them,dying and rotting in the waters: ſo that the whole countrey was full of filthy mud, by reaſon of the Frogs that defaced and died on the ſame. They corrupted alſo their meats,mingling themſelues in their houſes amidſt their meat and drinke, and creeping amidſt their chambers; from whence an odious ſtench exhaled, by reaſon of the multitude of Frogs that lay dead. Now, when the Ægyptians ſaw themſelues ſo ſore preſſed with theſe euils, the King commanded *Moſes*, that he ſhould take the Hebrewes,and that he ſhould depart. And as ſoone as he had ſpoken this, the multitude of Frogs vaniſhed,and appeared no more,neither on the earth,nor in the water, but that they retained their accuſtomed nature. No ſooner was the earth deliuered from this Curſe,but *Pharao* forgot the cauſe thereof,and retained the Hebrewes anew: and (as if he had a deſire to experiment the manner of diuers miſeries)he denied them that iſſue which beforetime he had granted them; rather inforced thereunto by his feare,then forward good liking.For this cauſe,God once againe rewarded his fraud, by ſending him another plague: for a multitude of Lice ſwarmed from the bodies of the Ægyptians, whence the wretched men periſhed wretchedly; neyther could they exterminate that race,eyther by bathings or inunctions. The King troubled with this calamitie, and fearing the ruine of his people,and bethinking him of the ſhamefull end thereof,he was conſtrained to remit the better part of his malignitie. For as touching the Hebrewes,he permitted them to depart; but (after the plague was appeaſed) he required at their hands,that they would leaue their wiues and children behind them for pledges, till their returne: and by this meanes he prouoked Gods wrath more heauily againſt him, in that he ſuppoſed to delude his prouidence: as if it had not beene God,who (in the Hebrewes behalfe) had puniſhed them,but *Moſes*, that had plagued the Ægyptians. For God filled their countrey with many and diuers ſorts of beaſts, (the like whereof, before that time, had not beene ſeene in that countrey) which killed them vp, ſo that the earth became deſolate and vnmanured; and if any one amongſt them eſcaped from death,they were afterwards deſtroyed by ſickneſſe. But notwithſtanding all theſe,the King ſtill continued obſtinate in his wickedneſſe,and diſobedient vnto God; permitting onely, that the women and men ſhould depart, and that their children ſhould be left behind them: but God deſiſted not to puniſh his wickedneſſe by diuers and moſt grieuous plagues, farre more tedious then the former, yea,ſuch as were diſperſed ouer all the people.

The firſt plague of the Ægyptians, water turned into bloud. *Exod.7.*

Exod.9. Another plague of frogs.

The third plague, lice.

The fourth plague,venemous beaſts.

The fift plague, the Plague.

The ſixt plague, botches.

The ſeuenth plague,haile.

The eight plague,Graſhoppers.

For their bodies were grieuouſly tormented with Vlcers, and corrupted inwardly; and after this ſort,the greater part of the Ægyptians periſhed.But when as the King was neyther moderated nor mollified by this plague, God rained downe Haile vpon them,(which neuer before that time was engendred in the ayre of Ægypt;and further ſo great,or rather greater then that,which falleth to the Northward,neere to the Pole Artique,in the midſt of the Spring)& ſpoiled all their fruit. After which, an army of Graſhoppers deuoured all thoſe buds and fruits which were vnoffenced

A offenced by the hayle; ſo that all the hope which the Ægyptians had of their harueſt or fruite, was vtterly ouerthrowne. Theſe aforeſaid afflictions had beene ſufficient to perſwade a man of the meaneſt wit (except he had been a reprobate) to grow wiſe, and make vſe of that which was moſt profitable for him. But *Pharao* knowing the cauſes of the ſame, enforced himſelfe to reſiſt God, not onely through imprudence, but for malice; ſo that voluntarily hee betrayed his commonweale. Hee therefore commanded *Moſes*, that hee ſhould leade away the Hebrewes with their wiues; but that they ſhould leaue their ſubſtance behind them for a prey, in that they complained, that after all theſe calamities they had nothing left them. To whom *Moſes* anſwered, that hee demanded an vnlawfull matter, by reaſon that they were to offer ſacrifice vnto God of their prey or bootie. Now while the time was ſpent in theſe conſultations, darkeneſſe altogether deuoyd of light ouerſpred the land of Ægypt, wherethrough they died miſerably in cloſing their eyes, by reaſon of the thickneſſe thereof, ſo that they were afraid leſt the fogge ſhould choake them: which beeing diſperſed, after three dayes, and ſo many nights, *Moſes* ſeeing that *Pharao* would not repent, nor let the people of Iſrael depart, hee came vnto him, and ſpake after this manner: As long as you ſhall reſiſt the ordinance of God (who commandeth you to ſuffer the Hebrewes to depart) there is no meanes, whereby you may be exempted from theſe miſchiefes in doing that which you doe. The King enraged at theſe words, threatned him to cut off his head, if once more hee durſt appeare in his preſence, to motion vnto him any ſuch matter. *Moſes* anſwered him, that hee would no more ſpeake vnto him as touching this matter; but that both himſelfe, and the chiefeſt among the Ægyptians would exhort the He-

C brewes to depart: which ſaide, hee forſooke his preſence. But God intending to expreſſe that he meant yet once more to plague the Ægyptians, and to conſtraine them to deliuer the Hebrewes: he commanded *Moſes* to declare vnto the people, that they ſhould haue their ſacrifice in a readineſſe, and hauing prepared it the thirteenth day of the moneth Zanthicus, to celebrate the ſame the 14. of the ſaid moneth (by the Ægyptians called Pharmuth, and by the Hebrewes Niſan, and Zanthicus by the Macedonians) and that hee ſhould leade foorth all the Hebrewes, bearing with them all their goods. Whereupon hee who had the Hebrewes already in a readineſſe to depart, and had diſtributed them by families, kept them in one place, and in the ſame order: but when the fourteenth day was come, all of them (addreſſed to depart) made ſacrifice, and with the blood of the lambe purged their houſes, beſprinkling them with branches

D of Iſope. And after they had ſupped, they burned the fleſh that remained, as beeing on the point to addreſſe themſelues to depart. Whereupon euen at this day wee retaine the ſaid cuſtome to ſacrifice in like ſort; and do call this ſolemnitie *Paſcha*, wich is as much to ſay, as the paſſage; by reaſon that on that day God leauing and ouerpaſſing the Hebrewes without harme, ſtrooke the Ægyptians with ſicknes: for that plague in the night time cut off all the firſt begotten in Ægypt, ſo that by multitudes they that dwelt round about the palace, aſſembled them in the preſence of the King, and beſought him to let the Hebrewes goe: for which cauſe *Pharao* calling for *Moſes*, gaue order that they ſhould depart the countrey, ſuppoſing that as ſoone as they were gone, Ægypt ſhould no more be afflicted with ſuch like plagues. Moreouer, they honored the Hebrewes with preſents, partly to the end they ſhould depart with the more expedition, partly for the

E neighbourhood and acquaintance ſake, which they had one with another. And as they departed, the Ægyptians wept, and repented them of the euill vſage they had ſhewed vnto them: but they tooke their way towards Latopolis at that time deſart, and in which place afterwards Babylon was builded, at ſuch time as *Cambyſes* deſtroyed Egypt. The third day they came vnto Beelzephon neere vnto the red ſea, and for that they wanted victuals by reaſon of the deſart, they tempered their meale with water, and hardned it with a little heat, and made cakes, with which they ſuſtained themſelues for the ſpace of thirty dayes: for they had not brought any more victuall out of Egypt, but as much as would ſerue them for that time, and that which they had, they diſpenſed very ſparingly, rather feeding for neceſſitie, then eating with ſafety. For which cauſe in memory of that want, wee celebrate a feaſt for the ſpace of eight daies, which we call the feaſt

F of Azymes, that is to ſay, of vnleauened bread. But it is not eaſie to number the multitude of them that diſlodged, if we conſider the women and children; but of thoſe that were of full age, and fit to beare armes, they were in number ſixe hundred thouſand.

The yeere of the world, 2454. before Chriſts Nativity, 1510.

The ninth plague darkneſſe.

Pharao driueth away Moſes. *Exo.* 10. 11, 12. Zanthicus amongſt the Macedons is Aprill, as Suidas teſtifieth.

The Hebrews paſſeouer ſignifieth a paſſage. The tenth plague, the firſt begotten amongſt the Egyptians both men and beaſts die. The Iſraelites depart out of Egypt.

The feaſt of the Azymes. The number of the childrē of Iſrael.

CHAP. VI.

The Hebrewes depart out of Ægypt, vnder the conduct of MOSES.

The yeer of the world, 2454. before Christs Natiuitie, 1510.

THEY therefore forsooke Ægypt the foureteenth day of the moneth *Zanthicus*, foure hundreth and thirtie yeeres after *Abraham* our father came into Chanaan, and in the two hundreth and fifteenth yeere after *Iacob* was transported into Ægypt, the eighteenth yeere of *Moses* age; who had *Aaron* to his brother, three yeeres elder then himselfe. They carried also with them the bones of *Ioseph*, according as he had commanded his sonnes. But the Ægyptians repented themselues, because they had suffered the Hebrewes to depart: the King also was very sore mooued; supposing, that which was fallen vpon them, had happened by *Moses* meanes: and they all concluded to pursue and follow after them. They therefore armed themselues, and furnished them with all their abiliments of warre, intending to pursue them, vnder intent to bring them backe, if they might ouertake them: for they said, that God would no more be displeased against them, for that alreadie they had giuen them leaue to depart. They hoped likewise very easily to bring them vnder subjection, because they were all of them disarmed, and wearied with trauaile. They therefore enquired of euery one which way they held, and hasted themselues to follow them, although they knew the Region was very hard to trauell in; not onely for those that were to march in troupe, but also for those that were to journey one by one. And therefore did *Moses* conduct them this way, to the end, that if the Ægyptians should repent them of their dismission, and should haste them to pursue them, they might receiue the reward of their wickednesse, and the breach of their promise. He chose this way likewise, lest the Palestines should vnderstand of their departure, by reason they were displeased against the Hebrewes, because of an ancient grudge which they bare them. Now doth Palestine confine and border vpon Ægypt; and therefore led he them not by the way that directly leadeth thither, but he intended to bring them into Chanaan, by conducting them farre about, and thorow many calamities; to the end, that afterwards he might lead them to the mountaine of Sinai, where they might offer sacrifice, according to Gods commandement. As soone as the Ægyptians ouertooke the Israelites, they prepared themselues to fight, trusting themselues to the number which they had, and shut themselues into a place of securitie: for with them, there serued sixe hundreth Chariots, with fiftie thousand horsemen, and two hundreth thousand armed footmen. They had also stopped the passages, where-through they thought the Hebrewes might escape, enclosing them betwixt vnaccessible Rockes, and the Sea; on which place there abutteth a Mountaine, vnfrequented by reason of the dangerousnesse of the way; and by this meanes they excluded them from all hope of escape, or flight: For, on the one side they were shut in by the Mountaine, that extended it selfe euen vnto the Sea; and on the other side, by their Campe, pitched and embattelled before their faces, to cut them off from the Champaine, if so be they intended to flye that way. Seeing therefore that they were in no securitie, but were hemmed in by the importunitie of the place, and by reason of their want, could not endure the siege, and for that they could not finde any issue to flye from their enemies; neyther, although they greatly desired to fight, had they meanes to defend themselues, because they were disarmed. Finally, when as they perceiued that there was no hope of safetie left them, but onely by their abiect submission, they began to accuse *Moses*; forgetting those Prodigies, whereby God had fore-promised them their libertie: and so farre forgot they themselues, that after hauing stoned the Prophet, and through incredulitie contemned Gods promises, they were resolued to yeeld themselues subject to their former thraldome. For they were exasperated by the teares of their wiues and children, who expected nothing but death, seeing themselues begirt with Rockes, Seas, and Souldiers, and left destitute of all hope of flight. But although the multitude were exasperated against *Moses*, yet ceased he not to take care of them, and to thinke on God; laying before their eyes that which he had said in times past, as touching their deliuerance, and assuring them, that God would not suffer them to be subjected or ouerthrowne by their enemies; and standing vp in the midst of them, he said: If your affaires had hitherto beene managed by men onely, it were not amisse in you to distrust them, lest hereafter they should not bring them to their determined and your desired issue. But in that at this time you distrust the prouidence of God, this sheweth you to be without sense, or vnderstanding; considering it is he that hath made you see all those things which he hath promised you by me, tending to your saluation and deliuerance; yea, euen at that time when you your selues expected it not: you rather ought to hope, that God will

The time of their departure out of Ægypt. *Exod.* 12. Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 14. all. 11.

The Ægyptians pursue the Hebrewes.

Why Moses conducted them thorow Palestine.

The Israelites are encompassed by the Ægyptian multitudes, and depart to the Red Sea. *Exod.* 14.

The perplexitie of the Israelites, being enclosed by the Ægyptians.

Moses exhorteth the people to put their trust in God.

A will helpe and assist you in these difficulties, who hath brought to passe, that you are now in this staright, to the end that when he shall haue deliuered you from these extremities, from which neither you your selues, nor your enemies suppose that yee may escape, he may shew his force and prouidence in your behalfe: For God is not accustomed to yeeld his fauourable assistance when the dangers are onely easie and supportable, but in those wherein all humane hope is voide and exhausted. Therefore repose your selues, and stay your fortunes vpon such a Helper, who can make great things of small, and maketh the strongest feeble. Feare not the force and power of the Ægyptians; neither, for that you haue the sea and mountaines before you, which permit you not to flie from them, despaire not of your liues: for God (if he please) can turne the mountaines into plaines, and change the sea into dry land.

The yeere of the world, 2454. before Christs Natiuity 1510

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When God is most ready to helpe vs.

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CHAP. VII.

The Hebrewes are pursued by the Egyptians, the sea diuideth it selfe, and giueth passage to the Hebrewes.

THIS said, he conducted the Hebrewes towards the sea, in the sight of the Egyptians. For they were within sight of them, being very much wearied with pursuit and trauell, and made their account that it should be best for them to remit the combate vntill the next day.

But when *Moses* was arriued vpon the banke of the Sea, hee tooke his rodde and called vpon
C God, and implored his aide and succours in these words: O Lord, thou too well knowest that it is impossible for vs by force or mans policie to escape these extremities: but thou art hee only that canst saue this company, who haue forsaken Ægypt, following thy commandement. And since of our selues we haue not any hope or meanes, we onely recommend our selues vnto thy prouidence, assuring our selues, that by that meanes onely wee may be deliuered from the pursuite and hatred of the Ægyptians: Send vs therefore speedily thine assistance, to the end that thy power may be knowne in our weakenesse. Relieue, encourage, and hearten thy people, assuring them of their safety, who through their distrust haue sinned against thee: we are inuironed with difficulties, which notwithstanding thou canst make easie. For, the sea is thine, and this mountaine that encloseth vs; the which shall open, and the Sea also diuide it selfe into
D firme land, if thou commandest them. We may likewise flie thorow the aire, if it please thy power to deliuer vs in that manner. Hauing made his reqneste vnto God after this manner, he strooke the red sea with his rod; which suddenly diuiding it selfe at that stroke, and retyring backwards, left a drie passage thorow the midst thereof, where thorow the Hebrewes might escape. *Moses* seeing how God had made himselfe knowne, and how the sea had forsaken the land, and left his natiue channell; hee first of all marched thorow the same, and commanded the Hebrewes to follow him, marching thorow that way which God had in his diuine power prouided for them, willing them to reioyce at the danger which attended their enemies, and to giue God thankes for the vnexpected succours he had sent them: who were not negligent, but marched boldly forward. At the first the Ægyptians supposed them to be mad, and that they
E did headlong cast themselues into manifest perdition: but when they perceiued that they were forwardly entred without danger, and that they encountred no danger or let, they dislodged, and followed them, as if the sea ought to haue giuen them issue also; and hauing set their horse in the vauntgard, they began to descend, and enter the way of the sea. The Hebrewes perceiuing that they spent the time in arming themselues, hasted them to flie to the opposite shore, where they arriued without any disturbance; which made their enemies more bold, supposing that no euill should happen vnto them. They supposed not that this path was made expressely for the Hebrewes; but entered the same, as if it had beene a common beaten way, forgetting that it was made to saue the Hebrewes from danger, and not themselues, who sought to ruinate them. But as soone as all the Egyptian armie was entred thereinto; the sea returned to his old
F course, and with winds and waues ouerwhelmed the Egyptians. The showres from heauen fell vpon them, vehement thunders rattled from the aire, intermixed with flashings, and the lightenings tempested vpon them. In briefe, there was nothing that through the wrath of God might be inflicted vpon men, which at that time hapned not vnto them. For, besides all that which hath beene spoken, an obscure and darke night surprized them, in such sort as they were all of them drowned, and there remained not one of them to beare backe the tydings of their misfortune: That the Hebrewes could not containe themselues, such ioy they had conceiued through

Moses prayer vnto God.

The red sea diuideth it selfe.

The Hebrews passe thorow the red sea, the Ægyptians are drowned therein.

The yeere of the world, 2454. before Christs Nativity, 1510.

Exod. 15. The Israelites with Moses, sing Songs for their deliuerance.

The Sea of Pamphilia diuided it selfe, for Alexanders souldiers to passe therethorow.

The Winde and Tide driue the Ægyptian Armes into the Hebrews Camp.

this their vnexpected deliuerance, and the totall ruine of their enemies: so that they assuredly perswaded themselues that they were deliuered, by reason, that they who had made them slaues vnto them perforce, were exterminated; and for that they had God so visibly assistant vnto them. When they had escaped this danger, and perceiuing likewise that their enemies were in this sort punished, yea, and after such a manner, as the like punishment hath neuer beene heard of amongst men; they all of them, during the whole Night, sung Hymnes and Songs of Rejoyce. *Moses* likewise composed an Ode in Hexameter Verse, containing the prayses of God, and a thanksgiuing for the fauour he had done vnto them. All these things haue I particularly declared, according as I haue found them written in holy Scriptures. Neyther ought any man to maruaile at this so wonderfull a discourse, that thorow the Sea there should a passage bee found, to saue so many persons in times past, and they rude and simple, whether it were done by the will of God, or that it chanced of it selfe; since not long time agoe, God so thinking it good, the Sea of Pamphilia diuided it selfe, to giue way to *Alexander*, King of Macedons souldiors, hauing no other passage, to destroy the Empire of the Persians. The next day the Ægyptian Armes, transported by the force of the streame, were cast ashore, into the Army of the Hebrewes: which when *Moses* perceiued that it was done by the prouidence of God, to the intent they might not be disarmed, he gathered them together, and furnished the Hebrewes therewith; who afterwards led them to the mountaine of Sinai, to sacrifice vnto God: and he offered him thanksgiuing for their deliuerance, in the behalfe of the people, according as he himselfe had before-time commanded him.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES: WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the third Booke.

1. *How* Moses *conducted the people out of Aegypt to the mountaine of Sinai.*
2. *Of the slaughter of the Amalechites, and their confederates; and of the prey which the Israelites attained thereby.*
3. Raguels *counsell vnto his sonne in law* Moses.
4. Moses *ascending the mountaine of Sinai, bringeth downe the Tables of the ten Commandements, which he had receiued at Gods hands, to the people.*
5. *Of the Tabernacle made by* Moses *in the Desart, resembling a portable Temple.*
6. *Of the Arke wherein* Moses *included the Tables of the Law.*
7. *Of the golden Table and Candlesticke, and of the Altars of the Tabernacle.*
8. *Of the Apparell both of the high Priests and the inferiors.*
9. *Of* Aarons *Priesthood, and of that which was ordained as touching the Feasts and Sacrifices.*
10. *The Lawes of Sacrifices, and Purifications.*
11. *The Lawes and customes of Warre.*
12. *Sedition against* Moses, *by reason of the want of Victuals: and the punishment of the Seditious.*
13. *Of the Spies, who hauing seene and searched the countrey of Chanaan, and the returning backe againe to the Israelites, amated them with feare.*

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

How MOSES *conducted the people out of Aegypt to the mountaine of Sinai.*

The yeere of the world, 2454. before Christs Natiuitie, 1510.

THIS new and vnexpected deliuerance of the Hebrewes from their danger, was not a little obscured by the wearinesse and tediousnesse of their journey, which they endured in their trauaile towards the mountaine of Sinai: by reason that the countrey was desart, and inhabitable, destitute of Victuals, and wholly depriued of Waters; and not onely barren of that which serued for the sustenance of men, but also euery wayes destitute of pasturage and prouision for cattell: for it was not only dry, and vtterly destitute of Water, but also depriued of all meanes to nourish and encrease fruit. Now they were enforced to prosecute their way thorow this countrey, by reason they could not otherwise chuse; so that they were constrained to beare with them the Water which they had drawne before such time as they entred the Desart, according as their Captaine and Conductor had commanded them: which being spent, they digged Pits, out of which they drew Water with great difficultie, by reason of the sterilitie of the countrey: and further, the Water which they found in those places was bitter, and no wayes fit to drinke; and that which was worse, very little in quantitie. Trauelling onwards of their journey after this manner, they arriued about the euening in a certaine place, which by reason the Waters thereabout were brackish, they called *Mara*, that is to say, Bitternesse. There, wearied with their trauaile, and their prouision failing them, they began to be trauailed with necessitie, so that they resolued to stay in that place; and the rather, in that they found a certaine Pit there, which although it were insufficient to satisfie so great an Armie, yet for that they found it in that countrey, it yeelded them no little consolation. For they were giuen to vnderstand, that if they trauailed onwards, they should find no Water; and as touching the Water of that Pit, it was so bitter, and vnfit for their drinking, that it neyther was agreeable with mens taste, nor supportable for their very cattell likewise. Whereupon *Moses* seeing them so discomforted, neither knowing in what sort to satisfie them, in that he had not to deale with an opposite Armie, or Enemie, to the end, to enforce and to repell them with valour; and for that hee manifestly perceiued, that not onely a troupe of valiant men, but also a multitude of women and children were like to perish; he was very sore perplexed, not knowing what to doe; and on himselfe he heaped the calamitie of them all, as if himselfe onely were to beare the heauie burthen of their miserie; for all of them had their recourse vnto him, and to no man else: the women besought for their children, the husbands entreated for their wiues, beseeching him to take compassion of their desolations, and to furnish them with some meanes to escape their miserie. He addressed himselfe therefore in most humble manner to beseech Almightie God, that it might please him to conuert the euill qualitie of the Water, and to make it potable. Which grace and fauour he no sooner obtained, but he tooke the end of his staffe, and cast it at his feet, and afterwards brake it in the midst, and cleft it long-wayes, and cast it into the Pit; giuing the Hebrewes to vnderstand, that God had heard their prayers, and that he had promised them, to giue them that Water they desired, if so be they would obey him, and with alacritie and diligence performe that which should be commanded them. And when they were inquisitiue of that which they ought to doe; to the intent the Water might be changed, he enjoyned euery one of them, that was of best strength and abilitie amongst them, to draw Water; giuing them to vnderstand, that so soone as they had drawne out great store of Water from the Pit, the rest that should remaine, would be very good, and conuenient to be drunke. Wherein they trauelled in such sort, that the Water, agitated & purified by often drawing, became potable, and refected the wearie multitude. Hereupon dislodging from that place, they came to Helim, a country that afarre off seemed very pleasant, by reason that it was planted with Palme-trees: but the neerer they approched it, the more tedious they found it, (for there were no more then seuentie Palme-trees in that place, and they not very tall, or well growne, by reason of the drynesse and barrennesse of that country; for they were not watred by the fountaines, whereof there were twelue in that place, neither did any one of them yeeld any moisture, to giue them sustenance) so that endeuouring themselues to dig vp the sand, they could light on no veines of Water; and if perhaps any little deale appeared, it was so troubled by their digging, as it became vnfit to be tasted: neither did the trees beare any store of fruit, by reason of the want of Water. For which cause, the whole multitude began to murmure

The Israelites in the Desart, are distressed for want of Water.

Mara signifieth Bitternes. *Exod.* 15.

Moses beseecheth God to change the bitter Waters into sweet.

The Israelites came to Elim, where they began to murmure against Moses, for want of sustenance.

The yeere of the world, 2454. before the Natiuitie of Christ, 1510

Exod. 15.

murmure against their Guide, ascribing all the cause of their calamities and miseries vnto him. G For hauing marched for the space of thirtie dayes, they had consumed all that which they brought with them; and conceiuing in their imagination, that there was no remedie, they were wholly surprized with despaire. Bethinking them therefore onely of that euill which was before their eyes, and forgetting the maruailes which God, by the ministerie & prudence of *Moses*, had made them both see and partake, they conceiued hatred against him, and were readie to stone him to death, as if he had beene the author of that calamitie which oppressed them. But he perceiuing the multitude so enraged and incensed against him, strengthened himselfe in God; and warranted by the testimonie of a good conscience, and the vprightnesse of his actions, he came out into the middest of them; who reuiled him, and had gathered stones to cast at him. And for that he was adorned with a singular grace and alluring countenance, and endued with pleasing H eloquence, and fit to pacifie the popularitie, he began to appease their wrath; exhorting them, not onely to forget their present difficulties, but also to remember their fore-passed blessings; not permitting, that the trauaile which they endured at that time, should driue out of their remembrance the graces and great good turnes which they had receiued at Gods hands. He willed them likewise diligently to expect their deliuerance from that extremitie, by the prouidence of God; who (as it were likely) made tryall of their vertue, to see what perseuerance they had; or whether they kept in their remembrance those things which had hapned vnto them; or whether forgetting their fore-passed pleasures, they would suffer themselues to be swallowed with their present miserie. He willed them therefore to take heede, lest through their impatience and ingratitude, they should be found vnworthy of Gods fauour; who both neglected his will, by I whose direction they were brought out of Ægypt, and sore threatned and hated him, which was Gods minister, especially since hitherto they might no wayes complaine of him in any thing, which hee had vndertaken to execute by the commandement of God. Then reckoned hee vp particularly vnto them, how the Ægyptians were ouerthrowne, and afflicted, whilest contrarie to Gods will, they endeuoured to detaine them: how the same Riuer, which to them was bloudie, and vnprofitable to drinke of, to themselues became both sweet and potable: likewise, how the Sea retyred it selfe, and furthered both their night and passage, wherein they saw themselues secure and free from danger; and contrariwise, their enemies destroyed, ouerthrowne, and drowned: and how, euen vntill that day, being disarmed, they were by Gods prouidence both furnished and fortified abundantly. Againe, how often God had deliuered them from apparant death K and danger, besides all mens opinion; who being All, and alwayes omnipotent, gaue them at that time, no, not the least suspition of his assistance. For which cause, they were to suffer all things patiently, and to imagine with themselues, that the succour, although it were deferred, was neuer too late, which was receiued before such time as the danger had preuailed: and so to thinke, that God contemned not their perils, but that he made tryall of their fortitude and free loue, to see whether they were able and willing to abide the want of meat and drinke; or rather, whether after the manner of brute beasts, they had leifer be trained in seruile trauaile, to the end they might be glutted like them, and made the better able to endure their labour. To conclude, that he nothing feared his life (because that being vnjustly slaine, no euil could happen vnto him) but that he was fearefull of their safetie, lest lifting vp their hands to stone him, they should be L thought to oppose themselues against Gods Ordinance. Thus pacified he them, and mollified the furie they had conceiued to endanger his life: and so much preuailed he, that they repented them of that enterprize, whereby they sought to endanger him. And for that he knew that they had some reason to be thus mooued, he addressed himselfe to prayer and supplication: and ascending a certaine Rocke, he required Gods helpe to relieue their infirmities, wants, and afflictions, in whose hands onely the saluation of the people consisted; beseeching him in mercie to forgiue the people, being exasperated with extreme miseries, and by reason thereof distracted, and withdrawne from their dutie. Whereupon God promised him to haue care of the people; assuring him, to send them a speedie and present deliuerance. Which when *Moses* vnderstood, he came downe vnto the multitude: who perceiuing him altogether refreshed with joy, by reason of M those promises which he had receiued at Gods hands, exchanged their dolesome lamentations into a habit of delight. He therefore standing vp in the midst of them, told them, that he brought vnto them a most speedie remedie for their present necessitie. And not long after, a number of Quailes (which about the Gulfe of Arabia multiply and encrease, more then any other sorts of birds) flew and crossed the Sea; and being wearied in their flight, and accustomably accosting and flying neere to the ground, came and fell amidst the Campe of the Hebrewes: who caught them,

Moses exhorteth the people to remember those benefits they had receiued at Gods hands.

Moses reckoneth vp vnto the people all the benefits which God had done vnto them.

Moses implored Gods helpe.

God sendeth Quailes into the Hebrewes Armie.

A them,as a prouiſion prepared for them by God,and ordained to extinguiſh their famine. Where-
upon *Moſes* once more addreſſed himſelfe to call vpon God,yeelding him thankes for the pre-
ſent and the future good he had promiſed him. Who being after this manner fed and refreſhed,
were preſently ſupplyed with a new kind of food. For at ſuch time as *Moſes* ſtretched out his
hands,and prayed vnto God,a Dewe deſcended from Heauen,that thickned betwixt his hands:
which,for that he ſuppoſed it to be another kind of ſuſtenance,ſent them by God, he taſted the
ſame; and taking pleaſure therein,for that the people knew not what it was,but thought it to be
Snow which fell in that place, according to the ſeaſon of the yeere, he taught them, that it was
no Dewe falling from Heauen,as they ſuppoſed, but that God had ſent them that grace, for the
conſeruation and nouriture of their bodies: and hauing eaten thereof,he gaue them of it,to the
B end he might ſtrengthen their beliefe; who taſting the ſame in like manner as their Chiefetaine
had done, were greatly refreſhed with the ſuſtenance: for in ſweetneſſe and pleaſure,it equalled
the Honey; in odour, Bdellium; and in forme and greatneſſe, the graine of a Coriander ſeede:
of which,euery one gathered. And by commandement it was enjoyned,that euery one of them
ſhould particularly gather euery day the Meaſure of an *Aſſaron*, which is the tenth part of an
Ephi,to the end,that no one ſhould be ſcanted of this food: which was done to that end,leſt the
weaker ſhould want,whilſt the ſtronger,through auarice,ſhould gather more then ſufficed them.
And if any one, contrarie to the preſcript command, had gathered more then was permitted
him,although he toyled and trauelled more then any of them, yet was his portion no wayes en-
creaſed by that meanes. For whatſoeuer (beſide the appointed Meaſure of the *Aſſaron*)remained
C till the next morning,was of no value,through bitterneſſe; and was putrified,through wormes.
So diuine and admirable was this kind of food, and of that nature, that whoſo had ſufficient
thereof,needed no other ſort of ſuſtenance. Moreouer,euen in theſe our dayes,all that countrey
is beſtrewed and bedewed with that kind of Aliment, which God,in fauour of *Moſes*,ſent for
the peoples ſuſtenance. The Hebrewes call it *Manna*: for in our Tongue,*Man*,is an interrogation,
ſignifying,what is that? Thus liued they then joyfully,being ſuſtained by this kind of meat,ſent
them from Heauen,and vſed the ſame for the ſpace of fortie yeeres,during that time which they
liued in the Deſart. But afterwards,when they were diſlodged from that place,and encamped
neere to Raphidim, they were extremely trauailed with thirſt; where, vpon their firſt arriuall,
they found ſome few ſprings, but afterwards they found the Land wholly deſtitute of Water.
D They therefore once more were incenſed againſt *Moſes*. But he withdrawing himſelfe apart
from the furie of the people,conuerted himſelfe vnto God in prayer; beſeeching him, that as he
had giuen them food in their neceſſitie, he would now alſo giue them drinke at that preſent,
wherein they were well-nigh choaked with thirſt; praying him to prouide them of drinke alſo,
or otherwiſe, that their meat was vnprofitable to them: Whereon God preſently granted his
prayer; promiſing *Moſes*, that he would giue him a Fountaine, and abundance of Water, from
that place from whence he leaſt expected it. Hereon he commanded him,that ſtriking vpon the
Rocke with his Rod,which was there by,hard at hand, he ſhould from thence ſeeke that which
they demanded and wanted; aſſuring him,that euery one,without trauaile or labour,ſhould haue
ſufficient therefro. Which counſaile when *Moſes* had receiued from Gods hands,he returned vn-
E to the people,who expected him,& had their eyes fixed vpon him: for at that time they beheld
him deſcending from the Rocke,where he had made his prayer. No ſooner was he arriued,but
he told them,that God would in like ſort deliuer them from that neceſſitie,& would graciouſly
graunt them an vnexpected reliefe; telling them, that a floud ſhould ſuddenly breake from the
Rocke. But they being amazed at that which they heard,and doubting leſt tyred with thirſt,and
trauailed by journeyes,they ſhould be enforced to hew and cleaue the Rocke: *Moſes* ſtrucke the
ſame in ſuch ſort with his Rod,that he diuided it in ſunder,and deliuered out moſt cleare & pure
Water in great abundance. The people were very ſore aſtoniſhed at this ſo ſtrange accident: ſo
that beholding the Water,their thirſt was quenched. They afterward drunke of the Water,and
found it very ſweet and pleaſant, reſembling in the goodneſſe of it,the diuine bountie and power
F of the Giuer thereof. For this cauſe they highly eſteemed *Moſes*,ſeeing that God had honoured
him in this ſort; and they acknowledged Gods prouidence,and their thankſgiuing, by their Sa-
crifices; humbly thanking him for the care he had ouer them. The ſacred Scriptures likewiſe,
which are kept and conſecrated in the Temple,teſtifie, that God had fore-told *Moſes* alſo,that
Water ſhould in this ſort iſſue from the Rocke.

The yeere of the world, 2454. before Chriſts Natiuity 1510

God feedeth the Iſraelites with Manna.

A commandement, how much Manna ſhould be gathered.

Manna,what it ſignifieth. *Exod.17.*

The Iſraelites fed 40.yeeres ſpace on Manna.

The Iſraelites arriue at Raphidim, and are trauailed with thirſt.

Moſes ſtriketh the Rocke with his Rod, and there iſſueth Water.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

How the Amalechites and their aſſociates were ouercome, and how great a prey the Iſraelites obtained thereby.

The yeere of the world, 2454. before Chriſts Nativity, 1510.

BVT when the renowne of the Hebrewes waxed great, and was ſpred in the eares of all men, (ſo as the bruit thereof was heard in euery part) it came to paſſe, that the inhabitants of that countrey were in very great feare: Whereupon (ſending Embaſſages the one vnto the other) they mutually incited themſelues to expell and vtterly ruinate the whole Nation.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 2.

Exod. 17. The Amalechites warre againſt the Iſraelites.

Amongſt the reſt, thoſe of the countrey of Gobol, and the Citie Petra, (who are called Amalechites, a Nation very warlike, and more actiue then the reſt) were the chiefe agents in this Expedition: whoſe Kings both encouraged one another, and whetted their neighbour Nations to the Iſraelites deſtruction; telling them, that a forraine Armie, flying from the thraldome of the Ægyptians, had inuaded their country, whoſe increaſes were not a little to be ſuſpected: counſelling them (before they had gathered head, and recouered more meanes, and a Countrey to dwell in, and withall waxed more confident, by reaſon of their forbearance) to charge them firſt, rather then to expect their increaſes, and ſo to oppreſſe them; eſteeming it a better point of wiſedome, to repreſſe their inſolencie and frowardneſſe in the Deſart, then to expect whileſt they were poſſeſſed of ſtrong Cities, and rich meanes. For this (ſaid they) is the part of wiſe men, to reſiſt the vpriſings and power of their aduerſaries; and not to expect, whileſt by dayly exploits they more and more increaſe; and rather to prouide to preuent, then deliuer themſelues from perill. After theſe Embaſſages, it was decreed by generall counſell, That they ſhould endeauour to confront and aſſault the Hebrewes. Theſe determinations and deſignes of theirs, amated and troubled *Moſes* very much, for that he expected no hoſtilitie. When therefore he perceiued, that the people were affrighted and amazed, to ſee themſelues (being wholly vnprouided) to be charged by ſo ſtrong and well-furniſhed an Armie, he recomforted them, and willed them to bethinke themſelues of Gods promiſes, who by his power had ſet them at libertie; aſſuring them, that they ſhould ouercome all thoſe that made partie and head againſt them, to deſtroy them: wiſhing them to thinke, that though they were inferiour vnto their enemies in weapons, wealth, money, and munition, and ſuch like; yet ſince they had God to friend, and readie to fight for them againſt their enemies, that they ought to conceiue ſuch courage, as if they were furniſhed with farre more then humane ſupplyes. Alledging further, that they were not ignorant, how great an aſſiſter God was, hauing had ſo often tryall of his goodneſſe in their greateſt dangers, whom both he knew to be an enemie to their enemies, and fauourable to their proceedings: which fauour of his, he moſt manifeſtly expreſſed, by his miraculous deliuerance of them from hunger and thirſt, by yeelding them free eſcape, when they were ſhut in by Sea and mountaines: And that which ſhould moſt animate them to the fight and victorie at that time, was, That after this plunge, they ſhould want nothing that appertained to a more commodious and peaceable life. *Moſes* thus hauing encouraged the people by his words, he called vnto him the chiefeſt of the Tribes, and euery one of them that had the charge of them, both in priuate and publique aſſembly, commanding the yonger to obey the elder, and the elders to be obedient to their Generall. But they contemning their danger, and deſirous of fight, hoped that this conflict would prooue the finall end of their calamitie. For which cauſe, they inſtantly beſought *Moſes* to lead them forth againſt the enemie; praying him, not to dull the alacritie of the ſouldiers, by any vntimely delay. Whereupon (chuſing out among the whole multitude, ſuch as were moſt fit for Warre) he choſe *Ieſus*, the ſonne of *Naueus*, the Ephraimite, to lead them; a man valiant in Armes, and prouident in counſaile, and exceeding in pietie, and not degenerating in that reſpect from *Moſes*, his Maſter. He alſo in ſuch ſort diſpoſed certaine Bands, that he might not in any ſort be cut off from Water: he left alſo ſo many as might guard the multitude, and keepe the Campe and weaker companie. Thus ſtood they all the night long in a readineſſe to take Armes, ſuch as they had fitted for them, expecting their Captaines, who ſhould lead them out to fight, as ſoone as *Moſes* ſhould command them. On the other ſide, *Moſes* ſlept not, but inſtructed *Ioſuah* how he ſhould conduct the Armie. And as ſoone as the day appeared, he encouraged *Ioſuah* to ſhew himſelfe ſuch a one in that battaile, as both the place wherewith he was honoured, and the cauſe for which they fought, required; wiſhing him, by his proweſſe and good deſerts, to giue life and courage to his ſouldiers that followed him. He likewiſe exhorted the chiefeſt of the Hebrewes in particular, and in generall heartned and emboldned all others that entred the battaile.

Moſes encourageth the people to expect nothing but victorie.

Ioſuah made Captain ouer the Iſraelites.

And

A And as touching himſelfe, (after he had thus diſpoſed the Armie, by words and effect) he retired himſelfe vnto a mountaine, committing the Armie to Gods protection, and *Ioſuahs* conduct. Then encountred the Armies on both ſides, and euery one fought moſt valiantly; neyther wanted there encouragements on eyther ſides. And as long as *Moſes* lifted vp his hands, the Hebrewes had the better againſt the Amalechites. But for that he was vnable continually to ſupport the ſame, (and becauſe he throughly perceiued and obſerued, that as often as he held downe his hands, ſo long the enemies droue the Iſraelites to retreat) he willed his brother *Aaron*, and *Vron* (his ſiſter *Maries* husband) to ſtand on each ſide of him, and ſuſtaine his hands, and ſuccour him, for feare his forces ſhould faile him. Which when they had performed, the Hebrewes by maine force ouercame the Amalechites; ſo that all of them had beene ſlaine, if ſo be the B chace had continued, and had not beene cut off by the approach of the night. At this time our predeceſſors obtained a moſt happie and neceſſarie victorie: For they had the vpper hand ouer them that were embattelled againſt them, and aſtoniſhed and amated the Nations round about, and got great ſtrength and riches by their trauaile. For being ſeized of the enemies Campe, they generally gat great riches, and particularly were all of them relieued; whereas before that time they had not neceſſarie meanes to maintaine themſelues. And this victorie of theirs was the cauſe of their very great good fortune, not onely for the preſent, but alſo for the time to come: For not onely had they their enemies bodies vnder their ſubjection, but alſo their ſpirits; ſo as they were feared by all the Nations round about. And they multiplyed both in ſtrength and riches; for there was a great quantitie of Gold and Siluer taken in the Campe. C Diuers Veſſels likewiſe and Tables of Braſſe were found therein: likewiſe great quantitie of Tiſſue-worke, and excellent furniture for Armes. Moreouer, they had all their baggage, Tents, Harneſſe, and Horſes; and generally, the whole prouiſion of an arranged battaile became their prey. Then after alſo they became more vertuous, and induſtrious then before; ſuppoſing, that the end of all actions was obtayned by induſtrie. Thus ended this battaile. The next day, *Moſes* cauſed the enemies that were ſlaine, to be rifled, and gathered the ſcattered Armes of thoſe that fled. He honoured them alſo, that had brauely demeaned themſelues in the battaile, and prayſed the Captaine *Ioſuah* in publique; whoſe honour was confirmed by the applauſe of the whole Armie. There was not one Hebrew that periſhed that day: and ſo many of the enemies were there put to the ſword, as their number cannot be expreſſed. Hee offered D likewiſe a Sacrifice of thankſgiuing vnto God, and erected an Altar vnto him, and dedicated it to God, the Victor. Hee propheſied moreouer, that all the Amalechites ſhould be vtterly extinguiſhed, ſo that none of them ſhould be left aliue, in that they had aſſaulted the Hebrewes, and that in the Deſart, and at ſuch time as they were in affliction. He feaſted the Generall in like ſort. This iſſue had this battaile; which was the firſt that was leuied againſt them, or durſt aſſault them, ſince their departure out of Ægypt. But as ſoone as *Moſes* had celebrated a feaſt in memorie of the victorie, to the end he might giue the Hebrewes ſome repoſe after the battaile aboue-named, he cauſed them to march in array; for now at that time they had many armed ſouldiers. Thus paſſing onwards by little and little, they arriued the third moneth after their departure out of Ægypt, neere to the mountaine of Sinai, where (as before-time it hath beene declared) *Moſes* ſaw E the Viſion in the Buſh, and other ſuch like wonders.

The yeere of the world, 2454. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1510.

The Iſraelites recouer a great prey in the Campe of the Amalechites.

The diſtribution of the ſpoyles and prey.

The prediction of the vtter ruine of the Amalechites.

The Iſraelites come to the mountaine of Sinai.

CHAP. III.

What counſell RAGVEL *gaue to his ſonne in law.*

WHEN *Raguel, Moſes* father in law, vnderſtood of this his good ſucceſſe, he came with great joy vnto *Moſes*, vnder purpoſe to ſalute him, his daughter *Zephora*, and her children: who (greatly rejoycing at his arriuall) prepared a Sacrifice, and feaſted the people neere vnto the Buſh that could not be conſumed by fire; and in the Banquet time, the F people was diſtinguiſhed, according to the order and place of euery family. But *Aaron*, with the aſſiſtants, tooke *Raguel*, and they ſung prayſes vnto God, aſcribing to him both the meanes and manner of their libertie. They alſo ſpake much in honour of their Generall, by whoſe vertue all things had had ſo fortunate an iſſue: *Raguel* on his ſide highly prayſed the people, and dignified *Moſes* their Gouernour, by whoſe prudence ſo many good and valiant men were guided. But on the next day, *Raguel* ſeeing *Moſes* oppreſſed with the multitude of buſineſſe, (by reaſon that he decided all their debates that appealed vnto him; who were thus perſwaded of him, That at that

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 3. *Exod.* 10. Raguel commeth to Moſes, to the Deſart of Sinai.

Hedio and Ruffinus, chap. 4.

The yeere of the world, 2454. before the Natiuitie of Christ, 1510

Raguel, otherwise called Iethro, Moses father in law, counselleth him to chuse Iudges amongst the Israelites.

that time they were onely rightly censured, when *Moses* gaue the sentence; and they that were condemned by him, endured the verdict patiently, knowing that their cause was by him decided rather by the rule of justice, then the instinct of amerce) he for that time kept silence (in that he was loth to hinder them, who any wayes pretended to receiue any fruit of the vertue of his sonne in law.) But when he found him at his conuenient leysure, he withdrew him apart, and told him betwixt them twaine, that which he ought to doe; counselling him, that he should discharge himselfe of that paine, concerning affaires of so little consequence, and reserue onely to himselfe those affaires which were of the greatest importance, and concerned the publique estate of them all. For that there were diuers persons amongst the Hebrewes to be found, who would be capable and sufficient to heare and determine the Pleas; but touching the care of so many thousand soules, no man could vndertake it, except he were another *Moses*. Knowing therefore (said he) thy vertue, and how worthily thou hast behaued thy selfe towards the people, being the Minister of God, as concerning their safetie; suffer them to comprimit amongst themselues those actions and quarrels that fall amongst them, and reserue this interest to thy selfe, that thou mayest wholly intend the seruice of God, whereby thou mayest more easily exempt the people from their present necessities. If therefore thou giuest credit to my counsailes in humane affaires, thou shalt make diligent search and musters of thy whole Armie, and thou shalt establish Chiefetaines, that shall gouerne ouer ten thousands, and thousands, and fiue hundreths, and ouer fifties; and shalt ordaine Gouernours ouer them, who diuiding them by thirties, twenties, and tennes, may conduct and gouerne them. And let some be appointed amongst them, who may receiue their Titles, according to the number and names of those he commandeth; who being approoued by the whole companie, to be of good fame and vpright conscience, may censure and compound all their differences. And if any controuersie shall fall out amongst any of them in authoritie, they shall referre the deciding of that difficultie to thine owne person. By this meanes neyther shall any one of the Hebrewes be defrauded of his right, and thou thy selfe seruing God without molestation, mayest procure God to be more fauorable vnto thine Armie.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 5. Moses alloweth his father in lawes aduice.

This counsell of *Raguel* highly contented *Moses*, so that he fulfilled all that whereunto he had suggested him; not concealing the inuention of this policie, neyther attributing it to himselfe, but declaring publiquely vnto all men, that his father in law was the inuenter thereof. He hath likewise written in his bookes, that *Raguel* was the author of this Gouernment: accounting it no lesse honour, to attribute prayse to those that deserue it, then shame to vsurpe vpon another mans desert; so that hereby you may conjecture his vertue: of which, hereafter in many places wee haue more to say. *Moses* afterwards assembling all the people, told them, that he would ascend the mountaine of Sinai, to talke with God; to the end, that he might afterwards returne vnto them, and impart vnto them whatsoeuer profitable thing he had receiued from him in their behalfe. He likewise commanded them to pitch their Tents about the mountaine, and to haue it in reuerence, by reason of the Proximitie of God.

CHAP. IIII.

MOSES *ascendeth the mountaine, and receiueth the Tables of the ten Commandements at Gods hands, and gaue them to the people.*

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 6. Moses ascendeth the mountaine of Sinai.

THIS said, he ascended the mountaine Sinai (which is the highest, beyond comparison, of all that countrey; and which, by reason of his strange height, and for his steepe and inaccessible ragged rockes, is not onely vnfrequented by men, but also may not be beheld, by reason it trauelleth the eye.) Further, for that it is reported, that God conuerseth and dwelleth on the same, it is held sacred by the inhabitants, and dreadfull and vnaccessible to all that behold it. But the Hebrewes, according to the commandement of the Prophet, remooving their Tents, pitched them at the foot of the Hill, suspending their judgements, and expecting the execution of the promises of those goods which *Moses* had fore-propheſied vnto them, at such time as he returned from God. And in the meane space, while they expected their Guide, they kept holyday, and feasted, and purified themselues for the space of three dayes, in all sorts of purification, and abstinence from the companie of their wiues, following that which *Moses* had commanded them. They besought God also, that he would be fauourable, and assist *Moses*, and by his meanes to blesse them with some fauour, that might make their life good and happie. They banquetted also in great pompe, and their wiues and children were richly attyred. Now, after they had feasted

A feasted fortie dayes space, on the third day, before Sun-rising, a Cloud couered all the Hebrewes Campe (a thing before-time vnseene by them) and enuironed all the place where they pitched their Pauillions. And although all the rest of the countrey had a cleare and vntroubled Skie, yet thereabout violent Winds were raysed, and hideously roared, and a tempestuous Raine succeeded them; and Thunderclaps, dreadfull to heare, and Lightnings, horrible to behold, signified, that God was there present, and that *Moses* (with good successe, and for their profit) had conferred with him. Let those that reade this, judge thereof, as it shall please them: but as touching my selfe, it is not any wayes lawfull for me to depart in any sort from that which is written in holy Scriptures. That which the Hebrewes both heard and saw, in that it was strange and vnaccustomed vnto them, troubled them greatly. Furthermore, the report that was published as touching
B that mountaine, That God repaired and dwelt on the same, maruailously amated their spirits. They therefore sad and pensiue, contained themselues within their Tents, thinking that *Moses* was destroyed through the wrath of God, and expecting no lesse miserie themselues. But whilest they were thus troubled in thought, *Moses* presented himselfe vnto them (with a countenance full fraught with a pleasing majestie, and lookes so contented, as they testified the inward consolation of his minde) whom they no sooner beheld, but suddenly all their feare vanished, and in place thereof, a hope of some great good hap succeeded; and withall, the ayre, vpon his arriuall, recouered his former clearenesse and serenitie. Hereupon he summoned the people to a solemne and generall assembly, to the end he might report, and they heare, what Commandements God had giuen them by him. No sooner were they assembled, but hee (from an vpper place, to the end
C that all the people might both see and heare him) stood vp and spake after this manner: Know (sayth he) you Hebrewes, that Almightie God, as he hath neuer neglected my prayers hitherto, so at this time also hath he entertained me (being your Truchman & messenger) very graciously: and behold himselfe here in presence in your companie, and propitious to your supplications, readie to prouide you of meat to sustaine your bodies, and order & dispose your policie, to make it lasting and happie. Now although that you see me, and that a humane tongue speaketh vnto you, yet despise not my words, no more then you doe his workes, alreadie executed and testified vpon our Nation. For if you consider the worth and wonder thereof, you shal conceiue his greatnesse that hath brought them to passe, and hath neuer denyed to talke with me, and heare me, when I spake for your profit. For it is not *Moses*, the sonne of *Amram* and of *Iocabel*, but He it is
D that constrayned Nilus to flow with bloud, and that through diuers Plagues hath tamed the pride of the Ægyptians: it is He that hath giuen you passage thorow the midst of the Sea: it is He that hath furnished you with meat prepared from Heauen, at such time as you were in extremitie: it is He that made water spring out of the Rocke, to coole your thirsts, at such time as you were in necessitie: it is He by whom *Adam* had the possession and fruition both of the fruit of the Earth, and the fishes of the Sea: by Him, *Noe* escaped from the Deluge: by Him, our ancient father *Abraham*, of a wandring Pilgrim, became an Inhabiter of the Land of Chanaan: by Him, *Isaac* was borne, at such time as his father and mother were old: by Him, *Iacob* hath beene ennobled, by the vertue of his twelue sonnes: by Him, *Ioseph* became Lord ouer all the forces of the Ægyptians: He it is that graciously imparteth these words vnto you, by me his messenger. Let
E therefore these wholsome Lawes of his be holy and inuiolable amongst you, and more deare vnto you then either your wiues and children: for in obseruing the same, you shall lead a happie life, enjoy a fruitfull Countrey, a calme Sea, and a Progenie made happie, according to the Lawes of Nature; finally, you shall become alwayes dreadfull vnto your enemies: For I haue talked face to face with God, and haue heard his immortall voyce; so dearely beloued are you vnto him, and so carefull is he of the prosperitie of your Nation. This said, he conducted the people, (both men, women, and children) to the end they might heare God talke vnto them, and teach them what to doe (for feare the Law should haue beene in lesser regard, if it had beene presented to their vnderstandings by a humane tongue:) they all of them therefore heard his voyce descending from the mountaine, so that euery one vnderstood the same. But these Precepts which *Moses*
F left registred in two Tables, it is not lawfull for me to expresse in so many words, and therefore I will onely expresse the sentences. For he teacheth vs:

First of all, that there is one God, who is onely to be worshipped.
Secondly, that no Image of any creature is to be adored.
Thirdly, that no man ought to sweare rashly.
Fourthly, that the seuenth day is not to be prophaned by any worke.
Fifthly, that father and mother should be honoured.

Sixtly,

The yeere of the world, 2454. before Christs Natiuity. 1510

Horrible Lightnings about the mountaine of Sinai.

Moses Oration to the Israelites.

The people of Israel heare God speaking vnto them, from the mountaine of Sinai.

The ten Commandements. *Exod. 20. Deut. 5.*

Sixtly, that we ſhould abſtaine from murther.
Seuenthly, that adulterie is not to be committed.
Eightly, that no man ought to ſteale.
Ninthly, that falſe witneſſe muſt not be borne.
Tenthly, that no man ought to couet his neighbours goods.

The yeere of the world, 2454. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt, 1510

Exod. 21.

When the multitude with great ioy had heard God himſelfe ſpeake vnto them (according as *Moſes* had foretold them) he diſmiſſed them, and each one departed to his tent. But ſome few daies after they preſented themſelues before his Pauilion, beſeeching him that he ſhould bring them thoſe Lawes, which he had receiued at Gods hands: He to the intent to gratifie them, opened the Lawes, and preſcribed vnto each of them what they ought to do at the ſame time (as in due place it ſhall be expreſſed. But the greater part of the Lawes I deferre till another time, meaning in priuate to comment thereupon. About the very ſame time, *Moſes* once more aſcended the mountaine of Sinai (hauing premoniſhed the people thereof) and aſcended the ſame in their ſights: but when the time ſeemed tedious vnto them (for he was ſequeſtred from them for the ſpace of forty daies) they were in great feare, leſt ſome inconuenience had hapned vnto him; neither were they ſo much agrieued at that which had chanced vnto them, as for that they were perſwaded of the death of *Moſes*. For there fell a contention amongſt them, the one affirming that he was dead and deuoured by wild beaſts (which was their opinion, who conceiued a hatred againſt him) the other ſaid that he was rauiſhed vp vnto God: but they of the wiſer ſort among them, who took no pleaſure to heare any one of theſe their ſuſpicions, contained themſelues; being equally affected in reſpect of both the opinions; for that the one ſeemed not to be eſtranged from humane chance, and the other had ſome correſpondence with the vertues of the man: ſo that they endured his fortune with an equall mind, and lamented their own miſ-hap, in that they were depriued of ſuch a Gouernour and Patron as he was, and whoſe like they thought it a matter impoſſible to find: neither did their care ſuffer them to hope: neither depriued of hope could they chooſe but complaine: neither durſt they remoue their tents, in that they were commanded to expect his returne. At length (when fortie daies and fortie nights were paſt) hee returned vnto them; hauing (during that time) taſted no mortall ſuſtenance: and by his arriuall the whole hoſt was repleniſhed with great ioy; whom he certified that Gods prouidence was alwaies aſſiſting them, and that during the terme of thoſe daies, he had learned the meanes how they ſhould liue ciuilly, orderly, and bleſſedly; telling them that God commanded them to make him a Tabernacle, whereinto he would deſcend as often as it pleaſed him, which alſo in their trauell they might carry about with them; ſo that they ſhould haue no more need to aſcend vnto Sinai, but that he himſelfe might come and lodge with them, and be aſſiſtant to their praiers. Hee told them likewiſe the meaſure and order of the ſaid Tabernacle, and that there wanted nothing but that they preſently addreſſed themſelues to the building thereof. This ſaid, hee ſhewed them the two Tables, containing the tenne Commandements written therein, in each of them fiue: now were theſe written by the hand of God. They all of them (reioycing at that which they had heard and ſeen) ceaſed not to imploy themſelues to their vttermoſt: ſo that they brought in ſiluer, gold, braſſe, and ſtore of wood fit for building; and which would not bee wormeaten, the hairs of goates, and the skins of ſheepe, the one died azure, and the other white; wools of the ſame colour, fine linnen, ſtones enchaſed in gold, wherewith men were accuſtomed to decke themſelues, with great quantitie of perfumes. Such was the matter of the Tabernacle, which was made like to a portable and mooning temple: this ſtuffe being thus gathered together, and collected with ſo great affection (according to each mans vtmoſt abilitie, he appointed work-maſters according to the Commandement of God, but ſuch, as the like might not haue bin choſen, although the matter had been committed to the peoples ſuffrages: their names are now likewiſe extant in the volumes of the ſacred Scriptures. *Beſeleel* of the tribe of *Iuda*, the ſonne of *Vron* of the tribe of *Iuda*, and *Mary* *Moſes* ſiſter: and *Eliab* the ſonne of *Iſamach*, of the tribe of *Dan*. The people ſhewed themſelues ſo forward in the finiſhing of this worke, that *Moſes* was compelled to reſtraine them, cauſing it to be proclaimed, that they had ſufficiently gathered for the worke already: for the work-maſters certified him no leſſe. They therefore addreſſed themſelues to finiſh the Tabernacle, being particularly inſtructed by *Moſes* of the meaſure and greatneſſe thereof, and how many veſſels they ought to haue, according to the module which God had propoſed to *Moſes*. The women alſo ſtroue with emulation to exceed each other in the making of the veſtures of the Prieſts, and other things which were conuenient for that work, to the end to honour the ſeruice of God.

Exo. 24. Moſes remained on the mountaine fortie daies & fortie nights.

Moſes faſted fortie dayes and nights.

Moſes two Tables. *Exod. 35.*

The Iſraelites with great ioy addreſſe thẽſelues to the building of the Tabernacle. *Exod. 36.* Beſeleel and Eliab are work-maſters of the Tabernacle.

The people are reſtrained by edict, from bringing any more offrings toward the building of the Tabernacle.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the Tabernacle made by MOSES *in the deſart, reſembling a portable Temple.*

The yeere of the world, 2455. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1509.

NOVV when all things were prepared for this worke, as gold, braſſe, and wouen worke, *Moſes* commanded them to feaſt, and ſacrifice each one according to his abilitie, and ſet forward the building of the Tabernacle. Firſt of all therefore he meaſured the outward court, which in breadth contained fiftie, and in length one hundred cubites, in ſuch manner as followeth. Hee raiſed pales of fiue cubites high, and twentie in length, from the one ſide to the other, and tenne in breadth; in the hind-ſide to euery one of theſe pales or poſtes there were faſtned rings, the chapters whereof were ſiluer, and the baſes thereof gold, and the lower parts of theſe reſembled the points of a ſpeare made of braſſe, and fixed in the earth. Thorow the rings there paſſad certaine cords of fiue cubits length, which on the one ſide faſtned in the ground with brazen nayles of a cubits length, did faſten each of the pales, and defended the Tabernacle againſt the force of winds. Then was there a moſt fine ſilken Curtaine drawne about the ſame, which hanging from the chapters of the baſes, and incloſing all that place, ſeemed to differ in nothing from a wall. And after this manner were the three ſides of the incloſure arounded. But the fourth ſide, being of fiftie cubites, was the front of the whole frame; the doore wherof was twenty cubits wide, hauing on both ſides double barres in ſtead of poſts; and theſe alſo were of ſiluer, except the baſes which were of braſſe; and on both ſides there ſtood three barres well faſtned, which were alſo hung round about with a Curtaine of wouen ſilke: but at the gate there hung a vaile of twenty cubits long, and fiue deepe, wouen of purple, violet and fine ſilke, embrodered with diuers flowers, without any figures of ſenſible creatures: within the gates there was a brazen Ewer, with a foote of the ſame metall, wherein the Prieſts might waſh their hands and feet. And after this manner was the encloſure of the Court; In the midſt hereof he placed the Tabernacle, turning it toward the Eaſt, that the riſing ſunne might ſhine vpon it: the length therof was thirty cubits, and the breadth twelue; the one of the walles thereof was towards the South, another towards the North, but the hinder part was towards the Weſt; and it was as high as long; and on each ſide there were twenty woodden plankes foure ſquare, and ioyned together, foure fingers thicke, and a cubit and a halfe broad, lined both within and without with plates of gold; and euery boord had two hinges, which were put thorow the two baſes that were of ſiluer, & in their ſockets receiued the hinges of the boords: the plankes of the weſt wall were ſixe in number, and gilded both within and without, all of them ſo clozed together, as it ſeemed to be but one wall. But on both ſides there were certaine boords neerely ioyned together, which in breadth contained the meaſure of one cubit and a halfe; and in thickneſſe, the third part of a hand breadth; and ſo made vp thirty cubits: but ſixe boords made vp the nine cubits of the hinder wall, to which were ioyned other two boords cut halfe a cubit broad, which they placed in the corners in ſtead of whole ones: euery boord had rings of gold faſtned to the outward front thereof, riueted in order, and anſwering one another on euery ſide. Thorow theſe rings were put certaine barres which were couered with gold, euery one fiue cubits long, which ioyned the boords together: and the end of euery barre was put into the beginning of the other, after the manner of a boxe. And on the backeſide of the walles of the Tabernacle, there was one ranke of barres placed long-wiſe, paſſing thorow all the plankes, in which by hookes or haſpes, the ſides of either were held together, and riueted and faſtned one within the other; by which meanes the Tabernacle was ſecured from the force of winds, and kept ſteddy and immoueable. Within, the length thereof was diuided into three parts: next to one part thereof containing ten cubites, on the inſide were placed foure pillars made of the ſame worke and matter, planted on like baſes, and diſtant one from the other by equall ſpaces ouerthwart, beyond theſe was the ſecret place. The reſt of the Tabernacle was for all the Prieſts; and this tripartite diuiſion of the Tabernacle reſembled the nature of the world, for the third part (which was contained within the foure pillars, to which the Prieſts had no acceſſe) did in a manner repreſent heauen the ſeate of God: but the ſpace of twentie cubites (which was onely permitted to the Prieſt, and was vnacceſſible to others) reſembled the ſea and land. In the front where the entrance was, they placed fiue pillars vpon brazen baſes; after theſe the Curtaines were ſpred about the Tabernacle, wouen of ſilke, and embrodered with purple, violet, and ſcarlet colours; the firſt of theſe was ſpred ten cubits euery way, and was drawn about the pillars, which ſeparated the Adyt from the other ſpace; and ſeuered it from the ſight of men; and all this Temple was called holy. As for the Adyt that

Exod. 36. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 7. Moſes ereſteth a Tabernacle in the deſart. The firſt court of the Temple.

The Tabernacle.

The yeere of the world, 2455. before the Natiuitie of Christ, 1509

was ſituate beyond the foure Pillars, it was called the *Sanctum ſanctorum*, or holy of holieſt: and this Curtaine or Veyle was pictured with all ſorts of flowers which the earth bringeth forth, and diuerſified with all that which might giue it ornament; but that there were no figures of liuing creatures to be found therein. The ſecond Veyle equalled the firſt in greatneſſe, workmanſhip, and colour, and incompaſſed the fiue Pillars of the entry; which reaching from the top to the middeſt of them, and faſtened to each of them by a certaine Ring, gaue acceſſe to the Prieſts that entred the ſame. To this almoſt was there annexed on the out-ſide, another Veyle of like bigneſſe, and wouen of Linnen, drawne vpon Cords from the one ſide to the other, by meanes of certaine Rings; which was ſometimes ſpred, and other times (eſpecially on the holy-dayes) vnſpred, leſt it ſhould hinder the peoples ſight: on the other dayes (eſpecially ſuch as were cloudie) it was ſpred, and ſerued for a couerture to defend the painted Veyle from the weather. Sithence, that cuſtome hath continued, after the building of the Temple, that another ſuch like Veyle (as this) ſhould be ſpred in the entrance. Beſides this, there were ten other Veyles, foure cubits broad, and twentie eight cubits long, with certaine golden hookes, enchaſed the one within the other, to the end to conjoyne them, ſo that they ſeemed to be one; which being ſpred, did couer the Tabernacle in the vpper part, and the walls on the ſides, and behind; not extending to the earth within the compaſſe of a foot. Moreouer, there were eleuen other hangings of equall breadth, but longer; namely, euery one of them of thirtie cubits, wouen with as great Art of Haires, as the other out of Wooll; which couering all the reſt, extending to the earth, reſembled the forme of a Bed-chamber: one of them couered and extended from the front, which being the eleuenth, was annexed to this vſe. Theſe alſo were couered with certaine skinnes ſewed together, which protected the ſame againſt the ſtorme and injurie of raine. For which cauſe, to them that beheld it from farre, it ſeemed a thing moſt worthie of admiration. For the colours of the Tabernacle did in no other ſort ſhine, then as if a man ſhould haue beheld the Heauens. But the Veyles of haire and skinnes hung after ſuch a manner, as that did about the entrance of the Tabernacle, ſet to reſiſt the force and outrage of ſtormes and tempeſts.

G H I

The Sanctuarie.

The ſignification of the diuiſion of the Tabernacle.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Arke, wherein MOSES *placed the Tables of the Law.*

Exod. 37. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 8.

AFTER that the Tabernacle was after this manner builded, they erected alſo an Arke, which was dedicated vnto God, of a certaine Wood that was naturally ſtrong, and ſuch as was permanent, and reſiſted corruption. This, in our natiue Tongue, is called *Heoron*, framed after this manner: The length thereof was of fiue handfuls, and the bredth and height of three handfuls; and both within and without it was couered with golden plates, and it had a couer fitted with golden hinges, egall on euery ſide. And to euery ſide in length there were faſtened two Rings of Gold, driuen and riueted thorow the whole wood, and thorow them certaine barres of Gold were thruſt, that whenſoeuer there were any need, it might be carried any wayes: for neuer was it borne on beaſts backs, but the Prieſts bare it on their ſhoulders. On the couer thereof there were two ſemblances planted, which the Hebrewes call Cherubins, (which are winged creatures, of a ſtrange forme, the like whereof were neuer ſeene by any man) which *Moſes* ſaw figured on Gods Seat. In this Arke he placed the Tables, containing the ten Commandements; in euery one fiue, and in euery page two and a halfe: and this Arke hid hee within the Sanctuarie.

K L

Cherubin.

The Tables of the Law are placed in the Arke.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Table and Candleſticke of Gold, and of the Altars of the Tabernacle.

Hedio and Ruffinus, chap. 9. The Table.

IN the Tabernacle he placed a Table, not vnlike to that at Delphos, two cubites in length, and one in bredth, and of the height of three handfuls: the feet thereof, from the middeſt downewards, were like thoſe feet which the Doriens ſet vnto their Beds; but that which aſcended from the other halfe vpwards, was ſquare. The bodie of this Table was arounded with a border, ſtanding out foure fingers length; and in euery of the feet, there were Rings faſtened about the top of the foot, to which were annexed on both ſides two things, after the manner of handles, gilded, and framed of moſt firme wood, which were not thruſt thorow the circle on both ſides, like barres, but with a button tooke hold of the vpper border of the Table, and beneath comprehended the ring of the foot, being a meanes to transferre it whitherſoeuer need requi-

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A required. This was wont to be placed in the Temple towards the North wall, not farre from the Sanctuarie: and on it were placed twelue vnleauened loaues, set fixe by fixe, the one ouer against the other, and made of two *Assars* of the purest wheate, which measure of the Hebrewes contained seuen Cotylas of the Achenians; and aboue these loaues two golden pots filled with frankincense; but after seuen dayes, other loaues were set in their place on that festiuall day, which wee call the Sabbath. The cause of which ceremonie shall hereafter bee declared by vs. Hard by this Table neere the South wall, was placed a Candlesticke of molten gold (but not solid) of one hundred pound weight (this weight the Hebrewes call *Cincbares*, the Grecians name it a Talent in their tongue) and it was wrought with bowles, lillies, pomegranats, and little cups; then arising vpwards from one base, it was diuided into seuen branches, according B to the number of the Sunne and the rest of the Planets: it stretched out likewise into seuen heads, hauing orderly correspondence the one with the other, on which were planted seuen candles, according to the number of the seuen Planets, which branched out towards the East and South, in that the Candlesticke was set sidelong. Betweene this and the Table (as I said) was a little Altar erected for incense, made of lasting wood likewise, and couered on euery side with a solid plate, being a cubit broad from euery corner, and twice as high, on which there stood a little hearth enuironed with a golden crowne on euery side, in which were rings with their barres and staues, whereby it might be borne by the Priests in the way. There was another Altar of wood also before the doore of the Tabernacle, couered with plates of brasse, fiue cubits square, and three high, decked with gold in like sort, and plated with brasse, the hearth wherof C was made after the manner of a grate: for the earth receiued whatsoeuer fire fell from aboue, by reason there was no base therevnder, but neere vnto the Altar there were tunnels and pots, and censers, and cups, with other instruments made for the diuine seruice, al which were of pure gold.

The yeere of the world, 2455. before Christs Natiuitie, 1509.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 10

The golden candlesticke.

The Altar of incense.

Exod. 38.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the vestment of the Priest, and of the high Priest.

SVCH was the Tabernacle with all that belonged thereunto. Now remaineth for mee to discourse as well of the vestments of the other Priests, which they call *Chaneas*, as of the Priest, whom they name *Sar-Hazabachim*, signifying thereby the high Priest. And first D of all as touching the ordinary Priests. When as the Sacrificer (purified according to the purification which is ordained by the Law) addresseth himselfe to sacrifice: he first of all inuesteth himself with *Manachasses* (which is as much to say, a trusse or restrainer, which is a kind of breech or slop, couering the priuities, made of wouen silke) where-thorow hee thrusts his feete, as in a paire of vpper breeches, and fastens the same about his loynes: On this hee casts a linnen shirt or surplice, made of double linnen (which wee call *Chetomene*) and that word signifieth a linnen garment or surplice: for we call linnen *Cheton* (that kinde of garment is a coate comming downe to the ankles, bound to the bodie; hauing narrow sleeues about the armes) which is tied vpon the brest a little beneath the armeholes, with a girdle foure fingers broad, inwardly void, so wrought as it seemed to be like a serpents skinne.) It is likewise pictured with red, purple, Hyacinthine and E silken flowers, but the ground is only silke; which being twice doubled about his brest, extendeth downe to his ankles at such time as he desisteth from sacrifice, (and this seemed they to weare in way of ornament) but when as hee is to minister in sacrifice, then (lest blowne vp by the wind, it should hinder his work) he casts it on his left shoulder. This girdle *Moses* calleth *Abaneth*, and we by a word borrowed from the Babylonians, name it *Emian* (for so they call it.) This coat was in no manner pleited, and in the necke hath a broad opening, fastened about the two shoulders with clasps, from the edge of the coller to the brest and the middest of the backe: This call they *Massabassanes*. But on his head he weareth a hat (not made with a high crowne, neither comprehending the whole head, but somewhat more then the halfe:) this is called *Masnaemphthes*; which is decked and dight after such a rate, that it seemed a Chapplet made of thicke Riban, or of wouen F linnen oftentimes doubled and sowed, which in the vpper part is couered with another linnen, descending to the front, hiding those seames of the Riban which were vnseemely to be beheld; this is curiously fitted, lest during the time of sacrifice it should slip off. Such in generall were the Ornaments of the Priests.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 11. *Exod.* 9

The Priests vestures.

Manachasses.

Chetomene.

Abaneth.

Massabassanes

Masnaemphthes.

The High Priests ornaments.

Methir.

The High Priest also vseth the very same (omitting none of those things which wee haue reckoned vp) but beside the rest he put on a Hyacinthine coloured coate, extending in length to his hammes (which our countrey call Methir) this girdeth hee vnto him with a girdle of diuers

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colours (not vnlike the former) but that it is ſtudded with gold: but the skirt of the veſture is bordered with fringes, ſowed together, to which are tyed certaine counterfait pomgranates with certaine golden bels, properly diſpoſed; ſo that betweene two Pomgranates, there is placed a bell, and betweene two bels one Pomgranate. This coate is not made of two pieces (as hauing ſeames on the ſhoulders, and on the ſides) but a long vaile wouen and left open in the coller, not athwart, but long-waies, from the breſt to the middeſt of the backe. To it is a riban or hemme faſtned, leſt the opening ſhould bee perceiued: it is likewiſe open in that place where the hands ſhould be put out. Beſides theſe veſtures, he hath a third called an Ephod (reſembling a Grecian frocke, that is made after this manner.) It is wouen of diuers colours, intermixed with gold; in the midſt of the breſt there is a ſpace left open: the ſleeues are made in ſuch manner, & all the reſt in ſuch ſort compoſed, that it ſeemeth to be a coat: in this void ſpace there is a piece enchaſed of the bigneſſe of a ſpan long, embrodered with the ſame colours, gold, and flowers, as the Ephod is. This piece is called Eſſen, that is as much to ſay, as Rationall (which wholly filleth the ſpace that was left void by them that haue wouen the Ephod.) And this piece is ioyned with the Ephod, and to euery corner thereof with buckles of gold, which are tied with a lace of Hyacinth applied to tie them together with theſe buckles. And to the end the ſpace between the buckles bee not ſlacke, they filled the ſuture with a Hyacinthine threed: but on either ſhoulder two Sardonix ſtones enchaſed in gold (in ſtead of buttons) doe tie the hood or Ephod; in theſe are ingrauen the names of *Iacobs* ſons in Hebrew Characters, in either ſtone ſixe: ſo that the elder of them were placed on the right ſhoulder. Moreouer twelue precious ſtones diſtinguiſh the Eſſen or Rationall it ſelfe, of excellent greatnes and beauty, which for their ineſtimable price could not be bought by any priuate man. They were inchaſed three and three in foure ranks in certaine crownes of gold, to the end they might not fall out: in the firſt order was a Sardonyx, a Topaze, and a Smaragd: in the ſecond, a Carbuncle, a Iaſpis, and a Saphir: in the third, a Lyncurius, an Amethyſt, and an Agate: in the fourth, a Chryſolite, an Onyx, and a Berill ſtone. In theſe were the names of *Iacobs* ſonnes engrauen, whom we eſteeme for the firſt authors of our tribes (euery ſtone being honoured with a ſeuerall name, according to the order of their birth.) But whereas theſe rings (whereof before wee haue ſpoken) are weake and cannot ſuſtaine the waight of the precious ſtones, they made other two greater in the toppe of the Rationall inclining toward the neckeward, beeing eminent aboue the texture, which might receiue the golden chaines that were made, which met at the top of the ſhoulders to be faſtned with the little chaines, the end whereof was crooked, and conueied certaine pipes, but thorow the rings, and were more prominent then the brim behind the Ephod, to faſten the Rationall, to the end it ſhuld neither ſway this waies nor that waies. To the ſame Rational alſo was there a girdle ſewed, diſtinguiſhed with the ſaid colours and gold; which comprehending the whole, and again knit vpon the ſeame, was ſuffered to hang downewards. And as touching the fringes, they were ſhut in hollow loops of gold from the one end to the other. Now his hat was ſuch as the other Prieſts vſed, on which there ſtood an other ſewed thereto, and flouriſhed with Hyacinthine: this after a triple order was inuironed with a golden crowne, in which there were diuers veſſels of gold made after ſuch a ſort as may be ſeene in that herbe which we call Daccharus, and amongſt the Grecian herbaliſts, Henbane. And leſt any man that hath heretofore ſeene the ſame, ſhould be ignorant of the nature thereof, or rather knowing the ſame, hath not ſeene the herbe it ſelfe; I haue thought good to ſet downe the deſcription thereof in this place. This herbe is of the height of three ſpans, it hath a roote like a Turnep or Nauew (and he ſhall not erre, that in regard thereof ſhall compare it therewith) it hath leaues that reſemble Smallage or Rocquet: this out of the ſtem thereof yeeldeth forth a certaine bud cleauing to the branches of it, inueſted with a coat, which it caſteth off when the fruite waxeth ripe. This bud is as big as the ioynt of a little finger, hauing a circumference like vnto a cup; which I will deſcribe more fitly, once againe, that the ignorant may the better diſcouer it. In the lower part therof about the bottome it reſembleth in roundneſſe a halfe bowle; and according as it groweth euery part thereof is ſtreightned, vntill being againe dilated in the extremitie or brim thereof, it end in a partition, not much vnlike to a Pomgranate cut in the middeſt, to which there is annexed and groweth a round couer as if turned and framed on purpoſe, hauing theſe eminent clefts (as I ſaid) like to the middeſt of a Pomgranate, reſembling the pointed and ſharpe thornes, and pricking blades. Now it containeth a certaine fruit vnder the couer, and in the whole cup is like to the ſeede of the herbe Sideritis, his flower is not much vnlike that which ſpringeth from the Poppey. Such was this crown about the necke and the two temples, for theſe cups came not neere the front or brow. For on the

Epphod.

Eſſen ſeu Logion.

The High Prieſts triple golden crown

Sideritis.

A the ſame there was as it were a Bend of Gold, on which the name of God was engrauen. Such were the ornaments of the high Prieſt.

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I cannot therefore but greatly wonder at the ſtrange and cauſeleſſe malice, which other Nations haue conceiued againſt vs, as if we were injurious againſt the diuine Majeſtie, which (they ſay) they ſo much honour. For, if a man marke the compoſition of the Tabernacle, and examine the habit of the high Prieſt, and conſider all the neceſſaries which we vſe in celebrating the diuine Seruice, they ſhall find, that our Law-maker was a man of a diuine ſpirit, and that we without any deſert are injured by other Nations. For, if without partialitie a man will duly examine it, he ſhall find, that all things haue beene done to repreſent and figure the world. For the Tabernacle is of thirtie cubits, diuided into three parts; whereof two are left for the Sacrificers, as a

The ſignification of the fabricke of the Tabernacle, and the Prieſts Ornament.

B place prophaned, and common, ſignifying the Land and Sea, wherein all ſorts of creatures are conuerſant: but the third part is ſequeſtred, and reſerued for God alone; in like ſort, as the Heauen is vnacceſſible by men. The Table on which the twelue Loaues were placed, ſignifieth the yeere diuided into twelue moneths. The Candleſticke, made of ſeuentie pieces, ſignifieth the twelue Signes, thorow which euery one of the ſeuen Planets paſſe: the ſeuen Lampes that were therein, repreſented the ſeuen Planets. The Veyles, made of foure ſeuerall kinds of ſtuffes, reſembled the foure Elements: for the Linnen ſeemed to repreſent the Earth, from whence it was drawne & deriued: the Purple reſembled the Sea, becauſe the Purple colour is made of the bloud of a ſhell-fiſh, called Murex: the Hyacinth ſignifieth the Ayre: and as touching the Scarlet, it ſignifieth the Fire. The Tunicle likewiſe of the high Prieſt demonſtrateth the Earth, for it is

C made of Linnen. The Hyacinth ſheweth the Pole: the Pomegranats reſembled the Lightning, as the Bells the noyſe of the Thunder. The Sircot ſheweth, that the whole World is compaſſed of foure Elements, reſembled in his foure colours: to which Gold is annexed (as I interpret it) for that Light is annexed to all things. Eſſen alſo is planted in the middle thereof, in ſuch ſort, as the Earth obtaineth the middle place of the World. Likewiſe, the Girdle wherewith he is girt, reſembleth the Sea, which enfoldeth and begirteth all things. The two Sardonix ſtones (ſet as Buttons or Loopes in the high Prieſts Garment) ſignifie the Sunne and Moone. The number of the Gems are alluded to the number of the Moneths, or the twelue Houſes, or the equall number of the parts of that Circle, which the Grecians call the Zodiake (he ſhall not much erre, that followeth either the one or the other of theſe opinions.) The Cap likewiſe hath an alluſion to Hea-

D uen, by reaſon of his Azure or Hyacinthine colour; for otherwiſe, the Name of God might be placed therein: for it was beautified with a Crowne of Gold, to ſignifie the Light, wherein God highly delighteth. Let this ſuffice for the preſent: for that which we ſhall diſcourſe hereafter, will furniſh vs with ſufficient and ample matter, to ſhew and ſet out the vertue of our Law-maker.

CHAP. IX.

Of AARONS *Prieſthood, and the Lawes which appertaine to the Feaſts and Sacrifices.*

E AFTER theſe things aboueſaid were finiſhed, and left as yet vnconſecrated, God appeared vnto *Moſes*, commanding him to eſtabliſh *Aaron*, his brother, in the Prieſthood (who, in reſpect of his vertue, deſerued that title of honour aboue all the reſt.) For which cauſe, *Moſes* (aſſembling the congregation) diſcourſed vnto them his vertues, and diſcouered his good affection, and reckoned vp vnto them, how many dangers he had ſuffered in their behalfe, (whereof each of them gaue ample teſtimonie, declaring the forward zeale and loue they alwayes bare vnto him) whereupon he ſpake vnto them after this manner: The worke is now brought to ſuch an end as it hath pleaſed God, and hath beene poſſible for vs: and for that you know we are to receiue him into this Tabernacle, we ought aboue all things to haue an eſpeciall care in the election of ſuch a one, who ſhall make ſacrifice and ſupplication for vs. Touching my ſelfe, if the matter depended on my priuate choyſe, I ſhould eſteeme no man more worthy then my ſelfe to

F execute this Function, both for that naturally men loue themſelues, and for that I am well aſſured, how many trauailes I haue ſupported for your ſafetie ſake. But God himſelfe hath judged *Aaron* worthy of this honour, and hath choſen him for his high Prieſt and Sacrificer, in that he excelleth all other of vs in equitie and juſtice; commanding, that he ſhould be inueſted with the Robe conſecrated to God, and that he ſhould take charge of the Altars and Sacrifices. He ſhall make prayers for you vnto God; who will heare them willingly, by reaſon that he hath care of your race, and will receiue them, proceeding from a perſonage whom he himſelfe had elected.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 12. Exod. 28. 29, 30, 40. God elected Aaron, Moſes brother, for high Prieſt.

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Aarons sons. *Exod.36.*

These words of his were gratefull vnto the people, and they all of them approoued the election G which God had made. For *Aaron* was more capable of that honour then any other, both by reason of his race, as also in regard of the prophecying spirit and vertue of his brother. He had at that time foure sonnes, *Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar,* and *Ithamar.* But whatsoeuer remained of those things which were gathered for the building of the Tabernacle, was imployed to make Veyles to couer the Tabernacle, Candlesticke, Altar, and the other Instruments, to the end, that in their trauaile they should not be soyled eyther by raine or dust. And hauing once more assembled the people together, he commanded them to offer euery one of them halfe a Sicle; (now the Sicle is a kind of Hebrew Coyne, that is as much in value as foure Athenian Drammes) whereunto they obeyed willingly: so that the number of them that offered, was sixe times one hundreth thousand fiue hundreth and fiftie. And they that brought this Money, were such as were of a H free condition, and betwixt the yeeres of twentie and fiftie; and that which was receiued, was imployed in the necessaries of the Temple. Then did he purifie the Tabernacle, and the Priests, in manner and forme following. He tooke the weight of fiue hundreth Sicles of chosen Myrrh, and the like quantitie of Ireos, of Cinamon, and of Calamus (which is a most odoriferous Drug) the halfe of the said weight; and he caused all these to be beaten and infused into a Hin of Oyle of Oliue, others write, Palme; (this Hin is one of our Measures, containing two Choas of Athens) all which he mixed & boyled together, according to the Art of Perfumers, and he made thereof a most odoriferous Oyntment; which he tooke, and anoynted the Priest withall, and all that which belonged to the Tabernacle, to the intent to purifie them: offering many and sundry sorts of beasts, of great price, to sacrifice within the Temple, vpon the Altar of Gold, (whereof I forbeare to speake any further, for feare I should grow offensiue and tedious to the Readers.) Twice I a day, before the Sunne-rise, and Sunne-set, they were to burne Incense, and purifie the Oyle, and refresh the Lampes; whereof, three ought to burne euery day vpon the sacred Candlesticke, in honour of God, and the rest were lighted in the euening. Amongst them that wrought and finished these things, *Beseleel* and *Eliab* were the most excellent and experteſt workemen; for whatsoeuer had beene enterprized by others, they in their Art polished and perfected. And they of themselues found many new things, of their owne inuention: yet was *Beseleel* judged the most excellent of them two.

Sicle.

The number of the Israelites, betwixt 20. and fiftie yeeres of age.

The holy Oyntment.

The Sacrifices.

Beseleel.

All the time imployed in this worke, was seuen months; and at that time was the yeere accomplished, which began at their departure out of Ægypt. In the beginning of the second yeere, in K the month which the Macedonians call *Xantichus*, and the Hebrews *Nisan*, vpon the new Moone, they dedicated the Tabernacle, with all things belonging thereunto, according as I haue made mention. And God presently testified, that both their Gifts were gracious in his eyes, and the Hebrewes labours fruitfull and pleasant in his sight; testifying his presence in that Temple after this manner: Whereas the Heauen was otherwayes cleare and faire, ouer the Tabernacle onely there was a Cloud; not wholly thicke, like a Winter storme, nor obscure; and yet not so thinne, as a man could see thorow the same; from whence there descended a Dewe, that gaue testimonie of Gods presence vnto them that had will, and beleefe. *Moses* honoured the Worke-masters that made the Worke, with such rewards as appertained vnto them by desert; and sacrificed according as God had commanded him, in the Doore or Porch of the Tabernacle, a Bull, a Ram, and L a Kid for their sinnes, (but with what ceremonie these things are done, I will declare, when I entreat of Sacrifices, as also what Offerings are to be burnt by fire, and according to the Law are allowed to be fed vpon) and with the bloud of the slaughtred beasts he besprinkled the Vestment of *Aaron*, and purified both him and his children with fountaine water and the precious Oyntment, to the end they might be sanctified to God. And for seuen dayes space he consecrated both themselues, and their Vestments, and the Tabernacle, with those things which appertained thereunto, with that Oyle whereof I haue before-time fore-told you, with the bloud of Bulls and Rams slaine euery other day, after their kind. But on the eighth day he proclaimed a holy-day and festiuall to all the people, and decreed, that euery one of them should particularly sacrifice, according to his abilitie; and they with emulation (striuing to exceed one another) obeyed M him, and offered vp their Sacrifices, according as it was commanded them.

Exod.45. The Tabernacle was dedicated on the first day of April, the second yeere after their departure out of Ægypt, the yeere after the Creation of the World, 2455. before Christs birth, 1509.

The dedicatlon of the Tabernacle, and the Priests. *Leuit.8.*

Whilest thus the Sacrifices were vpon the Altar, suddenly there issued a fire from them, which kindled of it selfe, the flame whereof resembled the Light, or brightnesse of Lightning, and consumed all that which was vpon the Altar. At that time there hapned an inconuenience to *Aaron*, which although it somewhat mooued and amated his fatherly patience, yet digested he it with a constant and generous mind: for he was a man of much constancie, and such a one as knew, that nothing

Leuit.9. The Sacrifice is consumed of it selfe. *Leuit.10.*

A nothing could befall him without the preſcience and prouidence of God. For of thoſe foure ſons (which I told you that he had) the two elder brethren *Nadab* and *Abihu*, bringing ſacrifices vnto the Altar (not ſuch as were appointed by *Moſes*, but of that ſort they were accuſtomed to offer beforetimes) were burned by the violent flame that iſſued from the Altar, ſeiſing both their breſts and faces, in ſuch a ſort, as by no meanes poſſible that might bee extinguiſhed; ſo that at length they dyed. *Moſes* commanded both their father and brothers to take their bodies, and carry them out of the hoſt, and burie them ſumptuouſly: all the people wept and were amazed very much at this their death, ſo ſtrange and vnexpected. But *Moſes* ordained that neither the father, nor his ſonnes ſhould lament; but that they ſhould rather make eſtimate of Gods honour, then of their owne misfortune: for *Aaron* was already inueſted in the ſacred robe.

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Nadab and Abihu Aarons ſons burned.

B But as touching *Moſes*, he refuſed all honours which were offered him by the people, neither applyed hee himſelfe vnto any other thing but to the ſeruice of God: neither did hee aſcend any more vp to the mountaine of Sinai, but entred into the Tabernacle to take counſell at Gods hands in thoſe things, whereof he had need to be informed. Hee demeaned himſelfe like a priuate man, not onely in his apparell, but in all other things, and liued very popularly, perſeuering in that familiar and ciuill courſe of life, and challenging no priuiledge aboue any man, but onely in thoſe things which pertained to the adminiſtration of the Commonweale.

Beſides theſe, he reduced vnder writing both the lawes and ordinances as touching Policie, in due performance whereof if they ſhould liue, they ſhould be both agreeable to God, and C liue without cauſe of controuerſie the one againſt the other. And all this eſtabliſhed hee, following thoſe directions, which God inſtructed him in. But now will I returne and bend my ſtile to diſcourſe vpon that which I haue omitted in the ornament of the High Prieſt: for this apparell of theirs leaueth not any occaſion to falſe prophets, to execute their wicked impoſtures: and if there bee any ſuch, as dare intermeddle with that which appertaineth to Gods Maieſtie, this habit maketh them know, that it is in Gods power to bee preſent with the ſacrificers, at ſuch time as it pleaſeth him; and to be abſent when him liſteth: which God would haue made knowne not onely to the Hebrewes, but to all thoſe ſtrangers, who by any occurrence might be eye-witneſſes of the ſame. For of thoſe ſtones which the High Prieſt bare on his ſhoulders (which were Sardonixes, whoſe nature is ſo notorious to all men, that it were vn- D neceſſarie to reueale it (the one ſhined at ſuch time as there was any offering, & that other which was faſtned on his right ſhoulder, ſhined very cleerely at ſuch time as God was preſent at the ſacrifice, and caſt his raies afarre off, that it might bee perceiued by thoſe that beheld the ſame, both contrary to his nature and cuſtome: which truely deſerueth admiration amongſt all men, except thoſe who through contempt of Religion, doe hunt after an opinion of wiſedome. But that which I will now ſpeake of, is more to be admired at: which is, that by the twelue ſtones which the High Prieſt bare (ſewed and enchaſed in his Rationall in the midſt of his breſt) God was wont to foreſignifie victorie to thoſe that were addreſſed to battell. For ſuch brightneſſe lightned out of them, euen before ſuch time as the army did diſlodge or enter skirmiſh, that it was notoriouſly knowne to the people, that God was preſent and ready to aſſiſt them: for which E cauſe the Greeks making account of our manner of liuing, in that they had no power or reaſon to contradict it, haue called that Rationall which we terme Eſſen (mooued thereunto by this expreſſe miracle which may not be contradicted.) This Rationall and the ſtone Sardonix gaue ouer to ſhine two hundred yeeres before I began to write theſe Antiquities, by reaſon of Gods wrath which hee had conceiued through the breach of his lawes (of which at another time I will more fitly intreat, and at this time continue and proſecute my intended diſcourſe and purpoſe. After the Tabernacle had beene thus conſecrated, and that which appertained to the Prieſts was ſet in order, the people was perſwaded that God dwelt with them in his Tabernacle, and began to ſacrifice and ſing hymnes of praiſes, as to him that had driuen farre from them all ſuſpicion of euill, and from whom they expected in time to come farre better and F more proſperous things; and both in generall and in particular they offered gifts vnto God according to their tribes: for the Gouernours of the tribes (aſſembling themſelues together two by two) prepared a Charriot and a yoake of Oxen, ſo that there were ſixe Charriots to beare the Tabernacle by the way. Furthermore euery one of them offered a viall and a cenſer, and a cofer to keepe Incenſe in, which was eſteemed to be worth tenne Dariques, and this was filled with odoriferous perfumes, and the cenſer was of ſiluer, and both of them together weighed two hundred ſicles; yet on the viall there were but 70. employed: and both the cofer

A miracle of the ſtones in the High Prieſts veſtment.

The ſacrifices and gifts of the Princes of the tribes. *Num.* 7.

The yeere of the world, 2455. before Christs Nativity, 1509.

cofer and viall were filled with meale ſteeped and moulded in oyle, which they were wont to G
vſe at the Altar, at ſuch time as they offered ſacrifice. They offered likewiſe a Calfe, and a Ram,
with a Lambe of one yeere old, for a burnt ſacrifice; and a Goat for a Sinne-offering. All the o-
ther Gouernours likewiſe brought euery one of them their ſacrifice called *Salutarie*, for euery
day two Oxen and fiue Rams, with a Lambe and a Goat of a yeere old, and ſacrificed them du-
ring the terme of twelue dayes euery one. But *Moſes* aſcended no more to the mountaine of
Sinai, but entred into the Tabernacle, where he was inſtructed by God of that which he had
to doe, and what lawes he ought to make, which are ſo good and laudable as they ought not to
be attributed to humane wiſedome: They haue beene faithfully obſerued likewiſe alwaies, be-
cauſe they are ſuppoſed to be receiued from God. So that not any one of his lawes haue beene
Moſes asketh counſell of God in the Tabernacle. tranſgreſſed by the Hebrewes, neither in peace (at ſuch time as they liued to their content) nei- H
ther in warre, at ſuch time as they were afflicted therewith. But I will now ceaſe to ſpeake of
theſe lawes, being reſolued to compoſe another treatiſe as touching the ſame.

CHAP. X.

The Ordinances of Sacrifices and Purifications.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 13. al. 12.

NOVV will I onely reckon vp a few things as touching the purifications and ſacrifices (in
that we haue begun to talk of ſacrifices.) The ſacrifices are of two ſorts: the one of them
is made for a priuate perſon; the other for the people in generall: and theſe are made in
Two kinds of ſacrifices. two manners; for in the one, all is conſumed which is vpon the Altar, which for that cauſe I
are called Holocauſts, that is to ſay, Burned. The other are of thankſgiuing, and they are made
Holocautoma. *Leuit.* 1. with banquets of thoſe that ſacrifice. But firſt of all I will ſpeake of the firſt kind. The particu-
lar perſon that offered a burnt-offering, killed an Oxe, a Lambe, and a Goate of one yeere old,
(yet is it lawfull to kill Oxen more elder.) But all thoſe creatures which muſt be conſumed by
fire, ought to be males; and after their throats are cut, the Prieſts beſprinkle the Altar round a-
bout with the blood; then dreſſe they the beaſt, and cut it in pieces, and pouder it with ſalt, and
lay it on the Altar already charged with cleft wood, and flaming fire: then after they haue well
cleanſed the feete and intrails, they lay them with the reſt; and the Prieſts take the skinnes. Such
is the maner of a burnt-offering or Holocauſt. They that offer ſacrifices of thankſgiuing, kill like-
A ſacrifice of thankſgiuing. wiſe ſuch ſorts of beaſts without ſpot, and more then a yeere old; both male and female: and K
Leuit. 4. 5. after they haue cut their throats, they ſprinkle the bloud on the Altar: then take they the reines,
the caule, and all the fat; with the lobe of the liuer, and the tayle of the Mutton, and lay it on the
Altar; but the breſt, and the left leg is left to the Prieſts: and as touching the reſt of the fleſh, the
Prieſts banquet therewith for the ſpace of two dayes; and if then there remain any thing therof,
it is burned. The ſame cuſtome and ceremonie likewiſe is obſerued in the ſacrifice for ſins: but
thoſe that are not of ability to offer the greater offerings, offer vp two Pigeons, or two Turtles,
the one of which the Prieſts haue to feaſt withall, and the other is conſumed with fire. We will
intreat more expreſſely of the ſacrifices of ſuch beaſts, at ſuch time as we ſhall diſcourſe vpon ſa-
The ſacrifice for ſinne. crifices. For he that hath ſinned vpon ignorance, offreth a Lambe, and a ſhee Goat at the ſame
time. The Prieſt beſprinkleth the Altar with the blood thereof, not in ſuch manner as it is ſaid L
heretofore, but the hornes of the Altar only: and on the Altar they offer the kidneies, and the reſt
of the fat, with the lobe of the liuer: the prieſts carry away the skins, and eate the fleſh within the
The ſacrifice of him that hath ſinned wittingly. *Leuit.* 4. 9. Temple the very ſame day; becauſe the law permitteth them not to reſerue any thing till the
next morrow: he that hath ſinned (and that knoweth it in himſelfe without the knowledge or
priuitie of any other man) offereth a Lambe according as the law commandeth, the fleſh where-
of is in like ſort deuoured by the Prieſts the ſame day: but if the Gouernours offer for their
ſinnes, they ſacrifice in like manner as priuate men doe, and are different from them in that
The cuſtome obſerued in ſacrifices. they bring a Bull, or a male Kid. The law alſo ordaineth, that in ſacrifices both priuate and com-
mon, there ſhould be fine flower brought, for a Lambe, the meaſure of an Aſſar; for a Ramme,
the meaſure of two; with a Bull, three; which flower is firſt of all mingled and wrought M
with oyle, and ſet vpon the Altar to be ſanctified. They that ſacrifice likewiſe doe bring oyle, the
halfe part of a Hin for a Bull; for a Ramme, the third of the ſame meaſure; and for a Lambe,
the fourth part: this Hin is an Hebrew meaſure, which containeth two Attique Choas: they
brought alſo the like meaſure of wine as of oyle, and powred out the wine neere to the Altar.
And if any without ſacrificing offer vp fine flower, he putteth the firſt fruits vpon the Altar, that
is to ſay, one handfull, and the reſt is taken by the Prieſts for their maintenance, either fried
(for

A (for they are kneaded in oyle)or with Loaues made thereof: but whatſoeuer the Prieſt offereth, all that muſt be burned. The Law likewiſe forbiddeth to offer any beaſt whatſoeuer, that day that it is borne, or to kill it with his Dam, or in any other ſort,before it hath fed twelue dayes. There are alſo other Sacrifices made for deliuerance from ſickneſſe,or for other cauſes;in which Sacrifices,they imploy Wine or Liquor with that which is offered; of which Liquors,it is not lawfull to reſerue any thing againſt the next morrow, when the Prieſts haue taken that portion which belongeth to,and ſufficeth them.The Law commandeth,that on the common Purſe there be euery day killed a Lambe of a yeere old, the one in the morning, the other at the ſhutting vp of the euening: and on the ſeuenth day, which is called the Sabbath, that two ſhould be offered in that manner as hath beene declared. And on the new Moone, beſides their dayly Offerings, B they ſacrifice two Oxen, ſeuen yeereling Lambes, and a Wether and a Kid, for the abolition of thoſe ſinnes which are committed through forgetfulneſſe. On the ſeuenth moneth (which the Macedonians call *Hyperberete)* beſides the aboue-named, they ſacrifice a Bull,one Mutton,ſeuen Lambes,and a Kid for ſinnes. The tenth day of the ſame moneth,according to the Moone,they faſt till the euening,and on the ſame day they ſacrifice a Bull,two Muttons,ſeuen Lambes,and a Goat,for a Sinne-offering: beſides which,they bring two Kids;one of which is ſent aliue,out of the limits of the Campe into the Deſart(on whom all the euill may fall,if ſo be any be threatned to the people) the other is borne without the Campe,into a cleane place,where it is burned with the skin,being not any wayes purged. With this they burne a Bull,which is not allowed out of the common charge,but by the proper coſts of the Prieſt.This Bull being opened and ſlaine,and C the bloud thereof(with that of the Goat)being carried into the Tabernacle,he ſprinkleth the couer thereof with his finger ſeuen times,and the Pauement as many times,and the Tabernacle and the Altar of Gold,and all the reſt about the great Altar,which is abroad in the Court. Beſides that, they ſet on the Altar the reines,and the fat with the Lobe of the Liuer, and the Prieſt offereth vnto God a Mutton for a burnt-offering. The fifteenth day of the ſaid moneth(at ſuch time as it draweth towards Winter) he commanded them to plant Tabernacles euery one in his family, againſt the inſtant cold weather which the encreaſing yeere was wont to bring: and that when they ſhould enjoy their Countrey,and ſhould enter that Citie which they ſhould hold for their Metropolitane,(by reaſon of the Temple which ſhould be there builded) they might celebrate a feaſt during eight dayes ſpace,in offering burnt-offering and Sacrifices vnto God:and that D in witneſſe of their thankſgiuing,they ſhould beare in their hands a branch of Mirtle and of Willow,tied together with wooll,and a bough of Palme likewiſe,to which a Peach was faſtned;and that the firſt day they ſhould ſacrifice thirteene Oxen, and foureteene Lambes, and two Sheepe, with a Goat,for a Sinne-offering.Thoſe dayes that enſued,they ſacrificed likewiſe a like number of Lambs,and Wethers,with a Kid; and in rebating day by day the number of Oxen,they come backe to the ſeuenth.The eighth day they ceaſe from worke. On this day(as we haue ſaid) they ſacrifice a Calfe,a Ram,and ſeuen Lambes,and a Kid, for a Sinne-offering: and it is the cuſtome of the Hebrewes to performe theſe Sacrifices at ſuch time as they pitch their Tabernacles.In the moneth *Xantique*(which we call *Niſan)* which is the firſt moneth of the yeere, the fourteenth day after the new Moone,the Sun being in Aries, (for at that time were we deliuered out of Ægypt) E he ordained, that euery yeere we ſhould doe Sacrifice,which we call the Paſſeouer, which (as I ſaid)was celebrated the ſame time that we departed out of Ægypt.This ſolemnitie of Eaſter we celebrate by companies, without reſeruing any thing of that which is offered, till the next day. The fifteenth day the feaſt of vnleauened bread followeth the ſolemnitie of the Paſſeouer; and during thoſe ſeuen dayes,it is vnlawfull to eat any vnleauened bread:and euery day are ſlaine two Bulls,one Ram,and ſeuen Lambes, which are all conſumed with fire; to which there is added a Kid,for a Sinne-offering,for a ſeuerall dayes banquet to feaſt the Prieſts with.The ſecond day of this feaſt of vnleauened bread (which is the ſixteenth of the moneth) they begin to enjoy the fruits that are mowed, and before that time vntouched. And for that it is very conuenient,that God ſhould be honoured with the firſt fruits thereof, from whom they receiue ſuch abundance, F they offer the firſt fruits of Barley after this manner: After they haue dryed a handfull of the eares,they beat or threſh it, and cleanſe the Barley from the chaffe, and offer an *Aſſar* of the ſame vpon the Altar vnto God;and after they haue caſt a handfull of the ſame on the Altar,they leaue the reſt for the Prieſts vſe: and from that time forward it is lawfull for them to reape as well in publike as in particular.With theſe firſt fruits,they ſacrifice vnto God a Lamb,for a burnt-offring. Seuen weekes after the feaſt of the Paſſeouer (that is,fortie nine dayes) on the fiftieth(which the Hebrewes,by reaſon of the number,call *Aſartha)* they offer vnto God a leauened bread,made of

The yeere of the world, 2455. before Chriſts Natiuity.1509

Leuit.2.

Num.28.29.

The Sacrifice of the moneth of October.

The feaſt of Tabernacles. *Exod. 29. Leuit. 23. Deut.21.31.*

Exod. 12. 13. 23. Leuit. 23. Deut. 16.

The Eaſter was the 14. of April.

Leuit.2. The firſt fruits.

The Sacrifice of Penticoſt.

Wheat

The yeere of the world, 2455. before Christs Nativity, 1509.

What is obserued in euerie Feast and Sacrifice.

The Bread of Propoſition.

Wheat flower, of the quantitie of two *Aſſars*, and ſacrifice two Lambes, which are onely offered G vp to God, and afterwards are prepared for the Prieſts Dinner; and it is not lawfull for them to reſerue any thing thereof vntill the next day. But the burnt-Offerings are, of three Calues, two Wethers, and foureteene Lambes; beſides two Kids, for a ſinne-Offering. There is not any feaſt wherein they offer not a burnt-Offering, and deſiſt not from all manuall labour: but in euery one of the ſame, there is ordained a certaine ſort of Sacrifice which they ought to doe; and it is preſently ordered, that they reſt from their labours, and after Sacrifice fall to banquet. On the common charge they offered vnleauened Bread, of twentie foure *Aſſars* of flower: and thoſe Loaues they baked two by two the day before the Sabbath; and the day of the Sabbath, in the morning, they bring it, and ſet it on the ſacred Table, oppoſing ſixe to ſixe, the one againſt the other; and vpon them are impoſed two platters full of incenſe: and theſe things remaine after this manner H

Leuit. 8. *Num.* 3.

till the next Sabbath, and then ſet they new in the place of the firſt, which are giuen to the Prieſts for their maintenance. The incenſe is caſt into the ſacred fire, in which the burnt-Offerings are conſumed, and in place thereof there is new incenſe put. The Prieſt alſo ſacrificeth on his owne charge, flower mingled with oyle, and a little baked by fire; and this doth he twice euery day, and bringeth to the fire halfe an *Aſſar* of flower in the morning, and the other halfe in the euening. But I will entreat hereof more expreſſely hereafter; and for the preſent, me thinkes I haue ſufficiently ſpoken alreadie.

The Tribe of Leui ſacred to God.

Moſes ſeparated the Tribe of *Leui*, and exempted them from the other people, to the end they might be conſecrated vnto God; and he purified them with liuing fountaine-water, and purged them with ſolemne Sacrifice, and committed the Tabernacle to their charge, with all the holy I things pertaining thereunto, and all the reſt which had bin made for the couer of the Tabernacle, to the end they might be miniſters to the Prieſts, their ſuperiors, who were alreadie conſecrated to God. After this he diſtinguiſhed the beaſts alſo; namely, thoſe that were to be eaten, from thoſe

Vncleane things. *Leuit.* 12, 13, 14. and 15.

which were to be forborne and abſtained from, (of which we will ſpeake, at ſuch time as occaſion is offered vs; and will bring proofes, and the reaſon which induced him to ordaine, that ſome were proper to feed vpon, & for what cauſe he would that we ſhould abſtaine from otherſome.) He hath generally interdicted all vſe of bloud in meats, eſteeming the bloud to be the ſoule and ſpirit of beaſts. He hath alſo generally prohibited to eat the fleſh of thoſe beaſts that died by themſelues: likewiſe the caule and fat of Goats, of Sheepe, and Oxen. He thruſt them likewiſe

What men are vncleane.

out of the companie and conuerſation of men, who were leprous, and ſuch as were troubled with K the flux of their ſeed. And as touching women that haue ſickneſſe, he ſequeſtred them for the ſpace of ſeuen dayes, after which, it was lawfull for them to conuerſe indifferently the one with the other. The like decreed he of thoſe that had aſſiſted the buriall of a dead man, whom he permitted to conuerſe with other, after ſeuen dayes were expired. It was a thing alſo decreed by law, that he that was ſurprized with vncleanneſſe, and vnpurified beyond the number of thoſe dayes, he ſhould ſacrifice two Wethers, one of which ſhould be purified, and the other giuen to the

Gonorrhæa.

Prieſts. The like Sacrifice is made for him that hath had vnnaturall pollution, who firſt waſheth himſelfe in cold water. The like muſt they offer, that haue vſe of their lawfull Wiues. He altogether droue the Leprous out of the Citie, not permitting them to frequent any mans company, but

Of Lepers.

eſteeming them as men little differing from the dead. And if any one, by his prayers made vnto L God, was deliuered from this diſeaſe, and his skin reduced to his natiue colour, ſuch a one preſented himſelfe before God in diuers Oblations and Sacrifices; of which, we will ſpeake hereafter.

Againſt them that obiect againſt Moſes and his followers, that they fled out of Ægypt for Leproſie.

For which cauſe they are worthy to be laughed at, who ſay, that *Moſes* fled out of Ægypt, becauſe he was a Leper, and that he conducted with him other ſuch as were trauelled with that diſeaſe, and brought them into the Land of Canaan. For, if that were true, *Moſes* had not made theſe Ordinances, to his owne prejudice: which if other had propoſed, it behooued him to haue oppoſed himſelfe againſt them; eſpecially, ſince amongſt other diuers Nations there are Lepers, who are held in great honour, and who are ſo farre from diſdaine & contempt, as that they haue bin made Generals of moſt notable Armies, and elected for Gouernors of Commonweales, hauing libertie to enter the Temples, and to be preſent at the Sacrifices. What therefore hindred *Moſes* (if he had M bin polluted with the like hatefull ſickneſſe) to make ſuch lawes, and ordaine ſuch ſtatutes among thoſe people, who honoured and obeyed him; whereby ſuch as were therewith infected, might be preferred? By which it is manifeſt, that thoſe things that are obiected againſt him, are rather of malice then probabilitie. But *Moſes* being cleane from ſuch ſickneſſe, and conuerſing amongſt his countreymen which were vntainted, made theſe Ordinances for them that were ſicke, hauing regard to the honour of God. But of theſe things, let each man cenſure as beſt liketh him.

He

A He forbade that women ſhould enter into the Temple after their deliuerance, or to aſſiſt the ſacrifice, vntill fortie dayes were expired (if they had beene brought a-bed of a ſonne) but if it were a daughter, he willed that the number of the dayes ſhould be doubled; and that when they ſhould enter, they ſhould preſent their offerings vnto God, and to the Prieſts that offered them. And if any one ſuſpected that his wife had committed adulterie; he brought an Aſſar of grinded barley, and caſt a handfull therof before God, and the reſt was reſerued for the maintenance of the Prieſts: and then the Prieſt placing the woman in the Porch which is right ouer againſt the Temple, and taking the couer from her head, writeth the name of God vpon a skinne, and maketh her ſweare that ſhe hath not plaied falſe with her husband; and wiſh if ſhe had tranſgreſſed the bounds of chaſtity, that her right thigh might be put out of ioynt, her wombe might B rot, and that death might follow thereupon: but if (through entire loue, and iealouſie proceeding therefro) her husband had beene inconſiderately drawn into that ſuſpicion, that ſhe might within ten moneths bring forth a male child. And after ſuch an oath miniſtred vnto her, the Prieſt wipeth out the name of God that was written on the skinne, and wringeth it into a viall; and then taking of the earth of the Temple, according as he findeth it, and hauing mingled the ſame, giueth it to the woman to drinke; and if ſhee had beene vniuſtly accuſed, ſhe continueth with childe, and beareth her fruit her full time: but if ſhe hath falſified her faith to her husband, and forſworne her ſelfe before God, then dieth ſhe a ſhamefull death, for her thigh is nummed, and her wombe growes full of water. See here how *Moſes* hath prouided for theſe ſacrifices at the purifying of a woman. He furthermore made theſe lawes which enſue. He generally forbad C adulterie, iudging it to be a great good hap, if men demeaned themſelues honeſtly in marriage: and that both in politique eſtates, and priuate families, it was a thing moſt profitable, that children ſhould be borne in lawfull Matrimony.

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Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 14.

The lawes of women that are brought a-bed.

Num. 5.

The lawes of adulterie and iealouſie.

Of adulterie and inceſt.

Exod. 22. *Deut.* 17. *Leuit.* 18. 20, 21, 29.

The law alſo forbiddeth a man to haue the vſe of his mother (for that it is a thing moſt abominable) and likewiſe prohibiteth him to keepe vnlawfull companie with his fathers wife, his aunt, and his ſiſter, or his ſonnes wife: and deteſteth it as a moſt hainous and hideous offence. It prohibiteth alſo the vſe of a woman when ſhe hath her monethly ſickneſſe; the vſe of beaſts alſo eſpecially the male, by reaſon that ſuch affections are abominable: and againſt the tranſgreſſours of theſe lawes hee eſtabliſhed moſt ſtrict and mortall puniſhments. Hee willed alſo that the Prieſts ſhould be twice more chaſte then the reſt, for he not onely forbade them that which he D prohibited others; but moreouer he inioyned them not to marry thoſe that had beene abandoned, or ſlaues, or priſoners, or victuallers and tauerners, forſaken by their husbands for any occaſion whatſoeuer. And as touching the high Prieſt, he permitted him not to match with the widdow of him that was dead (although it were made lawfull for the other Prieſts) and granted him only liberty to take a Virgin to his wife, and to keepe her. The ſaid high Prieſt is alſo forbidden to approch a dead man (although the other Prieſts are not ſcanted of that liberty to approch their brothers, fathers and mothers, and children deceaſed.) Willing that they ſhould be ſimple in all kinde of ſimplicitie.

Leuit. 21. What wife the high Prieſt might marry with.

He likewiſe ordained, that the Prieſt which ſhould not be ſound in body, ſhould be maintained by the other Prieſts, but in the meane time that he ſhould not approch the Altar, neither E enter into the Temple: willing that not onely they ſhould be neat in that which concerned the diuine ſeruice, but alſo that they ſhould ſtudie and indeauour to be the like in all the actions of their life, to the end that no man might reproue them. For which cauſe they that beare the habit of the Prieſts are vnreproueable, and in all things pure and ſober, being forbidden to drinke wine as long as they ware the prieſtly veſture. They were willed alſo to offer vp entire ſacrifices, and no wayes maimed. Theſe ſtatutes did *Moſes* decree, and make during his life time. And afterwards he deuiſed others alſo, at ſuch time as he remained in the deſart; which both the people might practiſe in that place; and then alſo when they had poſſeſſed the land of Canaan. He gaue reſt vnto the earth the ſeuenth yeere; ſo that it was neither tilled nor planted (in like manner as he had commanded them to reſt from their labours on the ſeuenth day of the weeke) and hee F ordained, that the fruits which the earth of it ſelfe brought forth, ſhould be common to all thoſe that would make vſe thereof, as well to thoſe of the countrey, as ſtrangers, without any forbidding or reſeruation. He likewiſe decreed that this ſhould be done after the ſeuenth week of yeers, which containeth the ſpace of fiftie yeeres, which the Hebrews call *Iubile*, in which the debtors are acquited by their creditors, and the bond-men made free, who being of the people (and for that they had forfeited againſt ſome one law) had beene puniſhed, being handled after the manner of ſlaues, and not put to death; and to thoſe, who from the beginning had been poſſeſſours of lands,

Leuit. 25. The law of euery ſeuenth yeere.

The yeere of the world, 2455. before Christs Natiuity, 1509. *The yeere of Iubile.*

lands, they were restored vnto them in this manner following. The Iubile being at hand (which word signifieth liberty) both he that sold, and he that bought the land, meet together, and cast vp the account of the profits and expences that haue beene reaped and bestowed on the land; and if it be found that the profits doe amount, he that sold the land repossesseth it: but if the charges exceed the value of the profits, he restoreth the surplusage to the buyer that is due vnto him, and retaineth the land to himselfe. And if the profits and expences are answerable the one vnto the other, the restitution is made to him that had the ancient inheritance. He ratified likewise the same law in houses that were bought in Villages or Cities. For if he that sold, counted downe the money he had receiued before the yeere were finished; he compelled the purchaser to restore him his house: and if hee stayed till the yeere were fully finished, the possession and free purchase remained vnto him that bought it. *Moses* receiued this disposition of his lawes from God, at such time as his flockes fed at the foote of the mountaine of Sinai, and he gaue them in writing to the Hebrewes.

CHAP. XI.

The lawes and customes of warre.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 5. all 12. *Num.* 1. Moses numbreth vp the people.

AFTER that these lawes had beene after this manner digested, *Moses* addressed himselfe to the affaires and lawes of warre (forethinking him of those battels which should follow.) He therefore commanded the Gouernours of the tribes (the tribe of *Leui* onely excepted) to take a precise view and musters of those men that were capable and able to beare armes (for the Leuites were sacred and exempt from those functions) and the search being made, there were found sixe hundreth and three thousand, sixe hundreth and fiftie fighting men, betwixt the yeeres of twentie, and fiftie. But in stead of *Leui* he chose *Manasses*, the sonne of *Ioseph*; and *Ephraim* for his father *Ioseph:* for so much had *Iacob* intreated at *Iosephs* hands, that he would giue him his sonnes, that hee might adopt them (as it hath beene aforetime declared.) When they pitched the Tabernacle, it was planted in the midst of the Campe, guarded and defenced with the tribes which were incamped three by three on euery side. There were certaine waies or paths likewise laid out between them, and a market place was quartered out, and shops for all sorts of merchandize disposed by order, and workemen and artizans of all occupations, trauelling in their shops; so that to looke vpon it, it resembled a Citie that marched and encamped.

Num. 2. 3. 4.

The disposition of the army.

The Priests first were planted next vnto the Tabernacle, and after them followed all the community of the Leuites (for there was a view also made of them, accounting all the males exceeding the age of thirty dayes; and they were counted to be twenty and three thousand, eight hundreth and eightie.) And when it chanced that a cloud descended vpon the Tabernacle, then rested they, as if God thought good to rest in that place; and if it departed from the same, then remooued they likewise. He inuented also a certaine kinde of Cornet made of siluer, and framed after this manner. In length it was almost a cubit, and it was like the narrow whistle of a Fife, but a little more thicker, yet neuertheless, it was wide enough for the space of the mouth, to the end to receiue the breath, and the end thereof was made like a little Bell, in forme of a Trumpet. They call it in the Hebrew tongue Asofra. There were two of them, whereof the one of them serued to assemble and call the people to publike assemblies; and the other to conuocate the Gouernours when they were to consult vpon affaires of estate: and if both of them were sounded, then all of them in generall gathered together. When the Tabernacle was remoued, this manner was obserued; As soone as the first charge was sounded, they that were incamped toward the East, first of all dislodged: at the second charge, they to the Southward disincamped; then was the Tabernacle vnpitched, and carried in the midst, sixe of the tribes marching before, and sixe of them after: the Leuites were all about the Tabernacle. And when they sounded the third time, the quarter toward the West-ward remooued: and the fourth was that to the Northward. They made vse also of all these Cornets in the diuine seruice, with which they ordered the sacrifices on the Sabbath and other dayes. Then also was the first Passeouer celebrated with solemne offerings after their departure out of Ægypt, they being in the desart.

A cloud on the Tabernacle. *Num.* 9.

Num. 10. Two trumpets made of siluer.

The order of the army with the Tabernacle.

CHAP. XII.

Sedition againſt MOSES, *through the ſcarcitie of Victuals: and the puniſhment of the Rebellious.*

The yeere of the world, 2455. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1509.

NOT long after this, they remooued their Campe from the mountaine of Sinai: and after certaine encampings (of which we will ſpeake) they came to a place which is called Iſeremoth; where the people once more began to ruminate and reuiue their Seditions, and lay the fault of their laborious pilgrimage vpon *Moſes*; obiecting, that by his perſwaſion they had left a fertile countrey, and now not onely that they were deſtitute of the plentie thereof, but alſo in ſtead of hoped felicitie, forced to wander here and there in extreme miſerie, and trauelled with want of Water: and that if Manna likewiſe ſhould in any ſort faile them, they were like all of them, without queſtion, to periſh for want of ſuſtenance. Hereunto annexed they diuers contumelies, which were euery where inflicted againſt him, being a man of ſo great deſert and conſequence. Meane while there aroſe one amongſt the people, who (admoniſhing them of the forepaſſed benefits receiued by the hands of *Moſes*) counſelled them to be of good courage; aſſuring them, that at that time they ſhould not be fruſtrate eyther of that hope, or helpe, which they expected at Gods hands. But the people were the rather incenſed againſt him by theſe words, and more and more whetted their ſpleenes againſt the Prophet: Who ſeeing them ſo deſperate, willed them to be of a good courage; promiſing them, that although by injurious ſpeeches he had vndeſeruedly beene offenced by them, yet that hee would giue them ſtore of fleſh, not for one day onely, but alſo for many. But they being incredulous, (and ſome one amongſt them demanding, how he could make prouiſion for ſo many thouſand men) God (ſayth he) and I, although we be euill ſpoken of by you, yet will we neuer deſiſt to be carefull for you, and that ſhall you ſhortly perceiue. Scarce had hee ſpoken this, but that all the Campe was filled with Quailes, which they hunted for by heapes. Yet God, not long after that, puniſhed the inſolencie and ſlander of the Hebrewes, by the death of no ſmall number: for at this day the place retaineth his name, which for that cauſe was impoſed thereon, and it is called *Cabrothaba*; as if you ſhould ſay, The Monuments of Concupiſcence.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 16. al. 13. *Num.* 11. Sedition againſt Moſes.

The Iſraelites obtain Quails in the Deſart.

The Graues of Concupiſcence.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Spyes that were ſent to ſearch the Land of Canaan: and how returning to the Iſraelites, they amated them with feare.

BVT after that *Moſes* had led them out of that place, and had brought them into a countrey not ſo apt for habitation, (not farre from the borders of the Canaanites, which is called the Iawes) he called the people to a Councell, and ſtanding vp in the midſt of them, he ſpake after this manner: God (ſaith he) hauing decreed to graunt you two great benefits, namely, the libertie & poſſeſſion of a happie Country, hath granted you alreadie the poſſeſſion of the one, and will ſhortly make you partakers of the other. For we are vpon the borders of Canaan; from whence, both the Cities and Kings are ſo farre from driuing vs, as the whole Nation being vnited together, is not of power to expell vs. Let vs therefore addreſſe our ſelues very confidently to attempt the matter: for neyther without fight, will they reſigne the title of their Countrey vnto vs; neyther without great conflicts, may we obtaine the Palme of Victorie. Let vs therefore ſend out certaine Spyes, to ſearch into the ſecrets of the Countrey, and ſuch as may conjecture how great their power is: but aboue all things, let vs be at vnitie one with another; and let vs honour God, who aſſiſteth vs in all dangers, and fighteth for vs. After that *Moſes* had ſpoken after this manner, the people (applauding his counſels) choſe twelue out of the moſt nobleſt Families of the Tribes, to goe & ſearch the Country, out of euery Tribe one: Who beginning from the parts extending towards Ægypt, viſited all the Countrey of the Canaanites, vntill they came to the Citie of Amathe, and the Mountaine of Libanus. And hauing ſearched out both the Land, and the nature of the inhabitants, they returned home againe, hauing conſumed fortie dayes in thoſe affaires. Moreouer, they brought with them ſuch Fruits as the Countrey yeelded; and by the beautie thereof, and by the quantitie of thoſe riches, (which they reported to be in that Countrey) they encouraged the hearts of the people to fight valiantly: but on the other ſide, they diſmayed them with the difficultie of the conqueſt, ſaying, that there were certaine Riuers impoſſible to be ouerpaſſed, both for their greatneſſe & depth; that there were therein alſo inacceſſible Mountaines

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 17. all. 14. *Num.* 13. 14.

Moſes ſendeth Spyes to ſearch the Land of Canaan.

The yeere of the world, 2455. before the Natiuitie of Christ, 1509

and Cities, fortified both with walls and bulwarkes. Moreouer, they told them, that in Hebron they found a Race of Gyants. And thus these Spyes (when as they had found all things farre greater amongst the Chanaanites, then to that day they had seene, since their departure out of Ægypt) they of set purpose, by their feare, brought the rest of the multitude into a dangerous suspition and perplexitie: Who conjecturing by their discourse, that it was impossible to conquer the Land, dissoluing the assembly, returned each one to their houses, lamenting with their Wiues and children, saying, That God had onely in words promised many things, but that in effect he gaue them no assistance. Moreouer, they blamed *Moses*, and reuiled both him and his brother *Aaron*, the high Priest. And thus spent they all the night in disquiet, vrging their discontents both against the one and the other. But on the morrow they reassembled their Councell, vnder this pretence, That stoning *Moses*, & his brother, they might returne back againe to Ægypt, from whence they came. Which euent, when two of the Spyes greatly suspected, (namely, *Iesus*, the sonne of *Naue*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, and *Caleb*, of the Tribe of *Iuda*) they went into the midst of them, and appeased the multitude; praying them to be of good hope, and not to challenge Almightie God of deceit, by yeelding certaine slight beliefe to some, who by spreading vaine rumors of the affaires of Canaan, had terrified the credulous multitude; but rather, that they should follow them, who both would be the actors and conductors also of them in the conquest of the countrey: and that neyther the greatnesse of the Mountaines, nor the depth of the Riuers, could hinder them, that like valiant men were prepared to attempt, especially God being their Guide, and readie to fight for them in that battaile. March forward therefore, (said they) and laying aside all feare, (and being assured of the diuine succours) follow vs with a bold courage whithersoeuer we lead you. With these words laboured they to appease the insulting multitude. In the meane while, *Moses* and *Aaron* falling prostrate on their faces, besought God, not for their owne safetie, but that it would please him to restore the despairing multitude to a better minde, who were troubled with so many present and instant necessities. Whereupon suddenly a Cloud appeared on the Tabernacle, and gaue testimonie, that God was there present. Which when *Moses* perceiued (drawing his spirits vnto him) he pressed into the presence of the multitude, and told them, how God was incited and whetted to take punishment of the outrage which they had committed against him; yet not so seuerely, as the iniquitie of their sinnes deserued, but in that discipline which fathers are accustomed to vse, for the instruction of their children. For at such time as he stood before God in the Tabernacle, and besought him with teares for the safetie of the multitude, God had recounted vnto him, how many benefits and fauours they had receiued from him, and how vngratefull they shewed themselues towards him: and that at the present being transported with the feare of the Spyes, they had esteemed their reports more true, then his promises. Notwithstanding all which, that he would not vtterly consume them all, nor exterminate their whole Race, (whom he had honoured aboue all the Nations of the Earth) but that he would not graunt them the grace to conquer the Land of Canaan, neyther making them partakers thereof; but would bring to passe, that they should liue in the Desart, without house or Citie, for the space of fortie yeeres, for punishment of their transgression. Yet hath he promised (said he) to giue the Countrey to your successors, whom he will make Lords of their goods, and heires of those possessions which you haue enuied your selues.

The Spyes driue feare into the Israelites.

The murmure of the people against Moses.

Iosuah and Caleb appease the people.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 18. all. 14.

The Israelites should wander in the Desart fortie yeeres.

After that *Moses* had discourséd these things after this manner, according to the Ordinance of God, the people were in great sorrow and calamitie, and besought *Moses*, that he would appease Gods wrath conceiued against them; beseeching him, that forgetting their faults that were past in the Desart, he would make them Lords of their enemies Cities. *Moses* answered them, that God was not incited against them according to the manner of humane weakenesse, but that hee had giuen a just sentence against them. In this place it is not to be supposed, that *Moses* (who was but a man onely) did appease so many multitudes of displeased men, but that God assisted him, and brought to passe, that the people were conquered with his words, (hauing with diuers disobediences, and by the calamities whereinto they were falne, knowne, that obedience was both good and commendable. Furthermore, for that *Moses* was admirable for his vertue, and the force proceeding from his faith: of whom, not only they haue spoken, who liued in his time, but euen at this day there is not any one amongst the Hebrewes, who (as if *Moses* were now here present to chastise him, if hee ran astray) would not obey the Ordinances made by him, although hee might make breach of them in secret.

The repentance of the people.

Moses, a man of great authoritie.

There are besides diuers great and euident signes of the more then humane vertue which was in him: and amongst the rest, this was not the least, That certaine strangers trauelling out of the

Regions

Regions beyond Euphrates a foure moneths journey, to their great charges, and with no leſſe perill, to honour our Temple, and offer Sacrifice, yet could they not obtaine licence or permiſſion to offer, in that by our Lawes it was not lawfull for them to doe it: and ſome other, without ſacrificing, (otherſome the Sacrifice halfe finiſhed, the reſt not permitted to enter the Temple) haue returned backe againe to their homes, without finiſhing their purpoſes, chuſing rather to obey *Moſes* Law, then their owne wills; yet being reprooued therein by none but their owne conſciences. So much did the opinion once conceiued of this man preuaile, that hee is eſteemed more then a man, who is ſuppoſed to haue receiued Lawes from God, and to haue deliuered them to men. Of late alſo, (not long before the Warres of the Iewes, during the Empire of *Claudius*, and *Iſmael* being high Prieſt amongſt vs) when as ſo great a Famine oppreſſed our Nation, that an *Aſſar* was ſold for foure Drams, and there was brought to the Feaſts of *Azymes* the quantitie of ſeuentie *Cores*, (which make thirtie Sicilian and fortie Athenian *Medimni*, which are two Buſhels of ours almoſt) ſome of the Prieſts were not ſo bold as to eate one graine of Barley, (notwithſtanding the countrey was in that extremitie) fearing the Law, and Gods diſpleaſure extended alwayes againſt ſinnes concealed. For which cauſe, wee ought not to wonder at that which happened at that time, conſidering, that the Writings left by *Moſes*, are in ſuch force, euen at this day, that they themſelues who hate vs, confeſſe, That he that hath inſtituted our Gouernment, is God, by the meanes and miniſterie of *Moſes*, and his vertue. But of theſe things, let euery man thinke as it pleaſeth him.

The yeere of the world, 2455. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1509.

The great ſcarcitie during the Empire of Claudius.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES: WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the fourth Booke.

1. *The fight of the Hebrewes with the Chanaanites, and their ouerthrow by them, without* Moſes *knowledge.*
2. *The Sedition rayſed by* Chore *againſt* Moſes *and his brother, for the Prieſthood.*
3. *How the authors of the Sedition were ſlaine by Gods judgement, and the Prieſthood confirmed to* Aaron, *and his ſonnes.*
4. *What chanced to the Hebrewes in the Deſart for the ſpace of* 38. *yeeres.*
5. *How* Moſes *ouercame* Sehon, *and* Og, *Kings of the Amorites, and ouerthrew their Armies.*
6. *Of the Prophet* Balaam.
7. *The victorie of the Hebrewes againſt the Madianites: and how the countrey of the Amorites was granted by* Moſes *to two and a halfe of the Tribes.*
8. Moſes *Lawes: and how he was taken out of the World.*

The yeere of the world, 2455. before Christs Natiuity, 1509.

CHAP. I.

The fight of the Hebrewes with the Canaanites: and their ouerthrow by them, without MOSES *knowledge.*

Num. 14. The Israelites without Gods or Moses command, determine how to assayle the enemies.

WHILEST thus the Hebrewes passed their life in great penurie and perplexitie in the Desart, groaning vnder the burthen of their grieuous afflictions; there was nothing that more distracted and distempered them than this, That God had forbidden them to hazzard or enter battaile against the Canaanites. Neyther would they now any longer giue eare vnto *Moses*, (who perswaded them to peace) but waxed confident in themselues, that both without his conduct and counsailes, they might easily obtaine victorie ouer their enemies: and accused him likewise, as if he sought after no other thing, but that they being dayly pressed with great wants, should be enforced continually to depend vpon his counsailes. Whereupon they embattailed themselues against the Canaanites; presuming with themselues, that God would succour them, not onely in regard of *Moses*, but also for that he had a generall care of their Nation, euer since the time of their forefathers, whom he had alwayes held vnder his protection; and by reason of whose vertues, he had alreadie graunted them libertie. They said likewise, that if they would take the paines at that time, and endeuour themselues, that God would alwayes fight with them: protesting, that they were able to ouer-runne the Nations, although they were but themselues; yea, although *Moses* would endeuour to estrange God from them. In a word, that it was behoofefull, that all of them should be Lords of themselues; and that being recomforted and redeemed from the seruitude of Ægypt, they ought not to suffer *Moses* to tyrannize ouer them, or to conforme their liues to his will; vnder this vaine beliefe, that God had onely discouered to *Moses* that which was behoofefull for them, by reason of the affection which he bare him: As if all of them were not deriued from the loynes of *Abraham*, and that he onely were the motiue of all, in fore-knowing the things that should happen vnto them, by particular instruction from God? That euen then they should seeme to be wise, if (condemning his pride, and fixing their trust vpon God) they would take possession of the Country which he had promised them, in spight of *Moses* contradiction; who for this cause hindred them, setting the name of God before them: That therfore putting before their eyes their necessitie, and the Desart, which dayly more and more aggrauated their miserie, they should endeuor themselues couragiously to sally out against the enemie, the Canaanites; alledging, that God would be their Guide, so as they had no reason to expect the assistance of their Law-maker. At last, when this sentence was approued by a generall allowance, they flocke out in multitudes against their enemies: who neyther affrighted by their fierce assault, neyther terrified with their infinite multitude, valiantly resisted them, who desperately charged them: so that (the better part of the Hebrewes being slaine) they pursued the rest (enforced shamefully to turne their backs) euen vnto their Campe. This ouerthrow (hapning beside all mens opinion) wondrously dejected the minds of the multitude, that they grew desperate of all future good fortune; concluding, that God had sent and inflicted that plague vpon them, because without his counsaile and fauour they had enterprized the battaile. But when *Moses* perceiued, that both his owne countrymen were dismayed with the ouerthrow which they had, & the enemie was waxen proud with their late victorie, fearing likewise lest (not content with their present successe) they should attempt further, he determined to retyre his forces backe againe into the Desart. And whereas the people promised thereafter to be obedient to him, (being taught by their owne miserie, that nothing would fall out prosperously vnto them, without the counsaile and conduct of their Guide) they dis-incamping themselues, retyred into the Desart vnder this resolution, That they would no more attempt the battaile against the Canaanites, before they receiued a signe of their good successe from Heauen. But euen as in a great Armie it accustomably falleth out (especially in time of trouble) that the common multitude wax headstrong & disobedient to their Gouernors, so did the like also happen amongst the Iews. For whereas they were in number six hundreth thousand, & euen in their better fortunes seemed disobedient to their Gouernors, so much the more were they exasperated by their wants & misfortunes, both amongst themselues, and against their Gouernor. For which cause, there arose so great a Sedition, as neither amongst the Greeks or Barbarians the like was neuer heard of. Which things without doubt had ouerthrowne them (being brought into so desperat an estate) except *Moses* (forgetting the injurie he had receiued,

The Canaanites put the Hebrewes to flight.

Moses retyreth the people into the Desart.

Sedition against Moses.

which

A which was no leſſe then a pretence to ſtone him to death) had ſuccoured and relieued their diſtreſſed fortunes. Neyther did God vtterly abandon the care of them: but although they were contumelious againſt their Law-maker, and tranſgreſſed alſo againſt the Lawes which he had deliuered them by *Moſes*, yet deliuered he them out of that dangerous Sedition; of which (without his eſpeciall prouidence) there could be expected no other but a lamentable iſſue. This Sedition, as alſo how *Moſes* gouerned the eſtate when the troubles were ended, we will now declare, hauing firſt expreſſed the cauſe thereof. *The yeere of the world, 2455. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1509.*

CHAP. II.

B *The Sedition rayſed by* CHORE *againſt* MOSES *and his brother, for the Prieſthood.*

CHORE (a man noble in birth, and famous for his wealth amongſt the Hebrewes, and endowed with a certaine kind of popular eloquence) ſeeing *Moſes* placed in the higheſt eſtate of dignitie, was ſore troubled and oppreſſed with enuie. For, although he were of the ſame Tribe and kindred, yet thought he it to be a great indignitie in himſelfe, to be held his inferior, being both more enabled in riches, and nothing inferior in parentage. For which cauſe, he began to mutine and murmure amongſt the Leuites, (which were of the ſame Tribe with him, and his kinſmen) telling them (in vehement diſcourſe) that it was not to be ſuffered nor permitted, C that *Moſes*, vnder a pretext of certaine Diuinitie, ſhould by ambitious policie (to other mens prejudice) only ſtudie his owne glory: ſhewing them, how of late, without all Law and right, he had giuen the Prieſthood to his brother *Aaron*, and diſtributed other dignities at his owne pleaſure like a King, without the allowance & approbation of the people: That this injurie done by him, was not to be endured, by reaſon, that ſo couertly he had inſinuated himſelfe into the Gouernment, that before he might be eſpyed, the people ſhould be brought vnder ſeruitude. For he that knoweth himſelfe to be worthy of a Gouernment, ſtriueth to obtaine the ſame by kind perſwaſions, and conſent of the people, and not by force and violence: but they that deſpaire by good meanes to attaine thereunto, doe notwithſtanding abſtaine from force, leſt they ſhould loſe the opinion of their goodneſſe & honeſtie; yet endeuour they by malicious ſubtilties to attaine there- D unto. That it concerned the Common-weale to extinguiſh and root out the ſubtill inſinuations of ſuch men, leſt of priuate, they ſhould at laſt grow publique enemies. For what reaſon (ſaid he) can *Moſes* yeeld, why he hath beſtowed the Prieſthood on *Aaron* and his ſonnes? For, if that God had decreed, that this honour ſhould be beſtowed on one of the Tribe of *Leui*, there were more reaſon that I ſhould haue it, who am of the ſame kindred with *Moſes*, and who ſurpaſſe him both in riches and age. And if this honour appertained to the moſt ancient of the Tribes, that thoſe of *Rubens* loynes ought by right to enjoy it, namely, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, and *Phalal*, who are the moſt ancient of that Tribe, and the moſt powerfull in riches. Theſe things ſpake *Chore*, vnder colour & pretence of the weale of the Common-weale, but in effect only to raiſe a tumult amongſt the multitude, and intrude into the Office of the high Prieſt. This diſcourſe of his paſſing by E little and little from one eare to another amongſt the multitude, and multiplyed by the enuious, and ſuch as maligned *Aaron*, at laſt brought the whole Tribes into a mutinie: ſo that two hundred and fiftie of the chiefeſt Nobles grew at length to be partakers of *Chores* conſpiracie; and all of theſe enforced themſelues to take away the Prieſthood from *Moſes* brother, and to transferre it to him. The people likewiſe were in ſuch ſort incenſed, as that they ſought to ſtone *Moſes*; and ran all of them by confuſed heapes with noyſe and vprore, crying out before the Tabernacle of God, That the Tyrant was to be cut off, and the people deliuered from thraldome, who vnder pretext of Religion, had inſupportable thraldome impoſed on them. For if it were God that had choſen him to be high Prieſt, he would haue preferred ſuch a one to the Dignitie who had beene worthie, and would not haue departed it to thoſe who were farre inferiour to others: F That if he had decreed to beſtow it on *Aaron*, he had remitted the commiſſion of his election to the people, and not left the diſpoſition thereof to his brother. *Moſes*, who long before that time had perceiued *Chores* trecherous ſlander, and ſaw the people very ſore incenſed, was notwithſtanding nothing at all abaſhed thereat: but being reſolued in his conſcience, that he had gouerned the eſtate vprightly, and well aſſured, that his brother obtayned the Prieſthood, not by his fauour, but Gods election, he came into the Congregation; where he vttered no one word againſt the people, but addreſſing himſelfe to *Chore*, he expoſtulated with him, and accuſed him, in as much

Num. 16. Chore endeauoureth to perſwade the multitude to mutine againſt Moſes.

Alias Balas.

Two hundred and fiftie men follow Chores Faction.

They crie out, to ſtone Moſes.

The yeere of the world, 2455. before Christs Natiuity, 1509.

Moses Oration to seditious Chore.

much as was for him possible; being(besides his other qualities) fashioned and composed by nature eloquently to speake in publique assemblies. I thinke (sayth he) *Chore*, that both thou and euery one of these (pointing with his finger at the two hundred and fiftie men of his faction) are worthy of honour; yea, I contemne not the rest of this assembly, although they are not to be compared with you in riches,and other indowments. For neyther doth *Aaron* therefore possesse the Priesthood,because he is richer,(for thou hast more ample possessions then eyther of vs)neyther becauſe he is more noble,(for God hath equally imparted the same vnto vs all,hauing giuen vs one and the same Grandfather) neyther haue I been mooued thereunto by brotherly affection, to bestow that on him which was due vnto others. For had I not respected God, and right, in disposing of this Dignitie,I had not forgotten my selfe,to further & preferre another; since there is no man more neere my selfe, then my selfe, or whom I had rather wish well to, then to my selfe. For what wisedome had it beene for me, to expose my selfe to those dangers which they incurre, who make breach of Lawes,to suffer another man reape the fruits of my impietie? But God forbid,that my conscience should be stayned with any such sinne: neyther, were the fault mine also, would God leaue it vnpunished, neyther in me,who should contemne him, neyther in you,for that you were ignorant of that you ought to doe, and of that which was gratefull in his sight. He himselfe it is that hath chosen the high Priest, and by this meanes hath acquitted me of that accusation, that in this respect might be objected against me. For,although *Aaron* hath obtained this degree, (not by my fauour, but by Gods owne appointment) yet notwithstanding he referreth and remitteth the matter to the publique disposition and order of you all; neyther requireth he any prerogatiue, (for that he hath alreadie exercised the charge, or for that at this present it is granted him to intermeddle with the same) but esteemeth it to be the greatest good fortune that may befall him,to see your mutinies and seditions cease, although with the losse of that honor,which he hath receiued from your owne election. For neyther haue we injured Gods will in this, that we also wish your assent and allowance; but that which of his owne accord he hath giuen, it was not lawfull to refuse with a safe conscience: as reciprocally it is a thing most reasonable,that they which receiue it,should alwayes enjoy it,since God himselfe had giuen them both the assurance and confirmation. God therefore shall once againe determine, who amongst you shall be chosen to offer sacrifice vnto him, and to take charge of those things which appertaine to pietie. For it is a most absurd matter,that *Chore* should haue power to desire a Dignitie, and that God should be depriued of that authoritie,to dispose the same as best liked him.

Cease therefore to mutine amongst your selues, and to be troubled vpon these occasions; and let euery one of you that desire the Priesthood, to morrow bring each of you his Censer, with perfumes,and fire from his house. But thou,O *Chore*,giue place vnto God, and expect his election,neyther arrogate to thy selfe a greater authoritie then God hath,but come thou also amongst the rest thy competitors in this honour,to heare his judgement. Neyther see I cause,why *Aaron* should not be there also present,to be judged with thee, in that hitherto he hath vertuously and vprightly behaued himselfe in the execution of that Office,and is likewise of the same Tribe and Race that thou art of. You shall likewise offer incense in the presence of all the people;and when the perfume shall be past, let him whose Sacrifice shall be most acceptable in Gods sight, be declared and published for the high Priest: so shall I be acquit of that slander which is wrongfully vrged against me,whereby I am charged to haue (vpon my particular grace and fauour)bestowed the Office of the Priesthood on my brother. After that *Moses* had spoken in this manner, the people gaue ouer murmuring, and forbare to suspect *Moses*; allowing in themselues all that which had beene spoken, as being profitable for the Common-weale. So that hereupon they dismissed the assembly.

CHAP. III.

How the authors of the Sedition were slaine by Gods judgement,and the Priesthood confirmed to AARON *and his sonnes.*

Ruffin. cap. 1. Num. 16.

THE next day the people re-assembled themselues together, to assist the Sacrifice, and to heare the strife decided amongst the Competitors; neyther was this assembly without tumult: for the whole multitude were in suspence,in expectation of the euent; and some of them were desirous,that *Moses* might be conuicted of deceit.But such as were of the wiser sort amongst them,desired an end of the Sedition; for they feared lest the Common-weale should be vtterly ruinated, if the tumult should proceed any further. The multitude likewise (being naturally

A rally desirous of noueltie, and prone to speake euill of their Magistrates) were diuersly disposed vpon euery occurrent. *Moses* also sent his seruants to *Abiram* and *Dathan*, to summon them to appeare (according to the couenants and accord) to attend the issue of the sacrifice. But their answer was, that they would not obey him, neither that they would any longer permit that *Moses* by his subtill and siniſter deuices, should signiorize ouer the people. Which when *Moses* vnderstood, he tooke diuers of the Elders amongst the people with him: and being no waies mooued with *Dathan* and his contumacie, he came vnto him (being willingly attended by those who were drawne to accompanie him.) Now when *Dathan* and his friends vnderstood that *Moses* with the Nobles came vnto them, both they, their wiues and children assembled themselues before the Tabernacle, expecting that which would ensue. They came likewise guarded
B with their seruants, who were armed to oppose themselues against *Moses*, if so be he should offer them any violence: But no sooner drew he neere vnto them, but that lifting vp his hands vnto heauen, he cried out with a loud voice in the hearing of the whole multitude, and prayed after this maner: O God (said he) thou Lord ouer all that which either heauen, earth, or sea containeth, thou art a sufficient witnesse with me of all mine actions: for that I haue managed all things by thy will; and thou art he who hast giuen me power to execute my purposes: thou that alwaies in commiseration of the Hebrewes hast beene my perpetuall helpe and assistance, heare this my prayer. For nothing that is either done, or thought, is hidden from thee: for which cause I hope thou wilt not disdaine to testifie and iustifie my truth, and manifest the ingratitude of these men. Thou doest exactly know the antiquitie of my race, not for that thou hast heard it, but for that
C thou hast seene and assisted it; in effect, now also testifie the truth for me in those things which these men (although they know the contrarie) are not ashamed to impute vnto me. At such time as I led a peaceable life, and that by my vertue and thy counsell, and my father in law *Raguels* fauour, I had sufficient to liue vpon; I forsooke the possession of my goods, and the fruition of my peace, to ingage my selfe in these miseries, which I haue suffered for these men: and first of all for their libertie, and now likewise for their safetie, I haue most readily vndertaken grieuous trauels. Now therefore since I am growne into suspition among those men, who by my care and prouidence haue escaped so many mischiefes and miseries; thou that appearedst vnto me in that fire on the mountaine of Sinai, and vouchsafedst both to speake vnto me, and to confirme me by the sight of miracles; that in thy name sentst me a messenger into Ægypt; that hast abated the great fortunes of the Ægyptians, and hast giuen me meanes to escape from their seruitude; and hast made *Pharaoes* power and armie inferiour to my fortunes; that when we were ignorant of our way, gauest vs a passage thorow the sea, in whose bottome and wombe afterward the Ægyptians were drowned; that gauest vs armes, when we were vnweaponed; that madest the bitter water sauoury and fit to be drunke of; and in our scarcitie of water enforcedst drinke for vs out of the bowels of the hard rocke, when we found no meat on the land, didst send it vs from the sea; Moreouer (as a thing neuer before heard of) affoordedst vs meat from heauen, and hast establisshed our estate with lawes and customes: Be thou, O Lord, my Iudge in all things, and my vnpartiall witnesse, that neither I haue beene corrupted by any bribe of any particular Hebrew, to fauour iniustice, neither that I haue suffered a poore man in his iust cause to lose his right
E against a rich aduersarie. And now hauing administred the Common weale with all sinceritie, I am called in question for a crime, whereof I am altogether guiltlesse, as if I had bestowed thy Priesthood on my brother for priuate affection, and not for thy command sake: make it knowne that all things are dispensed by thy prouidence, and that nothing is brought to effect by casualtie, but by thy especiall ordinance: And to expresse that thou hast care of the Hebrewes, testifie the same by thy iust punishment inflicted on *Dathan* and *Abiram*, who accuse thee to be insensible, and boast that thou art circumuented by my subtilties. But thou shalt make thy reuenge more notorious against the vnbridled detractours of thy glorie, if they perish after no common manner, lest any man should suspect that they suffer nothing inhumane: but let the earth, which they vnworthily tread vpon, open it selfe and swallow them vp both with their families and fa-
F culties. By this meanes both thy power will manifestly appeare vnto all men, and thou shalt leaue an example to posteritie, that no man hereafter shall dare to thinke otherwise of thy maiesty then becommeth him, and my ministery shall be approued to proceed from thy direction. But if those crimes be truely vrged which are inforced against me, then let the curses returne and light on mine owne head, and let those whom I haue cursed, liue in safetie. And thus exacting a punishment from those that disturbe thy people, keepe the rest of the multitude in peace, concord, and obseruation of thy commandements, secure and voide of that punishment which is due vnto wicked

The yeere of the world, 2455. before Christs Natiuitie. 1509.

Dathan and Abiram rebellious.

Moses prayer vnto God.

The yeere of the world, 2455. before Christs Nativity. 1509.

wicked men, for that it is contrarie to thy iustice, that the innocent multitude of the Israelites should answer their misdeeds, and suffer their punishments. Whileſt he spake these words, and intermixed them with teares, the earth instantly trembled, and shaking began to remoue (after such a manner, as when by the violence of the wind a great billow of the sea floateth and waltreth.) Hereat were al the people amazed. But after that, a horrible and shattering noise was made about their tents, the earth opened, and swallowed vp both them and all that which they esteemed deare, which was after a maner so exterminate, as nothing remained of theirs to be beheld. Wherupon in a moment the earth closed againe, and the vast gaping was fast shut, so as there appeared not any signe of that which had hapned. Thus perished they all, leauing behind them an example of Gods power and iudgements. And this accident was the more miserable, in that there were no one, no not of their kinsfolk or allies that had compassion of them: so that all the people whatsoeuer, forgetting those things which were past, did allow Gods iustice with ioyfull acclamations, esteeming them vnworthie to be bemoned, but to be held as the plague and peruerters of the people. After that *Dathan* with his family was extinguished, *Moses* assembled all those that contended for the Priesthood together, committing againe the election of the priesthood vnto God, concluding that the estate should bee ratified to him, whose sacrifice was most acceptable in Gods sight. For which cause the two hundred and fiftie men assembled themselues, who were both honoured for the vertue of their ancestors, and for their owne abilities farre greater then theirs: with these also stood *Aaron* and *Chore*, and all of them offered with their censers before the Tabernacle, with perfumes such as they brought with them; when sodainly so great a fire shone, as neither the like was euer kindled by mans hand, nor vsually breaketh from the bowels of the burning earth, neither was euer quickned in the woods, split and borne downe in the summer time by a southerne brize, but such a one as seemed to be kindled in heauē most brightsome and flaming: by force and power whereof those two hundreth and fiftie (together with *Chore*) were so consumed, that there scarce appeared any reliques of their carcasses; Only *Aaron* remained vntouched, to the end it might appeare that this fire came from heauen. These things thus brought to passe, *Moses* (intending to leaue a perpetuall memory to posteritie of that punishment) to the end they should not be ignorant thereof, commanded *Eleazar* the sonne of *Aaron* to consecrate their censers affixed to the brazen Altar, that by reason of this monument, all men might be terrified, who thinke that the diuine power can be circumuented by humane policy.

Dathan and Abiram swallowed vp.

Chore with two hundreth and fiftie men is consumed with fire.

CHAP. IV.

What things hapned in 38. yeeres space to the Hebrewes in the desart.

AFTER that by so euident an argument it appeared very sufficiently, that *Aaron* neither by sinister insinuations, neither by the fauour of his brother, but onely by Gods election had obtained the Priesthood; he euer afterwards held it without any contradiction: yet for all this, the sedition was not sufficiently ceased, but that it brake out with a more vrgent furie then at first: for it tooke his originall from such causes, that it might easily appeare that it would be of long continuance. For whereas this perswasion had once taken roote in the hearts of men, that nothing is brought to passe without Gods will, they imagined that God wrought these things in fauor of *Moses*; to him therfore imputed they al these things, as if God had not punished those men through the hate he bare against their sins, but only on *Moses* solicitation: & they were sore aggrieued that *Moses* (hauing giuen this mayme vnto the people, by the losse of so many noble men, that onely perished through the zeale they bare to Gods seruice) not onely had done them open wrong; but that which was more, had assured the Priesthood to his brother after such a manner, that thereafter no man durst oppose himselfe to purchase the same; seeing how vnfortunately those others were ouerthrowne by a violent death. Moreouer the kinsmen of those that were slaine, sollicited and stirred the people, praying them to restraine the pride and ouergreat power of *Moses*, in that it lay in their power easily to performe the same. But *Moses* perceiuing that the people was incensed, and fearing lest once more they should bethinke them on some innouation, wherby some great misfortune might succeed, he assembled them together, and gaue audience to their accusations: & without replying any waies (for feare he might the more incense them) hee onely commanded the heads of the tribes, that each of them should bring a rod, wherein the name of each tribe should bee written, promising that the Priesthood should remaine with them, in whose rod God should shew any signe. Which iudgement of his being allowed

Num. 17.

Another sedition against Moses.

A lowed by all men,both they,and *Aaron* brought their rods with their inſcriptions;and *Aaron* had written in his,the tribe of *Leui*. Theſe *Moſes* tooke from them,and laide them in Gods Tabernacle:the next day he brought them forth euery one of them (which were eaſily knowne to bee thoſe which the Princes brought,& the reſt of the people had marked) & they ſaw that al theirs remained in the ſame forme which the day before they retained, when *Moſes* tooke them; but out of *Aarons* rod there grew branches and buds: and that which is more to be wondred at, it bare ripe Almonds, which in a rod of that kinde of wood was admirable and miraculous. The people amated at the noueltie of this ſpectacle (diſmiſſing their hatreds wherewith they both proſecuted *Moſes* & *Aaron*)became wholly amazed and drawne into admiratiõ of Gods iudgement,and forbare any more to repugne againſt God, or to oppoſe themſelues againſt *Aarons* B Prieſthood. And thus three times confirmed by the approbation of God,by all mens conſent he became hie Prieſt;and the people of the Hebrewes turmoyled with long ſeditions,at laſt by this meanes grew ſetled in peace and quietnes. But after that *Moſes* had made the tribe of *Leui*(which was dedicate to Gods ſeruice) free and exempt from warfare (for feare leſt being occupied in prouiding themſelues neceſſaries for their maintenance,they ſhould grow negligent in executing their duties in ſacrifice) he ordained that after the land of Chanaan was conquered by their forces and Gods fauour, that of the Cities they ſhould conquer, they ſhould diſtribute fortie eight of the beſt & faireſt on the Leuites,& certen lands abutting on their Cities,to the quantity and ſpace of two thouſand cubits. Moreouer, hee commanded that the tenths of all the yeerely fruit that was gathered by the whole people, ſhould bee giuen and beſtowed on the Leuites and C Prieſts; and euer after this tribe had their ſolemne reuenues. Now muſt I declare what things are proper to the Prieſts. Of the fortie eight Cities which were granted to the Leuites, he commanded them to grant thirteene to the Prieſts; and that of thoſe tenthes which they receiued of the people, they ſhould pay vnto them a tenth ſhare. Beſides, he gaue charge that the people ſhould offer vp vnto God all the firſt fruits of whatſoeuer the earth yeeldeth them:and that the firſt borne of foure footed beaſts dedicated for ſacrifice, if it were a male, ſhould bee deliuered to the Prieſts to ſacrifice,to the end they might be nouriſhed with all their family in the ſacred Citie of Ieruſalem;and that they which are not fit to bee ſacrificed to God, ſhould bee eaten by them according to the vſe and cuſtome of the countrey, the owners paying in lieu of a firſtling a ſicle and a halfe,and for the firſt borne of a man,fiue ſicles. Hee allotted them likewiſe the firſt D fruits of ſheep-ſhearing,and ordered that the bakers ſhould offer them ſome cakes. But they that conſecrate themſelues by vow,and are called Nazarites (nouriſhing their haire, and taſting no wine)when as they conſecrate their haire,were bound to offer it vnto the Prieſts. They likewiſe who call themſelues Corban,which is called the gift of God,if they deſire to be diſmiſſed from that miniſterie(whereunto by voluntarie vow they bound themſelues) muſt pay money to the Prieſts, for a woman thirtie ſicles, for a man fiftie; and that thoſe that had not ſo much money, ſhould be left to the diſcretion of the Prieſts. And if any man ſhould kill (for his priuate feaſt) any beaſt,and not for Gods ſeruice, yet that he ought to offer vnto the Prieſt the breſt and legge of the beaſt. This is that allowance which *Moſes* ratified to the Prieſts, and beſides this, whatſoeuer the people offered for ſinnes (as we declared in the next precedent volume.) And what- E ſoeuer was contributed by the people to the order of the Prieſts, hee commaunded that both their wiues, children and ſeruants ſhould bee made partakers of the ſame (onely except thoſe things which were offered for ſinne offerings, for theſe things the Prieſts onely themſelues eate vp in the Tẽple the ſame day.)After that this policy was in this ſort ratified by *Moſes*,& that the mutinie was appeaſed,he remooued his campe, and with all his forces came to the borders of Idumæa,where he ſent Embaſſadors to the King therof, requiring him to grant him and his free F paſſage(and offering him ſuch and ſo ſufficient pledges, as hee ſhould eſteeme and recken of, to aſſure him that no violence or iniurie ſhould bee offered; aſſuring him to make payment for whatſoeuer victuall or drinke,eyther he or his army ſhould receiue.)But he ſetting light by their Embaſſage,denied them paſſage, and with a well furniſhed army marched foorth againſt *Moſes* to withſtand him, if contrary to his will hee ſhould attempt to paſſe thorow his countrey. And for that God had not counſelled *Moſes* to begin the combate,if hee were inforced by the enemie, hee retired backe againe, determining to ſeeke his paſſage athwart the deſart. At that time died his ſiſter *Mary*,the fortieth yeere after their departure out of Ægypt, & the firſt Moone of the moneth Xantique: ſhee was magnifically entombed at the common charge, on a certaine mountaine called Sein: and after the people had mourned for her fortie daies, hee purified them after this manner: The Prieſt taking a yong heifer(which had neuer as yet borne yoake

The yeere the world, 2455. before Chriſts birth, 1509.

Aarons rod fructifieth.

Hedio & Ruffinus. cap.3.4. *Num.* 18. 35. *Leui.* 14.18,28

The reuenues of the Prieſts.

Num. 6. Of the Nazarites.

The yeere of the world, 2493. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt. 1471.

Num. 20. Moſes Embaſſage to the Idumæans.

Mariam Moſes ſiſter dieth.

Num. 19. The manner of purificatiõ.

nor

The yeere of the world, 2493. before Christs Nativity, 1471.

nor laboured) in colour wholly red, led him a little apart from the Camp, in a most cleane place, G and there cut his throat; and with the bloud thereof, taken on his finger, he seuen times besprinkled the Tabernacle of God: and after he had consumed in fire the whole Heifer, with his skinne and entrailes, he cast a branch of Cedar into the fire, with a little Hysope, and red Wooll, and wholly gathered vp the ashes thereof. A man that is cleansed, putteth it in a cleane place; and they that are vncleane, by meanes of one that is dead, put a little of these ashes into a Fountaine, with Hysope, and after they haue mixed the ashes in the Fountaine, they besprinkle themselues three times, and on the seuenth day, and after that, they are purified. He likewise ordained, that the like purification should be vsed, when a man should take possession of his inheritance.

Num.20.

But after the Armie (that had so long mourned the dead sister of the Generall) were thus purified, he led them thorow the Desart, into Arabia: and arriuing in a place (which the Arabians H account for their Metropolitane Citie, in times past called Arce, and at this present, Petra) which is enuironed with a high mountaine, *Aaron* ascended the said mountaine; and *Moses* shewed him the place where he should yeeld vp his soule vnto God: and in the sight of all the Armie, standing on a high place, he put off his Stoale, and gaue it to his sonne *Eleazar*, to whom by eldership the succession appertained. And thus (in the sight of the people) he died in that very yeere wherein he lost his sister, and in the hundreth twentie and third yeere of his age. He departed on the new Moone, in the moneth of August, (called by the Athenians, *Hecatombeon*; by the Macedonians, *Ioue*; and *Sabba*, by the Hebrewes. The people mourned for him for the space of fortie dayes, and then desisted. *Moses* displaced his Campe from thence, and pitched his Tents neere vnto a Riuer called Arnon (which springeth from the mountaines of Arabia, and runneth along I the Desart, and then entreth into the Asphaltique Lake, separating the Region of the Moabites from that of the Amorites.) The countrey is fertile, and sufficient to yeeld fruit to all the inhabitants in great foison. To *Sehon*, King of this countrey, *Moses* sent Embassadors, requiring passage thorow his Kingdome, vnder such assurance as should best please him, that no wrong should be offered, neyther to his countrey, nor the inhabitants thereof; assuring him to pay the price of whatsoeuer his souldiers tooke, eyther in Victuals, or Water. But *Sehon* refused him, and arming his people, pitched his Tents on the bankes of Arnon, being readie to repulse the Hebrewes, if they presumed to passe the Riuer.

Ruffinus, c.4. Hedio, c.8. *Num.21.*

Moses sent Embassadors to Sehon, King of the Amorites.

CHAP. V. K

MOSES ouercommeth SEHON and OG, Kings of the Amorites, and distributeth their countrey by Lot, vnto two Tribes and a halfe of the Hebrewes.

Num.21. The Hebrews addresse themselues to fight against the Amorites.

BVT when *Moses* perceiued, that the Amorites were disposed to hostilitie; for which cause, supposing that the injurie and contempt was not to be endured, and seeing the Hebrewes were an intractable kind of men, (and such, as eyther by idlenesse, or want, might be easily perswaded to renue their former seditions & tumults, and being willing to preuent all these occasions) he asked counsell at Gods hands, whether he would permit him to enforce his passage by the sword. Now when God had allowed his purpose, and besides that, promised him the victory, L he was greatly confirmed in hope, and animated and encouraged his souldiers; telling them, that the time was now come, wherein they might enterprise their long desired Warre with Gods fauour, and his approbation and encouragement: who rejoycing at this libertie that was granted them, suddenly tooke Armes, and in a set battaile hasted to charge the enemie. On the other side, the Amorite (as soone as he saw them march forward, and begin the onset) forgetting his former fierceneſſe, was both himselfe terrified, and his souldiers likewise (who before the sight of their enemies, were as cruell and bloudie as Lyons) now waxed as fearefull and as meeke as Lambes. So that they scarcely had endured the first assault, but that they fled; reposing the whole hope of their prosperitie, in their retreat. They trusted likewise to their walled Townes (which notwithstanding did nought at all auaile them.) For no sooner did the Hebrewes perceiue, that their ene- M mies began to trust their feet, & that their ranks were broken, but they more freshly pursued them, and brought them into extreme feare. So that being vtterly put to flight, and dispersed vpon the field, they were enforced to flye vnto their Cities. Yet ceased not the Hebrewes to pursue them more fiercely, but began more and more to molest them with those kind of Weapons wherein they were exercised beforetime. For being expert & well trained in the Sling and Bow, and perfect in casting the Dart, and nimble in body, (by reason of their light Armors) they ran after their enemies,

The Hebrews ouerthrow the Amorites, and put them to flight.

enemies, and with their ſhafts and bowes ſhot at thoſe wich were afarre off, and might not bee ouertaken. So that there followed a moſt huge ſlaughter, and they that eſcaped, were grieuouſly wounded: yet were they more afflicted with thirſt then any other hoſtilitie (in that it was ſummer time) ſo that all thoſe that went to refreſh and coole their thirſt at the riuer (beſides all thoſe that had turned their backs to flie) were purſued with all kindes of miſſile weapons and darts vntill they were all ſlaine. The king *Sehon* himſelfe alſo was ſlaine in this fight. And the Hebrewes ſpoiled thoſe that were ſlaine, & carried away great ſtore of pillage. They had likewiſe great foyſon and abundance of all kindes of fruites (in that the harueſt was not as yet gathered.) Thus paſſed the Armie through the whole countrey, forraging and ſpoyling the ſame without any reſiſtance; by reaſon that the enemie was diſcomfited, & that all his forces in warre were defeated. This was the deſtruction which hapned to the Amorites, who neither vſed their counſell prudently, nor managed their warre valiantly. But the Hebrewes occupied their countrey (ſituate betweene three riuers, after the manner of an Iland.) For the banks of *Arnon* doe terminate the Southerne coaſts therof, and *Iobacchus* the Northerne, which flowing into *Iordan*, leeſeth his name: now the Weſterne coaſt is watered by the riuer of *Iordan*. Amidſt this proſperous eſtate of the Iſraelites, there aroſe a new enemy againſt them, called *Og*, king of Galadine, & of the coũtries of Gaulanitis, who came as a friend and companion to aſſiſt *Sehon*; who ſeeing his fortunes and eſtate ſo deſolate and deſperate, yet in hope to obtaine the victorie, determined to make triall both of his owne mens vertue, and his enemies valour: which hope of his failed him, for hee both died in the battaile, and his whole hoſt was likewiſe diſcomfited. But *Moſes* no ſooner ouerpaſſed the flood of *Iobacchus*, but that entring *Ogs* kingdome, hee ouerthrew one citie after another, and deſtroyed all the inhabitants thereof (who for riches and fruitfull paſtures exceeded all other men of that countrey.) *Og* alſo was a man of a moſt heroicke and high ſtature, and nothing inferiour thereunto either in ſtrength or vertue; the argument of whoſe ſtrength and ſtature was extant in the ſacke of the chiefe citie & palace of the country of the Ammonites, called Rabatha, where there was an Iron bed found of foure cubits breadth, and nine in length. The fal of this man did not only further the preſẽt felicity of the Hebrews, but alſo became the cauſe of many their future and more fortunate ſucceſſes: for they took ſixtie well fortified cities which were vnder his gouernment; and what with their priuie preyes and publike pillage, they were all enriched. After this, *Moſes* remooued his campe toward *Iordan*, and pitched it in a broade plaine neere vnto the Citie of Iericho (which is rich and fruitfull, and aboundeth with palme trees and balme.) And now were the minds of the Iſraelites in ſuch ſort confirmed, as they deſired nothing more then warre, and battell; and *Moſes* thinking good to make vſe of this their forwardneſſe, (hauing ſacrificed to God in way of thankſgiuing, and feaſted the people) he ſent part of them armed to deſtroy the countrey of the Madianites, and to ſpoile the cities of that region: the cauſe of which warre had this originall.

The yeere of the world, 2493. before Chriſts Natiuity 1571.

Sehon king of the Amorites ſlaine.

The Hebrews poſſeſſe the land of the Amorites.

The ſituation of the land of the Amorites. Og king of Baſan is ſlaine with his army.

Ruffin, cap. 5. Hedio. cap. 6. Hierico.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Prophet BALAAM.

WHEN *Balac* King of the Moabites (who was both an old friend and confederate with the Madianites) ſaw the Iſraelites increaſe to ſuch greatnes, he began to ſuſpect the ſecuritie of his owne fortune and eſtate: for he knew not that God had inhibited the Hebrewes to couet to poſſeſſe any other Counttey but the land of Canaan, and therefore more raſhly then prudently he bethought him of new matters; and for that he durſt not aſſaile them in battell, whom he knew to be puffed vp with the ſucceſſe of many victories (yet deſirous to hinder them from proceeding any further) he ſendeth Embaſſadors to the Madianites to conſult with them, as concerning their common profit. They knowing that beyond Euphrates there was a famous Diuine called *Balaam* (who was their eſpeciall friend) ſent ſome of their moſt honourable princes together with *Balacks* Embaſſadors, beſeeching him that he would come vnto them and curſe the Iſraelites. The Prophet intertaining the Embaſſadors with great humanitie, and feaſting them at his owne table, asked counſaile of God as touching that which the Madianites had required at his hands: but ſeeing that God forbad him to obey them, hee returned vnto them, and told them that he wanted not will to gratifie them, but that God withſtood him; to whoſe mercie he aſcribed the glory which he had hitherto gotten by true predictions and prophecies: for that armie which they deſired ſhould be curſed, was dearly beloued of God. For which cauſe he gaue them counſell, that ſeeking out the Iſraelites, they ſhould make peace with them

Num. 22. 23, 24.

Balac king of the Moabites embaſſage to the Madianits

Balacs & the Madianites embaſſage to Balaam.

The yeere of the world, 2493. before the Natiuitie of Christ, 1471.

The second Embassage to Balaam.

The Angell resisteth Balaam.

The Asse speaketh to Balaam.

Balaam is reproued by the Angell.

them vnder whatsoeuer conditions: which said, he dismissed the Embassadors. But the Madianites (being instantly requested by *Balac*) once more sent their Embassadors vnto *Balaam*, to that purpose, who desirous to satisfie them in their demands, consulted with God. But God (offended with him) commanded him to assent to the Embassadors: & he supposing that God had indeed licenced him therein, departed onward with the Embassadors. But as he trauelled vpon the way, the Angel of God came and met him in a certaine narrow way, betweene two mounds or wals made of stones; which when the Asse perceiued whereon *Balaam* was mounted, hee started out of the way, and thrust *Balaã*, and crushed him against one of the wals; and neither by the strokes which his rider gaue him (beeing sore grieued by his bruise) nor by any other meanes might he be drawn forward. And when as neither the Angell forsooke the way, neither the Prophet gaue ouer tormenting the Asse, at length the beast falling downe by the will of God, spake to *Balaam* in a humane and articulate voice; blaming him, for that hauing neuer before that time receiued domage by him, he had so cruelly tormented and beaten him; considering that he vnderstood not that God did prohibit him from the performance of that which hee desired. Whilest thus hee was troubled with the prodigious speech of the Asse, an Angell appeared vnto him, blaming *Balaam*, and telling him that the Asse was not in the fault, but that hee hindered his iourney, by reason hee attempted it against Gods will. Hereat the Prophet terrified, addressed himselfe to returne backe againe: but God commanded him to prosecute that iourney which he had intended, charging him to declare and doe that which hee should aduise and instruct him in.

Balaam commeth to Balac

After that God had giuen him this charge, he went vnto *Balaac*, who entertained him honourably, and caused him to be brought to a certaine mountaine, from whence he might behold the Hebrewes campe. *Balac* also himselfe being royally attended, accompanied the Prophet, conducting him honourably vnto a certaine mountaine, which ouerhung the Israelites, being threescore furlongs from their campe. Which when he perceiued, he caused the king to build seuen Altars, on which he laid seuen Buls, and seuen Rams. All which being readily executed by the king; he offered a burnt sacrifice, to the end hee might presage and fore-prophecie the victorie: which done, he spake after this manner: Happy are you, on whom God bestoweth so large a blessing and abundance of riches, and vouchsafeth you his prouidence for your perpetuall guide and assistance. Because there is not any sort of men, before whom in innocencie of maners and studie of honestie and vertue, you are not to be preferred: your successours also shall haue a more famous posteritie, because amongst men God onely fauoureth you, and taketh care that no nation vnder the Sunne shall either exceede or equall you in happinesse. You shall likewise possesse that land whereto he hath sent you: and your posteritie shall bee perpetuall Lords thereof; and the glory of your name shall fulfill both the whole earth, and sea; and so shall your nation bee multiplied, that there shall bee no nation of the world that shall not bee intermixed with your blood and line. Blessed are you (most worthy army) and deseruing great admiration, hauing your increase thus multiplied by the meanes of one parent. For the land of Canaan at this present shall entertaine you, but in little number; but know that hereafter the whole world is destinated for your inhabitation: so that, both in the Ilands, and in the continent you shall liue in so great number, that you shall equall the starres of the firmament. And whereas you are like to growe so innumerable, yet notwithstanding he shall not suffer you to want the vtmost of plentie and abundance; neither in warre shall hee cease to animate and leade you against your enemies. Let your enemies resolue to take armes and to assault you, yet shall there no one returne from them to beare message of the victorie, or to bring glad tidings to their wiues and children. This prudence and proweesse is giuen you by Gods prouidence, who onely can and may abase the power of greatnesse, and repaire the weakenesse of obscuritie. Thus spake the Wizard in his propheticall spirit, being transported beyond himselfe, and rauished with a supernaturall furie. But *Balac* was sore incensed against him, exclaiming that hee had not kept couenant, although by great rewards he had been by his Confederate drawne thither to curse them, vrging it against him, that in stead of execratiõs against them, he had published their pietie and praises. To whom the Prophet made this answer: Thinkest thou (said he) that it lieth in our power, as often as destinies are to be discouerd, to speake or conceale what we list, at such time as God speaketh in our mouthes? No, he himselfe vttereth those words which him listeth, & publisheth those oracles by vs, which neither we know, nor euer thought vpon. Verily I sufficiently remẽber wherunto I was perswaded by the solicitation of the Madianites, and for that cause came I hither, to execute that which they extorted from my hands; but God is more powerfull then my will, who contrarie to the will

Balaams prophecie of the people of Israel.

Balac being displeased, reprehendeth Balaam.

Balaams answer.

A will of God,and for the particular fauour of men,had purpoſed to ſpeake otherwiſe:but as ſoone as he entreth into our hearts,there remaineth no more of our ſelues in our ſelues.Truly I had determined in my ſelf to ſpeak nothing in their praiſes,neither was it in my mind to reckō vp what God had decreed to beſtow vpon that nation,but the fauorable power which befriendeth them, and ſtudieth nothing more then the felicity & glory of that natiō,hath in his preſcience put theſe words into my mouth: now therefore (ſince it is my deſire to gratifie both thee, & the Madianits,whoſe praiers I ought not but admit)go to,let vs erect new Altars,& prepare freſh ſacrifice & make trial if perhaps God wil be moued to grant me licence to curſe theſe kind of men. Hereunto *Balac* gaue his conſent,yet did not God ratifie thoſe his imprecatiōs made againſt the Iſraelites,notwithſtanding he had ſacrificed twice;ſo that falling on his face,he declared the occurrēces of their kingdomes & common-weales,of moſt eſteeme (of which ſome one was not as yet built) & ſuch things likewiſe as ſhould thereafter happen to thoſe men both by land and ſea, euen to our daies: out of all which things (accompliſhed according to his predictions) we may gather moſt aſſuredly that,which of his prophecie is to be fulfilled,will ſurely take effect. *Balac* being ſore diſpleaſed,becauſe the Iſraelites could not be curſed,ſent *Balaam* backe again without honour:who returning homewards(at ſuch time as he came vnto Euphrates) called *Balac* & the Princes of the Madianites,and ſpake thus vnto them:*Balac* and you Princes of Madian,it behoueth me to gratifie you(although it be againſt the will of God) for which cauſe giue eare vnto me: All the ſorts of death that may be to the vttermoſt, cannot extinguiſh the race of the Hebrewes:neither by warre or peſtilence,or famine,or any other chance may they be ruinated: for C God hath care to preſerue that nation from all euill, ſo that no ſlaughter can fall vpon them, whereby the whole multitude ſhall be extinguiſhed: yet in the meane while ſome things may not be auoyded,whereby afflicted for a time,they may preſently flouriſh more then they did before, being by ſuch a chaſticement reduced to better health. For which cauſe if you ſeeke to obtaine ſome ſhort victorie ouer them, by this my counſell you ſhall bring your wiſhes to effect. Send me the faireſt of your daughters, as trimly decked and beautified as is poſſible, who by their beautie may conquer,and by their loue allure their hearts; let theſe wander about their campe, and offer themſelues to entertaine a familiar embrace, if by the yong men they ſhall be ſollicited thereunto: and as ſoone as they ſhall eſpie them to be ſurprized with deſire, let them ſodainly breake from them; and when as they ſhall be required by them to ſtay, let them not yeeld,except they will be perſwaded to forſake their countrey lawes,and the ſeruice of God from whom D they receiued them,and honour the gods of the Madianites, and Moabites. For by this meanes ſhal they incenſe Gods wrath againſt themſelues.Which when he had certified and admoniſhed them of,he departed.Now whē the Madianits(according as they were counſelled)ſent out their daughters,the yonger ſort of the Hebrewes were intangled with the beautie of the damſels: and growing in talke with them,they prayed them that they would not enuy them the opportunity to reape the pleaſure and inioyment of their beautie, neither that they would diſdaine their intercourſe: they willingly both admit the words, and the embraces of the yong men, and hauing well hette them with dalliance,they addreſſed themſelues to leaue them in the heat of their deſires.Whereupon they diſcomforted at the womens departure,did inſtantly intreat them,that E they ſhould not in that ſort forſake them, but that in hope of future marriage and poſſeſſion of their greateſt goods,they ſhould remaine and dwell with them. Theſe promiſes they confirmed with oathes,and ſealed with teares,calling God to witnes (the rather to perſwade and confirme them vnto mercie)whereupon they (after they perceiued that they were ſurprized,and beſotted with their companie) anſwered after this manner: Valiant yong men; we want not at home neither ample faculties,or the affections of our parents, and domeſticall friends; neither come we hither vnto you for want of theſe things; neither admit we your prayers, in that we meane to make ſale of our beauties: but being perſwaded that you are honeſt men, we haue not diſdained to entertaine you with this gracious hoſpitalitie, in that we ſee ye had need thereof, and for that cauſe haue we ſhewed our ſelues courteous vnto you: now therefore becauſe you ſay you F loue vs, and that you are ſore aggrieued at this our departure, we haue thought good not to gainſay your intreaties: if therefore you will plight your faith, and promiſe vs marriage (which thing onely is that which muſt ſatisfie vs)we will willingly liue with you as your lawfull wiues; but we feare leſt when your luſts are ſatisfied, you ſhould with iniurie and contumely, ſend vs backe againe to our parents: to which ſuſpect of ours it becommeth you(if you ſo pleaſe)to giue a lawfull pardon.But they promiſed to giue their faith in what maner ſoeuer,and refuſed no cō-dition(by reaſon of their extreme loue.) Well then(ſaid the virgins)ſince that you are ſo pleaſed,

The yeere of the world, 2493. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1571.

Numb. 25. Balaams prophecie of things to come.

Balaams counſell againſt the Hebrewes.

The daughters of the Madianites come to the campe of the Hebrewes.

The yeere of the world, 2493. before Christs Natiuitie. 1471.

and that you haue manners so different from others, that you also vse your proper meates according to your peculiar manner, neither can you endure that your drinke be common with other mens; it behoooueth you, if you will liue with vs, to adore our gods. For by no other argument may you perswade vs that your loue is vnfained, except you honour as we doe the same gods: neither shall you be blamed if you honour the gods of that countrey, into which you are come, considering that our gods are common vnto all nations, whereas your God is adored by none other but your selues. It behoooueth you therefore (said they) to conforme your selues in opinion with other men, or that ye seeke out another world, wherein you might liue solely according to your particular policie and religion.

The daughters of Madian allure the Israelites to Idolatrie.

The Hebrews blinded with the loue of the women, reuolt from the lawes of their fathers.

The Hebrews blinded with the loue which they bare vnto the virgins, conceiued wel of their words, & cõsented to that which they said, suffering themselues to be seduced according as they were inuited; so that they transgressed the ordinances of their fathers, in following strange gods; to whom they purposed to do sacrifice according to the maner of the country. They took pleasure also to eat strange kinds of meats which were prohibited thẽ by the law, & addicted themselues to all kinds of pleasure, according as the women perswaded them, so that the whole army was infected with a dissolute disorder (amongst the yonger sort) & a worse mutiny arose therby then the precedent, wherethrough it was to be suspected, lest the whole course of law & gouernment should be peruerted. For the youth hauing once had a touch of these forrain & lasciuious fashions, were vnsatiably transported with the same: and if there were any more excellent then others in nobility, they together (with the rest of the multitude) were retchlesly corrupted. *Zambrias* also of the tribe of *Simeon* (& one of the Princes among thẽ, marrying *Cosby* the Madianite, daughter vnto *Vri* a gouernour of that countrey) at the cõmandement of his wife, & in contẽpt of *Moses* lawes, for her sake did sacrifice after a forrain maner, & contrary to the law disported with his forrain wife which was a stranger. During this estate of affaires, *Moses* being afraid lest some more grieuous mischiefe should succeed, called the people together, accusing no man in particular (for that he was vnwilling to draw them into desperation, who whilst they thinke they lie hidden, may be reduced to a better mind) but he told them that it was a thing vnworthy & ill-beseeming themselues or their elders, that they should set more by their pleasures, then by God and their religion. That it behooued them whilest they had time, to repent themselues, and that they shewed themselues to be valiant men, not by contẽpt of lawes, but by appeasing their disordinate desires. Besides he told thẽ that it was an absurd thing, that wheras in the desart they liued modestly, they should now in a plentifull countrey grow so dissolute & disordinate, as to lose that by affluence which they had got by tẽperance. In such like speeches he indeuoured to correct the youth, & to reduce them to a better mind: whereupon *Zambrias* rising vp, spake after this manner: *Moses* (saith he) vse thou thine owne lawes (whereunto by long vse thou hast added strength and confirmation) which hadst thou not done, oft times ere this hadst thou suffered punishment, and learnt to thine owne miserie) that the Hebrewes were not to be deluded: for my selfe, thou shalt neuer tie me to thy tyrannicall decrees, for hitherto hast thou indeuoured nought else, but vnder pretext of law and religion, to bring vs into seruitude and subiection; and thy selfe by thy subtile and sinister meanes, to honour and soueraignty; taking from vs the pleasures & libertie of our liues (things that belong to free men, and such as appertaine or liue not vnder any mans gouernment.) For this should be worse then an Ægyptian thraldome, to punish euery man by thy lawes, according to thine owne pleasure; whereas thou thy selfe art more worthy to be punished, in that thou disannullest that thing which is approued by all mens consent: and desirest that thy decrees should be of more force, then all the resolutions of all other mortall men whatsoeuer. But I (as touching that which I doe) in that I suppose it to be well done, am not afraid to confesse in this assembly, namely, that I haue taken a stranger to wife: thou heerest mine actions from mine owne mouth, as from a free and resolute man, neither doe I desire that they should be hidden. I likewise sacrifice to the gods contrarie to our custome, because I suppose it to be both iust and necessarie, that from many I seeke the truth, and not (depending as it were vpon a tyranny, or liuing thereunder) to build my faith vpon one only: for no man shall please me that will haue more interest in mine actions then my selfe. Whilest *Zambrias* alledged this both for himselfe and other of his faction; the people silently expected the issue of this audacious boldnesse, especially for that they saw their Law-maker would not contend any longer, lest he should make an insolent man more outragious; for he feared lest diuers such in imitation of him growing impudent in their speeches, should stirre vp tumults amongst the people: so that the assembly for this time was after this maner dissolued, and perhaps this mischiefe had taken further head

Zambrias and Cosby. Moses accuseth the Israelites of Idolatry and voluptuousnes.

Zambrias oration against Moses.

head,except *Zambrias* had beene ſuddenly cut off,by ſuch a meanes as enſueth. *Phinees* (both in reſpect of other things, as alſo the dignitie of his father, the chiefeſt among the youths, and the ſonne of *Eleazar* the high Prieſt,whoſe great Vncle *Moſes* was)was grieuouſly diſcontented with *Zambrias* contumacie;and leſt by his impunitie the Law might grow into contempt,he reſolued to be reuenged vpon the tranſgreſſors, being well aſſured how much the example of great men preuaileth on both parts: and whereas he was of ſo much ſtrength of mind and of body,as that he would not attempt any thing raſhly,which he would not bring to iſſue; he repaired to *Zambrias* Tent,and at one ſtroke ſlue both him and *Chosbi*,his Wife. By whoſe example, the reſt of the youth(being exaſperated by this his worthie act)enforced themſelues to doe juſtice on thoſe that had committed the like offence;ſo that they ſlew a great part of them by the Sword,and the reſt by the Peſtilence (which was inflicted by Gods judgement on them) were vtterly rooted out. Neyther ſpared he thoſe,who though by reaſon of conſanguinitie they ought to haue reſtrained and diſſwaded their kinſmen from lewdneſſe, yet had rather eyther diſſemble, or kindle their luſt in them, then counſaile them; neyther intermitted he from puniſhing thoſe men, till foureteene thouſand of them were done to death by ſickneſſe. For which cauſe, *Moſes* (being incenſed againſt the Madianites) ſent out an Armie to deſtroy that Nation (of which Expedition we will preſently diſcourſe,after that we haue annexed that which was omitted in this Hiſtorie.) For reaſon would, that we ſhould not pretermit to prayſe the deſigne of our Law-maker in this behalfe. For in regard of *Balaam*, (ſought out by the Madianites, vnder the intent to curſe the Hebrewes,although he could not doe it,being hindred therefro by the prouidence of God,who notwithſtanding gaue that counſaile to the enemie, by meanes whereof, within a little ſpace a great multitude of the Hebrewes were corrupted in their courſe of life, and diuers haue beene grieuouſly plagued with ſickneſſe) in regard I ſay of this *Balaam*,he hath greatly honoured him, in chronicling his predictions in his Writings. And although it had beene eaſie for him to haue depriued him of the glorie,and to haue appropriated it to himſelfe,by reaſon that there was not any witneſſe that might contradict him; yet neglected he not to giue teſtimonie of him, and to make mention of him in his Writings: Yet let euery one thinke of this, according as it ſhall ſeeme good vnto him. But *Moſes* (as I began to ſay) ſent an Armie of twelue thouſand men againſt the Madianites,chuſing out of euery Tribe one thouſand ſouldiers,and appointed *Phinees* Captaine ouer theſe Forces,by whoſe induſtrie(as a little before I haue declared)both the Lawes were ſatisfied,and *Zambri* (that brake the ſame) was puniſhed.

The yeere of the world, 2493. before Chriſts Nativitie, 1571.

Phinees thruſteth Zambri and Chosbi thorow at one time.

Otherwiſe, 24000.

Moſes ſendeth forces againſt the Madianites.

CHAP. VII.

The Hebrewes fight againſt the Madianites,and ouercome them.

BVT the Madianites (hauing intelligence that their enemies drew neere vnto them,and that they were not farre off from their borders) gathered their forces together, and beſet all thoſe paſſages of their countrey, by which they thought their enemie might breake in,addreſſing themſelues to repulſe them with force and valour. But no ſooner did *Phinees* with his forces charge them,and ſet vpon them, but that(vpon the firſt encounter) ſo great a multitude of the Madianites was ſlaine, that the number of the carcaſſes might not be accounted. Neyther were their Kings in like ſort ſaued from the Sword: theſe were *Og*,*Sures*,*Robeas*,*Vbes*,and the fift *Recemus* (from whom the chiefeſt Citie of the Arabians deriueth his name,and at this day retaineth the ſame,and is called Receme,which the Græcians had rather call Petra.) The Hebrewes hauing thus put their enemies to flight, foraged the whole Region, and carried and droue away with them a great prey; and killing all the inhabitants thereof,both men and women,they onely ſpared the Virgins,(for this command had *Phinees* receiued from *Moſes* hands:) who returning home with his Armie in ſafetie,brought with him a memorable and mightie prey;of Oxen,fiftie and two thouſand,ſixtie and ſeuen; of Aſſes,ſixtie thouſand; of Golden and Siluer Veſſels a great number(which thoſe of that countrey were wont to vſe in their domeſticall affaires.) For by reaſon of their great riches,they liued very delicately.There were alſo led captiue from thence about thirtie thouſand Virgins. But *Moſes* (diuiding the prey) gaue the fiftieth part thereof to *Eleazar*, and the Prieſts, and to the Leuites another fiftie: as for the remainder, he diſtributed it amongſt the people. Whence it came to paſſe, that euer afterwards they liued in great ſecuritie, hauing gotten riches by their vertue, and peace alſo to enjoy the ſame. Now for that *Moſes* was well

Hedio, cap. 7. Ruffinus, c. 5.

Fiue Kings of the Madianites ſlaine.

Otherwiſe Areceme, or Arcæ.

A great prey gotten from the Madianites.

*Num.*27. *Deut.*3.

Moſes appointeth Ioſuah for his ſucceſſor.

The yeere of the world, 2493. before the Natiuitie of Christ. 1471.

ſtricken in yeeres,he appointed *Ieſus* (who,if need were,might ſucceed him in the Offices, both of a Prophet and a Prince and Gouernour; for God had ſo commanded that hee ſhould make choice of him) to be his ſucceſſor in the principalitie. For he was moſt expert in all diuine and humane knowledge; being therein inſtructed by his maſter *Moſes*. About that time, the two tribes of *Gad* and *Ruben*, with the halfe tribe of *Manaſſes* (being abundantly ſtored with cattell, and all other manner of riches) by common conſent beſought *Moſes* that he would giue and aſſigne to them in particular the countrey of the Amorites, which not long ſince they had conquered by the ſword, for that it was full of rich paſtures. But he (ſuſpecting leſt ſurprized with feare, they did detract and withdraw themſelues from the battell of the Chanaanites, and that vnder the pretext of the care of their cattell, they couered their ſloth) highly taunted and controuled them, ſaying that they were fearefull diſſemblers: He accuſed them likewiſe, that their deſire was to poſſeſſe that land, which was conquered by the common valour of the people, to the end they might lead their liues in idleneſſe and pleaſure; and that bearing armes with the reſt of the hoſt, they would not helpe to poſſeſſe the land beyond *Iordan*, which God had promiſed them, by ouercomming thoſe nations which he commanded them to account for their enemies. Who perceiuing that he was diſpleaſed (leſt he ſhould ſeeme to be deſeruedly incenſed againſt them) anſwered, that neither through feare they fled danger, neither by reaſon of ſloth ſhunned labour, but onely ſhot at this, that leauing their prey in commodious places,they might be more fit to enter conflict: ſaying, that they were ready (if ſo be they might receiue Cities for the defence and receit of their wiues,children,and ſubſtance) to follow the reſt of the army whither-ſoeuer they were conducted; and to aduenture their liues with them for the common ſucceſſe. Whereupon *Moſes* (allowing their forwardneſſe, and aſſembling *Eleazar* the High Prieſt, and *Ieſus*, with the reſt of the Magiſtrates)granted them the land of the Amorites, with this condition, that (together with the people ioyned vnto them in conſanguinitie) they ſhould warfare againſt their common enemie, till all things were accompliſhed according to their deſires: and by this meanes hauing receiued that which they demanded,and building them walled Cities,they left their children, wiues and ſubſtance in the ſame. *Moſes* alſo builded ten Cities in that Region(which are to be reckoned in the number of thoſe fortie and eight)in three whereof he appointed Sanctuaries and places of refuge,which they onely might take benefit of, who fled thither for chance-meddly; and he appointed them their terme of exile till ſuch time as the High Prieſt died,vnder whom the man-ſlaughter was committed:at ſuch time they might ſafely returne into their Countrey. And during the time of their exile,it was lawfull for any of the kinne to take reuenge againſt the offender by his death, onely at ſuch time as he found him without the Citie of refuge: and that right he onely ratified to thoſe that were a kinne, but not vnto others. Now the Cities of refuge were theſe: in the confines of Arabia, Boſora: in the Region of Galadena, Arimanum: in the countrey of Bataneades, Gauladeaman: And after the conqueſt of Chanaan ſo many Cities of the Leuites (by the commandement of *Moſes*) were appointed to that end that they might giue refuge and habitation to ſuch ſort of offenders. At that time when one of the Magiſtrates called *Salpades*, of the tribe of *Manaſſes*, was dead (and had onely left behind him children of the worſer ſexe) the Gouernours of the tribe came vnto *Moſes*, and asked his counſell,whether in the diſtribution of the lands,they ſhould leuie out any part or portion for them? Who anſwered them,That if they married within their tribe, they ſhould haue their dowrie; but if they made choiſe to handfaſt themſelues in another tribe, that then they ſhould leeſe their patrimonie in their owne: and for this cauſe made he this ordinance, to the end that euery tribe ſhould continually poſſeſſe his proper inheritance. But whereas now there remained but thirty daies onely, to fulfill the number of thoſe forty yeeres ſince their departure out of Ægypt, he (ſummoning an aſſembly in that place neere to Iordan, where now the Citie of Abila is ſituate, enuironed with a field beſet with Palme trees) as ſoone as he ſaw the people addreſſed to heare him, ſpake vnto them after this manner.

Numb. 32. The tribes of Ruben, Gad, and the halfe of Manaſſes, require the land of the Amorites.

Numb. 35. Deut. 4. 43. Ioſuah 20. The Cities of refuge.

Numb. 27. 36. The daughters of Salpades haue their inheritance in their fathers place.

The hiſtorie of Deuteronomie.

Ruffinus, c. 5. Hedio, cap. 8. *Deut. 4.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

MOSES *Lawes, and how he was taken out of this world from the companie of men.*

The yeere of the world, 2493. before Christs Nativity, 1471.

MY deare friends and fellow ſoldiers, companions in my long trauell, ſince it is ſo thought requiſite by God, and mine age (attaining to the full number of one hundreth and twentie yeeres) requireth no leſſe, but that I muſt depart out of this life; and ſince it ſeemeth not good in Gods ſight, that either I ſhould bee agent, or aſſiſtant in your affaires beyond Iordan: I haue thought it requiſite that (in as much as appertaineth to your felicitie) I ſhould not now alſo faile or default in my duty towards you; but that according to the grace that is giuen me, I ſhould prouide that by laying open the way vnto you that leadeth to the ſame, I may ſeeme worthy amongſt you to merit eternall glory & memorie. Giue therfore eare vnto me, that when as I haue firſt declared vnto you, wherein both your felicitie, and the happines of your poſterity conſiſteth, and haue left this perpetual teſtimony and monument of my entire loue towards you, I may willingly depart out of this life: for well I know that I deſerue to be credited by you, both for that beforetimes I haue inceſſantly (in ſtudying for your profites) neuer deceiued you, as alſo for that the ſoule (being ready to bee ſeparated from the body) becõmeth more accompliſhed in all vertue and veritie. Ye ſonnes of Iſrael, there is but one onely cauſe whereby mẽ attaine vnto felicitie, to wit, the fauour of God, which he is onely able to giue to thoſe that deſerue it, & to withdraw it from thoſe that offend him: towards whom if you continue dutifull (according as he requireth, and in ſuch manner as I according to his direction, doe inſtitute you) you ſhall neuer faile to multiply in vertue, and to draw all men into emulation of your happines: and that which is more, thoſe goods which you haue now obtained, ſhall be perpetuall, and that which you want, ſhall ſhortly be plentifully beſtowed on you. Onely indeuour you your ſelues to be ſubiect to Gods will, and obedient to his cõmandements: and neither purpoſe vnto your ſelues any other lawes then thoſe I haue giuen you, neither through contempt innouate any thing in your religion. Which if you ſhall performe, you ſhall excell all other Natiõs in warre, and grow inuincible againſt your enemies: for by Gods aſſiſtance all threats are eaſily contemned. Moreouer, there are great rewards (in all the courſe of life) propoſed vnto vertue, and ſhe her ſelfe to her ſelfe is a chiefe & eſpeciall reward: beſides, by her all other bleſſings ar e eaſily obtayned, which if you intertaine among your ſelues, you ſhall both leade a bleſſed life, & obtaine immortall glory, not onely amongſt ſtrangers, but alſo in all poſterities. Theſe things are you to hope vpon, if neither you your ſelues violate thoſe lawes (which by Gods command, and mine induſtry) are ſet downe vnto you, neither ſuffer any other to violate the ſame, but in your ſelues cõtinually meditate vpon the vnderſtanding and vſe thereof. As for my ſelfe, I depart this life in fulnes of ioy, reioycing at theſe your good fortunes, & commending you all to the lawes of pietie and prudence, and the vertue of your guides and magiſtrates, who hereafter are to take care of your ſafetie & felicitie. God likewiſe, vnder whoſe conduct you haue liued (and to whoſe fauour you owe whatſoeuer you haue receiued by mee) will not faile to take care of you, but as long as you ſhall honour both him and pietie, ſo long ſhall you remaine in ſecuritie vnder his protection: neither ſhall you want ſuch men, who ſhall giue you ghoſtly inſtructions, whoſe counſels if you obey, you ſhall be fortunate (namely, *Eleazar* the high Prieſt, and Ieſus, with the Senat and Magiſtrates of the tribes) towards whom beware leſt you grow ſtifnecked, knowing and remembring this, that he that is inſtructed to obey well (when hee ſhall attaine vnto dignitie) will gouerne well. Neither ſuppoſe you that libertie conſiſteth herein, if you mutine againſt the commandements of your Princes: for hitherto haue you repoſed your libertie in your contumacie towards your benefactors; from which ſinne if hereafter you ſhall bleſſe your ſelues, you ſhall ſee your eſtate waxe ſtill more flouriſhing, and fortunate: And God forbid that you ſhould euer be ſo exaſperated againſt theſe, as you haue beene ſometimes incenſed againſt mee. For if you remember your ſelues, I haue beene more oftentimes in hazzard of my life by your meanes, then by the enemie: Which I ſpeake not therefore vnto you to vpbraid you therewith, for I would not leaue you afflicted with the remembrance hereof, at the houre of my death, (who euen at that time entertained the iniurie with a quiet minde) but to the end that beeing by mee admoniſhed, you ſhould henceforward bee wiſer in thoſe things which hereafter ſhall concerne you; and leſt you ſhould grow contumelious againſt your gouernours, beeing made proude with affluence of your riches, which you ſhall enioy at ſuch time as you haue ouerpaſſed Iordan, and conquered Chanaan. Otherwiſe if made more inſolent

Moſes oration vnto the people before his death.

Moſes exhorteth the people to be obedient to Gods will.

The promiſe of Gods aſſiſtance.

Obedience to the Magiſtrates.

The yeere of the world, 2493. before Christs Natiuitie. 1471.

by these blessings you fall into contumacie, and contempt of vertue, Gods fauour will neuer bee extended towards you; whom if by your sinnes you shall incense against your selues, you shall both lose the land which you haue conquered by your courage, by beeing shamefully oppressed by your enemies, and beeing dispersed ouer the face of the whole earth, you shall fill both the land and sea with your seruitude; which if it should come to passe, then were it too late to repent you, that you haue not obserued the lawes of your nation. Wherefore (to the intent to auoid this danger, and for feare you violate the same) suffer not any of your enemies, after your victorie is once gotten, to liue; and thinke it more conducible for your affaires, for feare lest liuing with them, and intangled in the like studies and delights, you corrupt and depraue your Countrey lawes & institutions. Moreouer, I cõmand you to destroy their woods, their altars, and temples, as many soeuer as you shall meete with, and so to raze them both with fire and flame, as there may not remaine any token or memorie of them any more: For so shall you more safely maintaine your estates. But lest through ignorance of better things your nature be depraued by the worser, by Gods cõmandement I haue written you lawes, and a forme of administration, both of the Common-weale, and your priuate estates; from which if you shall no waies diuert, or wander, you shall prooue the most fortunate people of the earth. When he had spoken these things, hee deliuered them a booke, containing in writing their lawes, and customes of good life: which when they had heard and receiued, they melted in teares, and now lamented they both for the losse of their Captaine, as also for that they remembred them how many perils hee had suffered, and how diligently he had procured their safetie and securitie: and they grew carefull of the time to come, for that they were not like to recouer so good a Prince: and they suspected likewise that God would not hereafter bee so fauourable vnto them, in that they had not a *Moses* to pray for them. Besides, they repented them of those things which (through furie) they committed against him in the desart, and were grieuously sorrie: so that all the people (breaking out into teares) would admit no consolation. But *Moses* recomforted them, and prayed them to giue ouer weeping, & incouraged them to receiue their lawes: and so for this time dissolued the assembly. But now before I addresse my selfe to manifest the rest, I haue thought it meete to insert in this place the lawe of this law-giuer, worthy both his maiestie and vertue: whereby the Reader may know what our lawes haue beene, euen from the first time, and institution of our common-weale. For all those things are extant which this man wrote, so that we neede not faine or affixe any thing in way of ornament: we haue onely renewed the order, and those lawes which he scatteringly set downe according as he receiued them from God, we haue generally digested into their places: whereof I thought good to admonish the Reader, for feare lest hereafter any of our Tribes comming to the view hereof, should rashly accuse me, for that I had not scarce faithfully deliuered the writings and institutions of *Moses*. Now will I reckon vp those lawes in especiall, which appertaine to the publike institution and rites of our Nation: but those things that concerne priuate customes and contracts, either betwixt our selues or forraine nations, I haue deferred to be discoursed of in that commentarie, wherein (by Gods assistance) I intend to debate of our manners, and method in sacred causes.

The Israelites are commanded to kill their enemies, and destroy their Idols.

Moses deliuereth the Israelites a booke wherein their lawes and maner of life was written.

Lawes made by Moses. Ruffinus. ca. 7.

The excuse of the writer of the Historie, why he innouated the order of the lawes.

After that you haue gotten the land of Chanaan, built your Cities, and haue begun in securitie to reape the fruit thereof; in obseruation of these commandements, you shall gratifie God highly, and establish you atchieued felicitie. Let there be one sacred citie in the region of Chanaan, situate in a famous and fertile place, which God shall make choise of for himselfe, and his Prophets: In the same let there be one onely Temple built, and one Altar erected of rough and vnpolished stones, and such as are gathered here and there, which shall be conueniently placed and finished with decencie, as touching the outward ornament: and let not the ascent of the same be made by degrees, but let the earth be easily and fitly raised. But in any other Citie let there be neither Altar, nor Temple: for God is one, and the Hebrew nation is one. Whosoeuer shall blaspheme God, let him be stoned to death, and hanged for a day, and be afterwards ignominiously and obscurely buried.

Item, the Israelites shall liue in the land of Canaan.

A sacred City and Temple in Canaan.

Blasphemie against God.

Let all the Hebrewes from their seuerall prouinces, assemble themselues thrice in the yeere in the sacred Citie and Temple; that they may giue thankes vnto God for the benefits they haue receiued, and that they may by their prayers demerit his graces in future time; and that by their conuersation and mutuall intertainments, they may increase their beneuolence and loue the one towards the other. For it is behouefull that they should know one another, who are of the same stocke, and are delighted in the same studies. And this very fitly falleth out by their meetings after this kind of maner, whilest both the countenance and discourse as yet taketh deepe

Leuit. 4. Deut. 16. Thrice in the yeere the Hebrewes ought to meete.

A deepe roote in mens minds; as contrariwiſe, they that neuer meet, it behoueth them that be ſtrangers the one vnto the other.

The yeere of the world, 2493. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1571.

Beſides, let the tenth part of the fruits (beſides them that are due to the Prieſts and Leuites) which you are accuſtomed to ſell in your markets (being reduced into readie money) be ſpent on ſacrifices and banquets in the ſacred Citie. For it is requiſite to celebrate feaſts in Gods honour, of the fruits of the earth, which we haue receiued from his hands.

Tenths. *Deut.* 28.

Let no ſacrifice be made of the hire of an harlot: for neither doth any thing delight God which is annexed with iniurie; neither is there greater vncleanneſſe, then the ſhameſull and vnlawfull mixture of our bodies.

The hire of a harlot.

Likewiſe, if any man take reward for couering a bitch (whether ſhe be for the chaſe, or for
B the flocke) it is not lawfull to make ſacrifice vnto God thereof. Let no man ſpeake ill of thoſe gods which other Countries and Cities ſuppoſe to be gods. Let no man ſpoile any ſtrange Temple, nor take that which is dedicated to any god. Let no man weare a garment wouen of linnen and woollen, for it belongeth onely to the Prieſts.

Other gods. *Deut.* 1.

Linnen and woollen. *Deut.* 11.

Euery ſeuenth yeere, when the people ſhall be aſſembled together in the ſacred Citie to ſacrifice vpon the feaſt of Tabernacles, at ſuch time as the feaſt approcheth, the high Prieſt from a high Pulpit (from whence he may be heard by the whole multitude) ſhall reade the law vnto all of them: ſo that neither women nor children ſhall be exempted from the hearing of the ſame, no not the very ſlaues and bondmen. For it is requiſite that they retaine the perpetuall memorie thereof, alwaies imprinted in their minds: for ſo ſhall they ſinne the leſſe, in that they vnderſtand
C what is decreed in the law. The lawes likewiſe ſhall be of more force in the conſciences of thoſe that ſhall offend, whileſt they infixe in the midſt of thoſe that heare them, their doctrines intermingled with menaces: ſo that the will to performe the law ſhall neuer be inwardly extinguiſhed: & beſides that the remembrance will liue in thē, how many plagues they incur by contempt thereof. Let children in eſpeciall learne the lawes, then which diſcipline there is not any more honeſt; neither more conducible vnto felicitie. Twice in the day, in the morning and in the euening about bed time, let God be honoured for his benefit of our deliuerance out of Ægypt. For it is a thing in nature reaſonable, to giue thankes vnto God, as well in acknowledgement of the goods which we haue beforetime receiued, as in expectation of his future mercies. The chiefe of theſe alſo are to be written ouer our doores, and worne on our armes: and thoſe things
D which declare his power and beneficence, are to be borne about, written on the head and armes, that euery way Gods bountie may be ſeene towards his people. In euery Citie or townſhip let there be ſeuen gouernours, ſuch as are approoued in vertue, and famous for their iuſtice: let each one of theſe Magiſtrates haue two Miniſters of the tribe of *Leui*. Let thoſe that are appointed Iudges in the Cities be held in high reputation: ſo that in their preſence no man preſume either to vrge contumelies, or iniurious ſpeeches: for ſo ſhall it come to paſſe, that men accuſtomed to doe reuerence, ſhall alſo exerciſe themſelues in pietie, and grow ſo much the further from contempt of God and his power. Whatſoeuer ſeemeth good to the Iudges to decree, let that be held inuiolable; except it be apparant that they be corrupted with money, or that they may be manifeſtly conuicted of a wrongfull iudgement. They ought likewiſe to iudge without reſpect
E of lucre or dignitie, and preferre iuſtice before all other things: for this iniurie ſorteth out to Gods contumely, as if it were to be ſuppoſed, that he is to be ſuſpected to be weaker then they, for whoſe ſake they wreſt the law contrarie to equitie: for Gods power is iuſtice; he therefore that giueth iudgement in fauour and partialitie of great men, maketh them greater then God himſelfe. And if the Iudges cannot determine of the matter in queſtion (as it oftentimes falleth out) let them referre the cauſe to the ſacred Citie, and then ſhall the high Prieſt and the Prophet, with the aſſiſtance of the Senate, determine that which ſhall be conuenient.

Children ſhal learne the law *Deut.* 6.

The ſignes of the law.

The ſeuen preſidents.

Honour to the Magiſtrate.

The office of Iudges.

Iuſtice is Gods power.

The teſtimonie of one witneſſe ſhall not be receiued, but of three, or at leaſtwiſe of two whoſe teſtimonie ſhall be made good by the examination of their behauiour and life. As for women, it is not lawfull for them to beare any witneſſe; by reaſon of the leuitie and temeritie of that ſexe.

Deut. 19.

F Neither is it lawfull for a man-ſeruant to bring in teſtimonie, by reaſon of his degenerate and ignoble minde: for it is to be ſuſpected, that either for lucre ſake, or for feare, he will depoſe an vntrue teſtimonie. And if any falſe witneſſe ſhall fortune to be beleeued, and he afterwards bee conuicted of periurie, let him be ſubiect to that penaltie, which hee ſhould haue endured that ſhould haue beene caſt by his falſe accuſation. If man-ſlaughter be committed in any place, and the offender may not be found out, neither there appeare any likelihood, that the man is ſlaine of malice, let there be a diligent and carefull inquiſition made (with rewards prefixed to the diſcouerer)

The puniſhment of a falſe witneſſe. *Deut.* 21.

Of homicide committed.

The yeere of the world, 2493. before Christs Natiuitie. 1471.

uerer) but if no probabilities or coniectures may be gathered, then let the Magistrates of the next Cities (that adioyne the place where the slaughter is committed) and the ancients of the same, assemble together, and measure from the place where the dead bodie lyeth: and let the township that is found to be neerest, and the inhabitants thereof, buy a Heyfer; which they shall bring into a place vnlaboured and vnplanted, where they shall (after they haue cut the nerues of the necke) kill it, and the Priests, the Leuites and ancients of the Citie shall wash their hands in the blood: then shall they lift vp their hands ouer the head of the said Heifer, and cry out with a loude voice, that they haue their hands cleane from that homicide, the which they haue not done, neither were they present at such time as it was perpetrated; and they shall call vpon the mercie of God, beseeching him not to permit that any such grieuous accident euer fall out in their countrey.

Aristocracie the best kinde of gouernment. *Deut.* 17.

The gouernment of the Peeres is the best kinde of regiment of all other sorts of gouernment: take you therefore heede that you desire no other forme of policie, but retaine and continue the same, hauing no other superiours but the lawes; and managing your affaires by your selues. For it sufficeth you that God is your Prince.

Of the election of a King.

Yet notwithstanding, if you shall grow in desire to haue a King, see that yee elect one of your owne nation, that he in all things be studious to procure iustice, and all other vertues, perswading himselfe that God and the lawes are most vpright: Let him not vndertake any thing without the aduice of the high Priest, and the counsell of the Elders. Let him not haue diuers wiues, neither let him hunt after huge treasures, nor multitudes of horse: for feare lest possessing them, he become so insolent, as that he raise his power and will aboue the lawes: and if you see him affectioned vnto these things, beware lest he grow more puissant then is expedient for you.

Deut. 19. The bounds of lands are not to be remooued.

It is not lawfull for any man to remooue the land-markes, neither of his owne land, or any other mans whatsoeuer; for by this meanes is the peace conserued: Let each one therefore forbeare to remooue them, because they are as the voice of God, assured for euer. For warres and souldiers are raised thereby, when such as would augment their inheritance, striue alwaies to enlarge the bounds of their dominion: And they that are so hardie to remooue the same, are not farre from contempt of the lawes.

Leuit. 25. The plants that are not of foure yeers growth are prohibited.

He that shall plant a piece of ground, and the trees begin to fructifie before the fourth yeere, the first fruits thereof shall not be offered vnto God, neither shall any man eate thereof, by reason that the time is inconuenient, and permitteth not that the trees should fructifie as yet; and nature her selfe is as it were inforced before her time, whereby the fruit is neither conuenable for God, nor conuenient for the vse of man. But all that fruit that shall grow in the fourth yeere (for then is the time that the trees should beare) shall be gathered and brought into the holy Citie (together with the tenth of all other fruits) and they shall be eaten during the feast which the Lord thereof maketh to his friends, and with Orphanes and Widdowes: But in the fift yeere it shall be lawfull for him to gather the fruit for himselfe.

Vines to be planted. The law of the plough.

Sow not a field that is planted with vines, for it sufficeth that it nourisheth one sort of plants: so that it needeth not to be laboured and manured with the plough. The land is to be plowed with Oxen: neither are any other sorts of beasts to be yoaked with them, but the tillage must alwaies be performed by beasts of the same kinde.

The seeds also ought to be cleane and without any mixture; so that two or three sorts ought not to be sowed together: for nature alloweth not a commixtion of things that are different.

It is not lawfull also to couer the female with a male of another kinde: for it is to be feared that this filthinesse should draw men to forget themselues; and grow in contempt of that sexe which is appropriate vnto them: for it often falleth out, that from small beginning, things waxe worser and worser. For nothing ought to be admitted, by the imitation whereof, there might chance to grow any maime in policie: for which cause the lawes dissemble not (no not the lightest) things, to the end they may no way seeme to be deficient in their nature.

Some gleanings are to be left for the poore in the field.

They that mow and reape corne, ought not to gleane, but to leaue some eares for those that are in necessitie, to the end to succour them. They likewise that plant vines, ought to leaue some clusters for the poore, and some fruit on the Oliue trees, to the intent that they that haue none of these, may gather some little thing for their reliefe: for the owners of the field shall not reape so much profit by the sparing inning of their corne, as may be compared with the good and profit which the poore shall reape by their gleaning: for God will bring to passe that their land (who regard not their particular profit, but shall haue care of the nourishment of those that are in necessitie) shall be farre more fat and fertile to bring forth and nourish her fruit.

Neyther

A Neyther is the mouth of the Oxe to be muzzled,at ſuch time as he treadeth the Corne in the Mow: For it ſtandeth not with reaſon, that they who haue beene partakers of the labour, and haue trauailed for the encreaſe of the fruits, ſhould be bridled from the vſe and benefit thereof. *The yeere of the world, 2493. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1571.*

Neyther ought the Trauailer alſo in his journey to be denyed to gather and taſte the fruits of Autumne,but he is to be permitted to take his fill,as if they were his owne,whether he be of the countrey,or a ſtranger;who ſhall depart joyfully,in that they haue beene made partakers of ſuch fruit: but it is not lawfull for them to carrie any away with them. Oxen treading or grinding. Trauellers are not to be driuen away from ripe fruits.

They likewiſe that gather Grapes,ought not to forbid any man to taſte of them,as they beare them to the Preſſe: for it is an vnjuſt thing, that the goods which are giuen by the will of God B for the ſuſtenance of man,ſhould be denyed them,that deſire to taſte the fruit which God giueth in due ſeaſon,and muſt ſuddenly paſſe away.

They likewiſe are to be inuited, that through ſhame make nice to touch the ſame, yea,and to be entreated to take part (if they be Iſraelites) for ſuch are companions and maſters, in that they are of the ſame Race; and if they trauaile into any place, they ought to be entreated to take part of thoſe benefits which God preſented vnto them,according to the ſeaſon. For it is not to be ſuppoſed,that that is ill imployed,which in way of courteſie a man permitteth another man to take, ſince it is God that furniſheth and giueth the abundance and foiſon of all things; not to the end to enjoy them in priuate, but alſo to beſtow them willingly. And he it is, that by this meanes would declare vnto other people the good will he beareth to the people of Iſrael,and the felicitie C whereof he maketh them partakers; by reaſon, that in that abundance which they haue,his will is,that other men ſhould haue part thereof. But whoſoeuer ſhall do the contrarie,let him be chaſtiſed for this his diſhoneſtie, and in publique receiue thirtie nine ſtripes (if he be a free man) for that making himſelfe vnto his gaine,he hath diſhonoured his excellent qualitie. Thirtie nine ſtripes.

It ſhall very well become you (ſaid *Moſes*) ſince you haue taſted miſeries both in Ægypt,and the Deſart,that you haue care of thoſe who are in like eſtate; and for that you are made rich by Gods mercie and prouidence,it behoooueth and becommeth you to impart ſomewhat to the indigent,who at the preſent are in that eſtate in which you were.

Beſides the two Tenths which I commanded you yeerely to pay, (the one to the Leuites,and the other for your Feſtiuals)you ſhall for euery yeere annexe a third,to be diſtributed among the D poore,to Women,Widowes,and Orphanes. The Tenth for the poore.

Incontinently after a man hath gathered his firſt fruits,he ſhall bring them to the Temple;and after he hath giuen thanks vnto God, (for that the Land which he hath giuen him in poſſeſſion, hath brought forth fruit) and as ſoone as he hath accompliſhed that Sacrifice, (which the Law commandeth him to make) he ſhall giue the firſt portion to the Prieſts. And after he hath done all that which concerneth him to do,(as well the Tenths of the Leuites,as alſo thoſe other things which were ordained for the Feaſts and firſt fruits)being readie to returne vnto his home,let him ſtand vpright neere vnto the Temple, and aboue all things giue thankes vnto God, That hauing deliuered them from the grieuous ſeruitude of Ægypt, he hath giuen them a plentifull & ample Land to enjoy: and making proteſtation,that he hath payd the Tenths according to *Moſes* Law, E let him beſeech God,that he will be fauorable both to himſelfe in priuate,and the Hebrewes in publique; and that he will continue thoſe goods vnto him which hitherto he hath beſtowed vpon him,and of his great goodneſſe and mercie vouchſafe to encreaſe them. The firſt fruits. *Deut. 26.*

Let thoſe that are of full yeeres to be married,match themſelues with vertuous Virgins, and ſuch as are borne of honeſt parents. And he that will not take a Virgin to Wife,let him not abuſe himſelfe with one that is married to another man, leſt he breed diſcontent and ſorrow in her firſt Husband. Let not free-men match themſelues with ſuch as are ſeruants;no,not although they be thereunto mooued by loue: for it is a thing worthie, and befitting honour, to ſurmount a mans affections. Let no man meddle with an Harlot (whoſe ſacrifice God refuſeth, by reaſon of the filthineſſe of her bodie.) For the children ſhall be of a free heart, and addreſſed in vertue, not if F they be engendred in villanous and vnlawfull concupiſcence, but if they be begotten and borne by a free father and mother. If any one that is married for a Virgin,be afterwards found to the contrarie,let her be brought before the Iudge,and let him produce all the ſignes that he can,and let the new-married Wiues cauſe be defended by her father, or brother, or by them who next vnto them, ſhall ſeeme to be her next in bloud; and if the Damoſell be found to haue committed no Crime, let her returne and dwell with him that hath accuſed her, who cannot any more refuſe her, except ſhe giue him great occaſions, whereunto ſhe cannot contradict. But he that Of Marriage. Free-men ought not to marrie ſeruants. The marriage of an Harlot. The penaltie of a woman married for a Virgin,and not found ſo. *Deut. 24.*

without

The yeere of the world, 2493. before the Natiuitie of Christ. 1471.

without cauſe,and raſhly ſhall accuſe and ſlander his Wife, he ſhall be puniſhed with thirtie nine ſtripes; and in way of amends,ſhall pay fiftie Sicles to her father. But if it be prooued that ſhe hath beene deflowred, and hath beene common, then ſhall ſhe be ſtoned to death, for that ſhe hath not chaſtly conſerued her Virginitie, till the time of her lawfull Marriage; and if ſhe be of the Race of the Prieſts, ſhe ſhall be burned aliue.

Deut. 21. The firſt begotten ſhould hold his right.

If any man haue two Wiues, the one of which he holdeth in great honour and amitie, eyther for loue,or by reaſon of her beautie, and that the other be not in the like condition,and eſtimate; if the ſonne of her that is borne beloued,demandeth to haue the prerogatiue of the elder, which is two portions of that which commeth to all the reſt by his fathers patrimonie, (for ſo much import our Ordinances) and challengeth the ſame,by reaſon that his father more dearely loueth his mother then the other, let it not be granted him. For it is an act againſt juſtice, that the eldeſt ſhould be depriued of that which appertaineth vnto him, becauſe his mothers condition is inferior to that of the others,by reaſon of his fathers affection.

The puniſhment of adulterie,or rather rauiſhing. *Deut.*22.

Whoſoeuer ſhall violate a Maiden, being betrothed to another man, (if by perſwaſion ſhe hath conſented to lye with him) let her dye with him; for they are both of them equally guiltie of ſinne: the Man,becauſe he hath perſwaded the Maiden to ſuffer an inſufferable diſhonour,and to preferre her Luſt before an honeſt Marriage; and the Maid, for ſuffering her ſelfe to be ouercome, and abandoning her bodie to villanie, eyther for Luſt,or lucres ſake. But if meeting her alone,he enforce her,and ſhe haue none to ſuccour her hard by; let him dye alone.

The deflowring of a Virgin.

He that ſhall deflowre the Virgin that is vnmarried,he ſhall take her to Wife: but if he condiſcend not to the father,to entertaine her in Wedlocke, he ſhall pay fiftie Sicles, for amends of the injurie.

If any man pretend to ſeparate himſelfe from his Wife for certaine cauſes, ſuch as ordinarily happen amongſt married couples, let him confirme it in writing,That he will neuer more entertaine her againe; and ſo may ſhe marry againe vnto another,and refuſe the former Husband: and if it happened that ſhe were euill entreated by the ſecond, or that he being dead, the firſt would take her againe in marriage, it is not lawfull for the Wife to returne vnto him.

*Leuit.*25. The Wife of the dead brother married.

If the brother of him that is deceaſed without iſſue,take to Wife her whom his deceaſed brother had married, and that the ſonne which was borne by this ſecond Wedlocke, beareth his name,let him be brought vp as the ſucceſſor of his inheritance,(which thing is granted for publique profit ſake, to the end that Families ſhould not come to ruine, and that the goods ſhould remaine to thoſe of the ſame kindred.) Furthermore, it is allowed for the comfort of afflicted women, that they may be joyned in marriage with the next akinne of their firſt Husbands. But if the brother will not take her to Wife,ſhe ſhall repaire vnto the Senate,and make this proteſtation,That the brother of her deceaſed Husband will not entertaine her,(although ſhe had deſired to remaine in that Line, and bring forth infants vnto him) proteſting,that by him onely the memorie of her deceaſed Husband was diſhonoured. And when the Senate ſhall haue examined the cauſe, why he eſtrangeth himſelfe from this Marriage, his excuſe ſhall be allowed of, how great or ſlight conſequence ſoeuer it be; and then ſhall the Widow vnlooſe his ſhooe, and ſpit in his face, and tell him,that he hath deſeruedly ſuffered theſe things,in that he hath injuried the memorie of his dead brother. And thus ſhall he depart out of the Court,being defamed for his whole life time, and the woman may marrie whomſoeuer ſhe liſt.

Marriage with a bondwoman. *Deut.*21.

If any man take a Virgin priſoner, or ſuch a one as hath beene alreadie married, and be deſirous to take her to his Wife,it is not lawfull for him to touch or approach her, before ſuch time as ſhe hath beene ſhauen, and (hauing put on her mourning apparell) hath bewayled her parents, or friends ſlaine in battaile: but after ſhe hath in this ſort aſſwaged her ſorrow, ſhe may afterwards addict her ſelfe to mirth and marriage. For it is a matter both honeſt and juſt, that hee that entertaineth her, to haue iſſue by her, ſhould condiſcend vnto her will, in all that wherein he might gratifie her,and that he ſhould not onely addict himſelfe to the purſuit of his pleaſure.

The lamentation & mourning of thirtie dayes.

When as then the thirtie dayes of mourning ſhall be expired, (for that time is ſufficient for the Wife to bewayle her friends in) then may ſhe hearken after marriage. And if after he hath had his pleaſure with her, it fortune that he miſlike her,and will not accept her for his Wife, he can no more make her his ſlaue, but ſhe may goe whither-ſoeuer ſhe pleaſeth, for that ſhe beareth with her, her libertie.

*Deut.*21. Diſobedience.

All thoſe young men that ſhall make no reckoning of their fathers and mothers,and that ſhall not doe them that honour which belongeth vnto them, (whether the ſame proceed of ſhame,or ſpring from folly, by which meanes they grow to neglect their dutie) theſe firſt of all ſhall be admo-

admoniſhed by diſcreet counſell of their parents,(who are by nature appointed ſufficient Iudges in that behalfe) who ſhall ſignifie vnto them,That they were matched together in Matrimonie, not for their pleaſures ſake, neyther that by vniting their poſſeſſions, they might become the more richer,but to the end they might beget children,who might nouriſh them in their age,and miniſter vnto them in their neceſſities. That they had receiued them at Gods hands with great thankſgiuing and infinite joy, and brought them vp with great care & diligence,ſparing nothing that might appertaine to their ſuſtenance or inſtruction. Now therefore ſhal they ſay,Surely the follies of youth are to be pardoned; let this ſuffice you, that hitherto you haue forgotten your dutie: for which cauſe,remember your ſelfe,and grow wiſe; thinking with your ſelfe,that God is grieuouſly offended againſt thoſe who diſobey or diſdaine their parents, by reaſon that he himſelfe is the Father of all mankind;who ſeemeth to be prejudiced in himſelfe,in that diſhonor which is done vnto thoſe that beare his name, at ſuch time as they receiue not ſuch dutie from their childrens hands,as he commandeth. The Law likewiſe inflicted an ineuitable puniſhment againſt ſuch; which thou oughteſt with all prouidence to preuent, and not incurre. If by theſe medicines the vnbridled irregard of youth may be healed,let no man eyther impute or reproach him in his ſubmiſſion: for in ſo doing, the Law-maker ſhall be accounted mercifull,and the parents ſhall be held to be happie, when as they ſee that their ſonne or daughter is exempt from puniſhment. But if ſuch ſpeeches and inſtructions of the father are ſet light by the ſonne, let the Lawes be irreconciliable enemies againſt ſuch continuall outrages committed by the children againſt their parents, and let them drag them out of the Citie,in the ſight and preſence of all the people, and there let him be ſtoned to death: and after the offender hath lyen there a whole day, in the ſight of the people,let him be interred and buried by night. In like manner ought they to be buried,who for any occaſion whatſoeuer are condemned and executed by juſtice.

The yeere of the world, 2493. before Chriſts Nativity, 1471.

Let the enemie alſo be interred after the ſame manner, and let no dead man lye vnburied after ſuch time as he hath beene judged, and hath ſatisfied the Lawes.

Enemie to be buried. *Deut.23.*

It is not lawfull for any Hebrew to lend vpon Vſurie, whether it be meat or drinke; for it is an vnjuſt thing to make profit of the fortunes of the Tribes: but it is better to ſuccour their neceſſities,and impute their thankſgiuing,and Gods retribution,to be a gaine vnto them,which are wont to follow ſuch kind of benefits. But they that haue borrowed eyther money,or any fruit, eyther drie or moiſt; when as by the fauour and aſſiſtance of God, they ſhall reape their owne Harueſt,and gather their fruit,let them make a willing reſtitution to thoſe that haue lent them,as if they had layd them vp for themſelues,to poſſeſſe them at ſuch time as they had need of them. But if there be any ſo impudent, as they will not make ſatisfaction, let no man enter into their houſes,to take a Pawne,before the Iudges haue giuen order,that the Pledge ſhould be demanded before their doore; and the Debter without contradiction ſhall bring it vnto him, being aſſiſted by the majeſtie of the Law. If he of whom the Pledge is taken,haue ſufficient abilitie,the Creditor may retaine the Gage,till ſuch time as he be payd: but if he be poore,he ſhall reſtore him his Pawne before the Sunne-ſet, and eſpecially, if it be any Garment whereon he is accuſtomed to ſleepe; for God doth naturally beſtow his mercie on thoſe that are poore. It is not lawfull to receiue in way of Gage, eyther a Mill, or ought elſe that belongeth thereunto, leſt any Debter ſhould be depriued of the neceſſary Inſtruments to prouide his Victuals with,& he ſhould endure any euill through pouertie. Let him that committeth any Theft,be puniſhed with death; but he that hath ſtolne eyther Gold or Siluer,let him reſtore it two-fold. If any man kill ſuch as breake into their houſes, to rob them, or they that breake their walls, let not ſuch a one be puniſhed. Whoſo ſhall ſteale a beaſt,ſhall reſtore foure for it,except it be an Oxe,for which one ſhal ſatisfie fiue-fold: and if the Thiefe want meanes to pay this penaltie,let him be their ſlaue againſt whom they haue treſpaſſed, and at whoſe ſuit they are condemned. If any one be ſold vnto one of his owne Tribe,let him ſerue him ſeuen yeeres;and at the ſeuen yeeres end,he ſhal depart with libertie.But if during the time that he remaineth with the buyer,he beget any child vpon a female fellow ſlaue,and that he be willing to ſerue,by reaſon of the good affection and great amitie that he beareth vnto the houſe;in the yeere of Iubile(which hapneth euery fiftieth yeere)let him be ſet at libertie,leading away with him his children,& wife,with their freedome. If any man find Money or Gold by the way,let him ſeeke out him that hath loſt it,and make knowne the place where he found it,to the intent he may reſtore it;knowing,that the profit is not good which commeth and accrueth by another mans injurie. The like is to be done with beaſts: for if any man find them ſtrayed in the Deſart,if he find not out the owner,let him preſently keepe it by him,taking God to witneſſe, that he will not detaine with him another mans goods. If any man find another

That which is borrowed, muſt be payd. *Deut.24.*

A Pledge.

Theft.

An Hebrew ſlaue is to be ſet at libertie, after ſeuen yeeres.

Goods that are found.

mans

The yeere of the world, 2493. before the Natiuitie of Christ. 1471.

mans beasts bemyred or bebogd, let him not passe further, but succour them: or if he find them G
trauailed with foule weather, let him endeauour and helpe to saue the same, and helpe him that is
the owner, not sparing or making nice of any labour.

Deut. 22. The Law of violence.

Let each man direct the ignorant trauailer in his way, and set him in the right path, if he wander, without deluding him, or hindering him in his necessities, or mis-leading him in his journey. Let no man speake ill of him that is eyther absent, or deafe. If any man be strucken in a quarrell, and it be not with a weapon, let him that strucke him be presently punished, in receiuing the like outrage as he hath offered him. But if he be carryed into his house, and lye sicke vpon it diuers dayes, and in the end die thereof, he shall be exempt of the penaltie. But if he escapeth, and during the time of his sickenesse hath beene greatly hindred and charged; then let him that strucke him, pay all the charges he hath beene at during the time he kept his bed, and satisfie the Physi- H
cians. He that with his foot shall strike a woman with child, if the woman miscarry, he shall be by the Iudges amerced in a summe of money, for that he hath lessened the number of the people, by the losse of him that is dead in his mothers wombe. Let him likewise be condemned to pay a summe of money vnto the Husband. But if the woman die of the stroke, he that offered the violence, must dye the death also; by reason that the Law justly ordaineth, that Life should be satisfied with Life.

Poyson.

Let not any one among the Israelites vse any mortall Poyson, nor any Drug, that may do hurt vnto any man: and if any man be found with such things about him, let him dye, dying that

Talions Law.

death which he determined they should suffer, for whom he had prepared the Poyson. Whoso hath maymed any man, or puld out his eye, let him in like manner be maymed and blinded, being I
depriued of the same member of his bodie whereof he hath depriued another man; except he that is maymed, had rather haue a pecuniarie amends: by reason, that the Law remitteth it to the election of the offender, to estimate his injurie; and if he will be more seuere, he may. If any one

Of an Oxe striking with his horne.

haue an Oxe that striketh with his horne, let him kill him: and if the same Oxe striketh and killeth any man in the field, or mow, let him be stoned to death, and let no man eat the flesh thereof. And if it be proued, that the master which oweth the same, hath heretofore knowne the qualitie of the beast, and hath not taken order he should doe no harme, let him also be put to death, as being the author of the murther committed by the Oxe. But if the said Oxe kill a slaue, eyther male or female, he shall be stoned; and the owner thereof shall pay thirtie Sicles to the master of the slaue that is slaine. If one Oxe be strucken by another, so as he dye thereof, let both of them K
(both that which was dead, and that which struck the other to death) be sold, and the price there-

Deut. 21. A Pit.

of shall be parted equally betwixt both their owners. They that digge a Pit or Cisterne, must be carefull that they inclose and fence it in with Planks or Barres, not to hinder any man from drawing water, but lest any man by misfortune should fall into the same. And if any mans beast shall fall into the same (and it vndefenced) the owner of the Pit must pay to the owner of the beast the price thereof: and euer after let it be couered as it were with a wall, for feare lest any thereafter

Deut. 24.

fall into the same. Let him that receiueth any thing in trust, keepe it carefully, as a thing sacred and diuine; and let neyther man nor woman attempt to alien that which is committed to his custodie, although thereby he might gaine an infinite summe of Gold, and although there were not any man that could conuince him thereof. For since that generally the conscience knoweth the L
same, euery one ought to endeuor himselfe to deale vprightly; and supposing himselfe to be a sufficient witnesse against himselfe, let him doe those things which are laudable in the sight of men, but in especiall that which is pleasing to God, frō whose sight no wrongfull dealing is concealed. If notwithstanding he to whom this trust is cōmitted (without any fraud on his part) shall chance to lose the thing that is so left in trust, let him present himselfe before seuen Iudges, & there take an oath, that nothing is lost by his will, or weeting, & that he hath not conuerted any part thereof

In the same place.

to his owne vse; wherupon let him be dismissed, without any further inquirie. But if he haue made vse of the least part of that which hath been committed to his charge & trust, and that he happen to lose it, he shall be condemned to restore all that which was committed to his keeping. As it

Hire.

hath beene ordained in respect of matters in trust, the like is decreed as touching Hire which is M
due vnto the labourer: and let each man take heed lest he defraud a poore man of his Hire; knowing, that God gaue him his hands in stead of lands, and other possessions. For which cause, the payment of Hire ought not to be deferred, but satisfied the same day; by reason, that God permitteth

Children are not to be punished for their parents offences.

not, that the labourer should lose the fruit of his trauaile. The children shall not be punished for the misdeeds of their parents: but if they be vertuous, & are begotten by lewd fathers, they rather merit, that men should haue compassion of them, then that they should hate them: neyther are

the

A the offences of the children to be imputed to the parents, by reaſon that youth oftentimes engageth it ſelfe in thoſe follies, which he neuer learned by examples, not for which he endureth not to be reprooued. Eunuchs are to be deteſted, and their companies to be fled, becauſe they depriue themſelues of Manhood, and the gift of begetting Children, which God hath giuen vnto men, for the encreaſe of mankinde. Such people therefore are to be driuen farre from vs, and eſteemed wholly inexcuſable, who kill their children before they be borne. For it is a matter very manifeſt, that their ſpirits being effeminate, their bodies alſo are degenerate. Each thing alſo that is monſtrous to behold, is to be driuen away: neyther is it lawfull to geld eyther men or beaſts. Let this be the diſpoſition of thoſe Lawes, wherewith you ſhall be policied and gouerned in time of peace; and God be fauourable vnto you, and giue you grace to vſe them in good order, B and without confuſion. And ſince it cannot otherwiſe be, but that humane affaires muſt ſometimes fall into troubles and dangers, ſomewhiles beyond deſire and expectation, and otherwhiles of ſet purpoſe; I will briefely ſet you downe certaine Lawes, as touching that point: to the intent, that being fore-inſtructed of that which you ought to doe, you may haue abundance of wholeſome remedies; and being well prouided and inſtructed in that which you ought to doe, you may preuent and not fall into any danger and calamitie.

The yeere of the world, 2493. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1471.

Eunuchs.

God graunt, that you may enjoy the Countrey (which he hath giuen you) in contempt of trauailes, and in exerciſe of vertues: and that you may poſſeſſe the ſame in ſecuritie and peace; and that ſtrangers may not leuie Armies, to ouerthrow you: and that no ciuill mutinie may be rayſed amongſt you, which may bring to paſſe, that that which hath beene well ordered and decreed C by your anceſtors, doe come to nought, when you ſhall happen to commit the contrarie. Liue therefore, and perſiſt you to conforme your ſelues to thoſe Lawes, which both God hath approoued for good, and hath alſo giuen you. But if perhaps your ſelues at this preſent, or your ſucceſſors hereafter, ſhall fortune to entertaine & vndertake a Warre, God graunt it may happen without the confines of your countrey: but if the matter muſt needs be tryed out by the Sword, you ſhall ſend certaine Heraulds to your deſtinated enemies. For before you enter battaile, it ſhall be requiſite firſt of all to parley with them, and to declare vnto them, that you haue a great Armie, and Horſes, and Weapons, and (beſides all theſe) that you haue Gods fauour & aſſiſtance; who ſhall require them therefore, that you may not be enforced to warre againſt them, nor to make bootie of their goods, and to carrie them away, in ſpight of their reſiſt. If they condiſcend D vnto any reaſonable conditions, then entertaine peace; making your account, that they are ſtronger then you be: but if they will needs offer you injurie, you ſhall lead forth your Armie againſt them, hauing God for your Generall, and ſoueraigne Conductor; and for his Lieutenant, him whom you your ſelues haue choſen, ſurpaſſing all the reſt in valour. For whereas there are diuers Commanders, it falleth out, that that which ought neceſſarily and readily to be executed, is hindered; and commonly the iſſue is vnfortunate, where there are diuers Commanders. Let your Armie be generally leuied of men that are ſtrong in body, and hardie in courage; and ſequeſter from your Armie him that is fearefull, leſt ſuch men hapning to flye when they ought to fight, doe giue your enemies the aduantage. Let them alſo be free from Warre, who hauing built them a new houſe, haue not enjoyed the ſame for a yeeres ſpace; as alſo he that hath planted a Vineyard, and hath not gathered the fruit thereof; and beſides theſe, he that hath wedded a Wife, and hath not as yet brought her home to his houſe: leſt being tranſported with the deſire of theſe things, and reſeruing themſelues to their forſaken pleaſures, in the behalfe of their Wiues, they fight but faintly and coldly.

The Lawes of Warre. *Deut.* 20. Heraulds to be ſent.

But when you haue brought your Armie into the field, take heed you commit no outrage: and when you ſhall aſſault any Cities, if you fortune to haue any need of matter to make Engines of, grub not the Land, neyther ſee you cut downe the fruitfull Trees, but ſpare them; remembring you, that they are planted for the good of men, and that if they could ſpeake, they would accuſe you, alledging, that without cauſe of warre they are ill entreated, againſt all right; and that if they had the power to depart from thence, they would diſlodge, and remoue into another countrey.

Fruitfull trees are not to be cut downe.

But when the battaile is ended, and the day is yours, kill all thoſe enemies that reſiſted you in the skirmiſh, the reſt reſerue as your tributaries (except the people of the Land of Chanaan, for they, with all their families, are to be ruinated.) Beware alſo (but eſpecially in warre) that neither a woman vſe a mans apparell, neither a man a womans rayment. Theſe are the Lawes which *Moſes* left. He gaue them likewiſe certaine Inſtitutions, (which he had written fortie yeeres before that time) whereof we will ſpeake in another Treatiſe. Some few dayes after (for he aſſembled the people ſixe dayes, one after the other) he gaue them his bleſſing, and pronounced his maledictions

The Chanaanites are wholly to be extinguiſhed. *Deut.* 30. 31, 32, 33, 34.

Moſes ſong and bleſſing.

The yeere of the world, 2493. before Christs Nativitie, 1471.

againſt thoſe which ſhould not liue according to his lawes, but ſhould tranſgreſſe the determinations thereof: Hee read alſo vnto them a Poeme of ſixe meaſures (which he had enregiſtred in the holy booke) containing a prediction of things to come, according to which, all things haue and doe fall out, without varying any waies from the truth and veritie. Theſe volumes and the Arke, gaue he vnto the Prieſts; in which he alſo placed the ten commandements written in the two tables. Hee committed alſo vnto them the cuſtodie of the Tabernacle. He likewiſe exhorted the people that (at ſuch time as by force they had conquered the promiſed countrey, and were planted therein) they ſhould not forget the iniurie which the Amalechites had done vnto them, but that they ſhould lead forth their army againſt them, and take vengeance of the wrongs they had done them, at ſuch time, as they were in the deſart. And commanded them that as ſoone as they had taken the countrey of Chanaan, they ſhould exterminate and extinguiſh all the people.

The Amalechites to be puniſhed.

He willed them alſo to erect an Altar toward the riſing of the ſunne (not far from the Citie of Sichem, betweene two mountaines, the one Garizim, on the right hand; and the other called Gebal on the left) and that diſtributing the people into two parts (ſixe tribes in euery part) they ſhould plant them on the mountaines. And he commanded that the Leuites, and Prieſts ſhould be with them, to the intent that they firſt of all that were vpon the mountaine of Garizim, ſhould beſeech God that hee would multiply his bleſſings vpon them that ſhould be zealous of his ſeruice, and carefull of the conſeruation of his lawes, without diuerting from that which *Moſes* had commanded. The ſixe other alſo were appointed to anſwer the like: and when as likewiſe theſe ſixe laſt had praied, the ſixe firſt were to anſwer them, and confirme that which they had pronounced. This done, they pronounced maledictions againſt the tranſgreſſors (each one anſwering other (in ratification of that which had beene ſpoken. He reduced alſo vnder writing theſe bleſſings and curſes, to the intent that the memorie thereof might neuer be ſuppreſſed or extinguiſhed by time: which he alſo (being neere vnto his death) cauſed to be written in the Altar on the one ſide thereof, in that part which extended it ſelfe toward the place where the people ſtood, at ſuch time as they ſacrificed and offered burnt offerings. Since which day there were no more ſacrifices offered in that place: becauſe it was contrary to law. Thus did *Moſes* eſtabliſh, and theſe the Hebrew nation obſerue continually and inuiolably, euen vnto this day.

Deut. 29.

Moſes bindeth the Hebrewes by an oath to keepe the law.

On the next morrow, he reaſſembled all the people, themſelues, their wiues, and children: he likewiſe commanded that the ſlaues ſhould be there preſent, binding them by an oath that they ſhould maintaine and keepe the lawes, and that diligently tying themſelues to the will of God, they ſhould not ſo much eſteeme either their kinred, or means, or perils, or any other cauſe whatſoeuer, as that thereby they ſhould be driuen to neglect their lawes, or depart from the ordinances thereof: but whether it were any one of their kindred, or any City whatſoeuer, that would ſeeke to alter and diſturbe the ſame, or ſtriue to weaken the eſtate thereof, that both in particular and in publike, they ſhould expoſe themſelues and endeuour to puniſh them: and if they ſhould fortune to take ſuch a City, that they ſhould raze and vtterly deface the ſame; and if it were poſſible, not to leaue one ſtone vpon another, but to deſtroy the foundation. But if they were too feeble to take ſuch a reuenge, yet that they ſhould make it knowne that they were not conſenting to their impietie. Hereunto the whole people ſubſcribed and ſealed it with an oath. He afterwards told them, how the people ſhould know when the ſacrifices were agreeable vnto God, and how they ought to march out to battell, taking a ſigne of the ſtones of which I haue foreſpoken.

Moſes exhorteth Ioſuah.

Ioſuah likewiſe, during the life and in the preſence of *Moſes*, foreprophecied whatſoeuer he intended to performe for the profit of the people, either abroad in the adminiſtration of war, or at home in preſcribing lawes; and preparing them to an order of life (which was newly preſcribed them) he told them, that by inſtructions from God he foreprophecied, that if they violated their country religion, they ſhould not eſcape their deſtruction; for that both their countrey ſhould be filled with forraine armes, and their Cities ſackt, and their Temple burnt, and that they themſelues ſhould be ſold vnder the ſpeare, and that they ſhould ſerue a nation which would not be mooued or touched with commiſeration of their afflictions and miſeries; and that at length they ſhould too lately and vnprofitably repent them of their errour: yet that God their eſtabliſher ſhould reſtore Cities to the Citizens, and a Temple to his people: And that it ſhould come to paſſe, that they ſhould not loſe this only one time, but alſo very many times. Then did *Moſes* alſo exhort *Ieſus* that he ſhould lead his army againſt the Chanaanites, promiſing him that God would be aſſiſtant in his actions, prophecying beſides much good hap vnto the people.

Since

A Since that (ſaith he) I goe vnto mine anceſtors, and that God hath prefixed this day and time of my departure, I proteſt before you, that liuing as yet and ſtanding in your preſence, I giue him thanks for the care and prouidence, which he hath hitherto had of your affaires; not onely in propulſing your aduerſaries, but alſo in largely imparting his bleſſings vnto you, and for that he hath alwaies fauourably helpt me, whilſt I endeuoured by my labour and care to reduce your fortunes to a better ſtate: And that which is more, it is he which hath giuen both the entrance & the iſſue; making vſe of me but as his committee and ſeruant in all that good, which hee would ſhould be done vnto his people. For all which things I haue thought it requiſite, that (in departing from you) I ſhould bleſſe the power of God, who in time to come ſhall haue the care and charge of you: and to acquit my ſelfe of that debt, I leaue you this in remembrance, which is, B that you ought to ſerue and honour him, and reuerence the ordinances which he hath giuen you, whereby (continuing his fauour towards you) hee will grant you grace to conſerue and keepe this excellent gift. Truely that law-maker (that were no more then a man) would be greatly diſpleaſed and highly diſcontented with thoſe men, who ſhould violate his ordinances, and ſhould ſet them at noughts: doe not you therefore tempt God, who is prouoked vnto anger, when thoſe lawes which he himſelfe hath eſtabliſhed and giuen you, ſhall be contemned and neglected.

The yeere of the world, 2493. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 1471.

Deut. 31.
Deut. 33. 34.

Whileſt *Moſes* pronounced theſe his laſt words, and diſcourſed vnto the tribes their ſeuerall deſtinies, the whole multitude brake into teares; and the women beating their breſts, ſhewed and expreſſed the ſorrow they had conceiued at his death. The children likewiſe lamented, making it knowne that they could not bee maſters of their owne ſorrow, becauſe that in their ten- C der yeeres they had vnderſtood the vertue and famous acts of *Moſes*; and betwixt the elder and younger ſort, there was as it were a conflict who ſhould weepe more bitterly: for the one vnderſtanding of how worthy a Gouernour they were depriued, lamented the time to come; and the other were perplexed, becauſe they ſhould then forſake him, before they had ſufficiently taſted and made triall how great his vertue was. But how great the compaſſion and complaint of the people was, a man may make coniecture by this that then befell the Prophet. For, although he were aſſuredly perſwaded, that a man was not to lament vpon the inſtant of his death (in that it chanced vnto him both according to the will of God, and the law of nature) yet he beholding the affection of the people, could not temperate and reſtraine himſelfe from teares: And whileſt he was borne thither where he vaniſhed out of their ſight, all of them followed him, wetting their D faces and boſomes with flowing teares. Then did *Moſes* (beckening with his hand) warne them from a far off, that they ſhould ſtand ſtil and keep their places, and exhorted thē that were neereſt him, by word of mouth, that they ſhould not follow nor proſecute him any further with teares, for feare leſt they ſhould make his departure tragicall and lamentable. Onely the Senate led him forth, and *Eleazar* the high Prieſt, and the chiefetaine *Ieſus*. And when hee was arriued vpon the mountaine called Abarim (which is very high, and ſituate neere vnto Iericho, and from whence he might diſcouer the greater part of the land of Chanaan) hee diſmiſſed the elders, and whileſt with mutuall embraces he tooke his laſt leaue of *Eleazar* and *Ieſus*, and diſcourſed with them, a cloud ſodainly enuironed him, and hee was taken away into a certaine valley: but in the ſcripture he writeth that he died, fearing leſt for the excellency of his vertue, they E might report that he was rauiſhed and taken away by God. The whole time of his life was one hundreth and twenty yeeres, the third part whereof he ſpent in gouernment (one month onely exempted.) He died the laſt month of the yeere, and the firſt day of that month which the Macedonians call Dyſtrus; and our countrimen Adar. Of all men the wiſeſt that euer was, and who in execution of his good counſels had no man to equall him. Moreouer in eloquence he was incomparable, and in dexterity and grace to entertaine and perſwade the people, he had no ſecond: and ſo were his affections alwaies leuelled and limitted by his wiſedome, that hee ſeemed vtterly to want them, and that onely he knew the names of thoſe paſſions which hee perceiued to be too actiue in other men. In his gouernment he was matchleſſe, in his prophecies peereleſſe, ſo that all the orations that he made ſeemed to be Oracles. For which cauſe the whole multitude mour- F ned for him during the terme of thirty daies: neither were the Hebrewes euer ſeized with ſo extreme griefe, as they were at that time when the Prophet died; neither did he only leaue behind him a preſent deſire of him, but a great eſtimation amongſt all men, who haue euer chanced to reade and examine his writings, whilſt by them they make eſtimate of his vertues. And theſe are thoſe things which I thought good to be ſpoken of the death of *Moſes*.

The Hebrews lamentation at Moſes death.

Moſes when he died was 120. yeeres old.

Amongſt the Hebrewes, Adar is the 12. month, but amongſt vs it is called March.

Moſes was a good gouernour, and a great Prophet.

THE FIFTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES: WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the fifth Booke.

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CHAP. I.

How IESVS, *Generall of the Hebrewes, hauing ouercome and ſlaine the Chanaanites, diuided their Land amongſt the Tribes by Lot.*

The yeere of the world, 2494. *before the Natiuitie of Chriſt.* 1470.

AFTER that *Moſes* had beene taken from amongſt men (after the manner as I haue declared) and that all whatſoeuer he had ordained, was duly performed, and his funerall obſequies were at an end; *Ieſus* commanded the people to prepare themſelues, and to march forward into battaile. He ſent eſpyals likewiſe into Iericho, who might both ſound their minds, and diſcouer their forces. Preſently after he diſlodged, and encamped in the open field, intending with all expedition to paſſe the Riuer of Iordan, as ſoone as any opportunitie offered it ſelfe. Then aſſembled he together the Princes of the Tribes of *Ruben* and *Gad*, and the halfe Tribe of *Manaſſes*, (for to this halfe Tribe the countrey of the Amorites was giuen for an habitation, which was the ſeuenth part of Chanaan) and remembred them of that which they had promiſed vnto *Moſes*, entreating them (in memorie and fauour of him, who in the laſt period of his life, was not wearied to take care of their Common-weale & publique profit) ſpeedily and willingly to performe that which they had promiſed vnto him. Who ſhewing themſelues readie and willing to performe that which he commanded them, he armed and arranged fiftie thouſand men, that were his followers; and afterwards (departing from the Citie of Abila) he drew towards Iordan, and marched forward ſome ſixtie furlongs. As ſoone as he was encamped, the Spyes returned againe, and preſented themſelues vnto him, certifying him of the whole eſtate of the Chanaanites. For being vnknowne and vnſuſpected, vpon the firſt arriuall they obſerued and viewed the walls and ſtrength of the Citie at their pleaſure, ſearching which of them were more or leſſe defenced, and which of the Gates were eaſieſt or hardeſt to aſſault; neyther did any of thoſe that met them, offer any offence vnto them: whileſt they thus pryed into, and viewed euery place,

Ieſus ſendeth Spyes into Iericho.

Ieſus calleth to memorie, and reckoneth vp what the Tribes of Gad, Ruben, and Manaſſes had promiſed Moſes. *Num.* 13.

The Spyes ſuruey Iericho.

A place, the Citizens interpreted their diligence to bee rather an accuſtomed curioſity of ſtrangers, then ſuſpected them that they intended any hoſtile ſtratageme. *The yeere of the world, 2494. before Chriſts birth, 1470.*

About the ſhutting in of the euening, they retyred themſelues into a certaine hoſtrie that adioyned the walles, into which they had beene directed to take their repaſt; and whileſt after ſupper time they conſulted vpon their returne, the king was giuen to vnderſtand (as he ſate at his ſupper) that certaine Spies ſent out of the Hebrewes campe, had ſuruayed the Citie, and taken vp their lodging in *Rahabs* houſe, where they ſuppoſed to conceale themſelues till they might gaine them opportunity to depart. Whereupon the King ſent a ſpeedy commandement and officers to apprehend them, to the end that beeing brought before him, hee might by torture extort from them the cauſe and reaſon why they came into his Citie. Of whoſe approach, when
B *Rahab* had gotten ſome priuate intelligence, ſhee hid the Spies vnder certaine packes of linnen, which ſhee dryed neere vnto the walles, and told them that were ſent by the King, that certaine ſtrange gueſts a little before Sunne-ſet had ſupt in her houſe, but that they were departed; who if they were ſuſpected by the King, as ſuch as intended any detriment to the Common-weale, they might with little labour and purſuite be eaſily ſurprized in their way. They hearing the woman ſpeake after this manner, and imagining no ſubtilty or deceit in her, returned backe againe without ſearching the hoſtrie. But after they were buſied and trauelled in the purſuit and ſearch after them euery way, and tracting of euery path, whereby they might bee ſuſpected to trauell towards Iordan, and perceiuing no ſigne of their flight, they deſiſted any further to purſue them. No ſooner was the tumult appeaſed, but *Rahab* calleth forth the Spies, and told them the dangers
C to which ſhe had expoſed her ſelfe for their ſecurity ſake (for had ſhe bin conuinced to haue concealed them, ſhe might by no meanes haue eſcaped the puniſhment of the King, but that both ſhe and all her family had miſerably periſhed:) She therfore required them, that at ſuch time as they ſhould bee Lords of the countrey of Chanaan, and had both the occaſion and power to requite her courteſies, that they would haue her in remembrance. This ſaid, ſhee diſmiſſed them (to the end they might returne home againe.) But before their departure ſhe tooke an oath of them, to warrantize both her ſelfe and all that which appertained vnto her, at ſuch time as they ſhould become maſters of the Citie, and had deſtroyed all the Citizens thereof, according to the arreſt and ſentence giuen againſt them; which ſhee knew ſhould come to paſſe, hauing certaine apprehenſion of the ſame, by certaine ſignes and tokens from God: whereupon for the preſent with
D many thankeſgiuings they proteſted, and for the future avowed and ſwore vnto her, to acknowledge her kindneſſe not in words, but in deedes. At ſuch time therefore as ſhee ſhould perceiue that the Citie was ready to bee ſurprized, they counſelled her that ſhee ſhould retyre all her ſubſtance, and all thoſe that appertained vnto her, into her houſe; and that before the doore thereof, ſhee ſhould ſpread ſome crimſen garment, to the intent that the Generall perceiuing the ſame, might inhibite the ſouldiours from pillaging and ſpoiling her houſe: For (ſaid they) wee will giue him notice herof (by reaſon of that willing forwardnes that hath bin in thee to ſaue our liues) and if by misfortune any of thy friends die in the combate, doe not impute the fault vnto vs; and wee beſeech God (by whom wee haue ſworne) that hee be not diſpleaſed againſt any of vs; except againſt ſuch as falſifie their oathes. Hauing after this manner accorded vpon the coue-
E nant, they let downe one another from the wall; and when they were arriued in ſafety among their nation, they recounted vnto them all that which had happened ſince their arriuall in the Citie. *Ioſuah* hereupon declared vnto *Eleazar* the high Prieſt and the reſt of the Elders, what oath his Spies had ſworne vnto *Rahab*, who all of them ratified the promiſe they had made. But the Generall was penſiue and ſore troubled, for that he knewe not which way he might paſſe the riuer of *Iordan*, by reaſon that for the preſent it was very deepe and without bridges. For, before that time there was not any bridge built thereupon; and if they would haue built one, the enemy would haue interrupted them: and further beſides that, there were not any places conuenient to ſtay in. But God made him a promiſe that hee would make the waters fall, and giue them paſſage there-through. *Ioſuah* therefore encamped his hoſte for the terme of two daies (to
F the end hee might paſſe ouer his whole Armie, and the reſt of the people, after this manner following.) The Prieſts marched before with the Arke. After them went the Leuites bearing the Tabernacle, and thoſe veſſels which were deſtinated for ſacrifice. Then followed the whole multitude, diſtinguiſhed in their Tribes, hauing incloſed within their battels the women and children whereby they might bee the more ſecure from the force of the flood. But when as the Prieſts had marched formoſt, and found the riuer paſſable, and that the water was decreaſed, and that the current thereof was not ſo violent, neither the billowes ſo incenſed, but that in the

Rahab hideth the Spies.

Ioſuah 3. Ieſus paſſeth Iordan with his Armie.

Ioſuah 4. 3.

The yeere of the world, 2494. before Christs Natiuitie, 1470.

bottome there was good footing (for that the grauell and ſand was not quicke but ſettled) then G all of them without feare paſſed ouer the foord, finding al things aſſuredly performed vnto them, which God had forepropheſied, and promiſed vnto them: but the Prieſts kept them in the midſt of the channell vntill the multitude were paſt ouer, and were in ſecuritie; and when as euery one had gotten the other banke, the Prieſts iſſued out, permitting the riuer to flow according to his free and ordinary courſe: which pleaſantly flowing, grew to that greatneſſe and ſwiftneſſe which it retained at the firſt. Now when the Hebrewes had marched fiftie furlongs, they incamped themſelues ſome tenne furlongs from Iericho. But *Ieſus* builded an altar of ſtones (which euery one of the Princes of the Tribes had gathered out of the channell of Iordan, according as the Prophet had commanded) to the end it might be a monument of the prodigious reſtrainment of the floud, and on the ſame he ſacrificed vnto God, and the ſolemnitie of the H Paſchal was celebrated in that place; and at that time they, who in times paſt were in great neceſſitie, were largely furniſhed with all plentie and aboundance: for they did reape the corne of the Canaanites (which at that time was ripe) and carried away the reſt for a prey. In the ſame ſeaſon likewiſe their nouriſhment of Manna failed them, wheron they had fed for the ſpace of 40. yeers. And whereas the Iſraelites did all theſe things with ſecuritie and freely, and the Chanaanites neuer ſallied out againſt them, but appauled with feare, ſhut themſelues vp within their wals; *Ieſus* decreed & reſolued to beſiege them in their Cities: ſo that on the firſt day of the feaſt, the Prieſts bearing the Arke, and guarded on euery ſide with troups of armed men, drew neere vnto the Citie, ſounding their ſeuen hornes: and exhorting their ſouldiers to behaue themſelues manfully, they walked about and inuironed the wals round about, being attended both by the Senate and I Elders, neither did they any other thing but blow their hornes, and ſo returned backe into their campe. Which when they had done for the ſpace of ſixe dayes, on the ſeuenth *Ioſuah* aſſembled the armie and all the people, bringing them ioyfull newes of the Citie, which that day ſhould be ſurprized without labour (the wals falling downe of their owne accord, and without mans hand, and yeelding them free paſſage and entrance into the Citie) and he encouraged them to kill all thoſe whom they met withall, and not to giue ouer the ſlaughter of their enemies, although they were wearie, neither to be mooued with compaſſion, nor allured from the ſlaughter and execution by deſire of prey, or to permit the enemie in any ſort to flie, but that they ſhould extinguiſh and roote out all that which breathed and had life, reſeruing nothing for prey or priuate profit. He commanded likewiſe that all that which was found (either of golde or ſiluer) ſhould bee K brought into one place, & reſerued to be the firſt fruits of the happy works of God; and after the ſurprizall firſt of the Citie, that onely *Rahab* with her kindred ſhould be ſaued, by reaſon of the othes which the ſpies had ſworn vnto her. This ſaid, he arranged his hoſt, & made them approch the City, then did they once more walke round about the City, the Arke marching before thē, and encouraging the army to valour by the ſound of their Cornets. And after they had enuironed the wals ſeuen times, and had a little repoſed themſelues, the walles fell (wheras then neither the Hebrewes had enforced any engine againſt them, or vſed any other violence.) So that they entring into the City, ſlue all thoſe that were therein, who were already diſcomforted by the ſodaine and vnexpected ouerthrow of their walles, and thorow their ſodaine feare made vnapt to fight, ſo that they were ſlaine amidſt their ſtreets, finding neither refuge nor reliefe to ſuccour L them: yea ſo were they fleſhed in the ſlaughter, that they neither ſpared women nor children, but filled the City with dead carcaſſes, which at length being ſet on fire, ſerued them for a funerall flame to conſume them in, and with equall furie rauaged and burnt the fields. Only *Rahab* & her houſhold (who kept themſelues within her hoſtrie) were ſaued by the ſpies: who brought to *Ioſuahs* preſence, he gaue her thankes for ſauing his ſpies, and promiſed her that he would reward her courteſies, and anon after gaue her poſſeſſions, and euer after held her in great honour. All that of the City which the fire ſpared, the ſword conſumed. And *Ioſuah* pronounced curſes againſt thoſe, who ſhould afterward endeuour to erect that which he had ruinated: namely, that he that ſhould lay the firſt foundation, ſhould be depriued of his firſt begotten ſonne, and he that ſhould finiſh the worke, might loſe his yongeſt ſonne; neither pleaſed it God that this imprecation ſhould be fruſtrate, as hereafter it ſhall bee ſpoken. At the ſurprize and ſacke of this ci- M tie, there was gathered an infinite quantitie of gold, ſiluer, and braſſe; ſo that no man brake the Edict, or ſought any prey or lucre thereby for himſelfe. Theſe ſpoiles *Ieſus* deliuered vnto the Prieſts, to be laid vp in the treaſurie, and after this manner was the Citie of Iericho deſtroied. But *Achar* the ſonne of *Zebel* of the tribe of *Iuda*, hauing gotten a royall pall altogether embrodered with gold, with an ingot of gold of three hundreth ſicles in waight, and thinking in himſelfe that

Ieſus buildeth an altar on the other ſide of Iordan. The Iſraelites celebrate Eaſter, enioy the fruits of the earth, & ceaſe to feede on Manna.

Ioſuah 6. Ieſus with his army walketh about the city.

Ieſus commandeth that none but Rahab and hers ſhould be ſaued.

The wals of Iericho fall downe of themſelues.

Iericho is taken, the men ſlaine, and the citie deſtroyed, and burnt: Rahab and hers reſerued.

A that it were a very fond thing, that the profit he had made by the hazzard of his life, ſhould be taken from him and preſented vnto God, who had no neede thereof, digged a deepe pit in his tent, and buried his ſpoiles therein, thinking by this meanes to defraud God, & deceiue his cõpanions. At that time their tents were pitched in a place which was called Galgal (which ſignifieth Enfranchized, becauſe that hauing paſt the riuer Iordan, they knew that they ſhould be deliuered from the affliction of Ægypt, and the penurie of the deſart.) But ſome few daies after the deſtruction of Iericho, *Ioſuah* ſent out three thouſand armed men againſt *Ainan* (a Citie ſituate a little aboue Iericho) who encountering with the Ainites in battel, and by thẽ put to flight, loſt thirty and ſixe of their company. The newes of which diſaſter beeing brought into the campe, the Iſraelites were ſeized with exceeding griefe, not onely for the men they had loſt (which were all
B of them valiant men and worthy of honour) but alſo by reaſon of the deſpaire they conceiued of their future ſucceſſe. For being already perſwaded that they were maſters of the field, and that their army ſhould be alwaies warranted and ſafe at ſuch time as they ſhould fight (according as before times God had promiſed them) they ſaw (contrary to their opinion) that their aduerſaries had taken heart; inſomuch as clothing themſelues in ſackloth vpon their raiments, they ſpent all the day in teares & lamentatiõs without taſting any meat; ſo grieuouſly were they afflicted with the inconuenient that had hapned. But *Ioſuah* perceiuing the army diſcomfited after this maner,
C and conceiuing ſome ſiniſter hope of their eſtates, boldly addreſſed himſelfe vnto God, ſaying: We haue not beene induced by our own temerity to attempt the conqueſt of this land by force, but we haue beene hereunto incouraged by thy ſeruant *Moſes*, to whom thou haſt promiſed by diuers ſignes, that thou wouldſt giue vs this country to inhabit in, & that our army ſhould haue alwaies the vpper hand in battell, and of theſe thy promiſes wee haue oftentimes experimented the euent. But now beyond all expectation (hauing receiued an ouerthrow and loſt ſome of our ſoldiers) being terrified by this accident, and ſuſpicious of thy promiſes to *Moſes*, we both abſtain from war, and (after ſo many enterprizes and entrances of war) we cannot hope of any fortunate or ſucceſsfull proceedings. Be thou therfore aſſiſtant vnto vs, O Lord (for it lieth in thy power) & by thy mercy relieue our preſent ſorrow with a largeſſe of victory, & take frõ vs the thought of deſpaire wherein wee are too farre plunged. *Ioſuah* lying proſtrate on his face, made this praier vnto God, who preſently anſwered him, that he ſhould ariſe; cõmanding him to purge the armie
D of that pollution that had hapned therein, and of a theft committed by one of the multitude, who was ſo hardy as to violate and conceale thoſe things which were conſecrated vnto him, aſſuring him that that cauſe was the meanes of the preſent calamitie: but that as ſoone as he had ſearched out, and puniſhed the ſacriledge, the Iſraelites ſhould become fortunate and obtaine the victorie. This Oracle *Ioſuah* declared vnto the people, and calling for the high Prieſt and the Magiſtrates, he caſt lots vpon the tribes, and when as the lot had fallen on the tribe of *Iuda*, it was againe caſt by kinreds; and when againe the ſacriledge was found to bee committed in *Zacharias* kinred, they examined the ſame once more man by man, and found out *Achar*: who ha-
E uing no meanes to deny the ſame, and being diſcouered by God himſelfe, confeſſed the fact, and brought forth thoſe things, which he had concealed: Whereupon being preſently put to death, he was by night buried after an ignominious manner, according as he deſerued it. But *Ioſuah* hauing purified the people; led them foorth againſt *Ainan*, and laying an Ambuſcado by night time aboue the Citie, early in the morning hee drew the enemy out to fight, who boldly broke forth (being incouraged by their former victory) but *Ioſuah* making a ſhew of retreat, drew them farther off from their Citie (forming in them an imaginarie hope that the Iſraelites fled, and that they ſhould gaine a ſecond victory ouer them.) But when *Ioſuah* ſodainly made a ſtand, and freſhly charged them, and gaue a ſignall vnto thoſe that lay in ambuſh, they were incontinently ad-
F dreſſed and encouraged to fight, and with all expedition entred the gates of the Citie, on the walles whereof there ſtood diuers of the inhabitants, beeing eye-witneſſes (as they thought) of their atchieued victorie. In this manner was the Citie taken, and all they that were therein; were ſlaine: and *Ioſuah* on the other ſide inforced thoſe in ſuch manner (with whom he maintained skirmiſh) that they turned their backs, and fled towards the Citie, as if it had beene in the ſame eſtate as they left it: but when they perceiued that it was ſurprized, & ſaw both it, their wiues, and children conſumed with fire, they ſcattered themſelues about the fieldes, not beeing able to rally themſelues, by reaſon of their diſturbance and diſorder. After this ouerthrow of the Ainites, there were a great number of women, children, and bondſlaues taken captiue, and ſtore of all ſorts of moueables. The Hebrewes alſo became Lords of much cattell, and gathered a great quantitie of ſiluer (for the countrey was rich.) All which *Ioſuah* (vpon his returne to Galgal)

The yeere of the world, 2494. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 1470.

Ioſ. 7. 8. Achar hideth certaine parts of the prey contrary to Gods commandement. Galgal ſignifieth libertie. *Ioſuah* 5. The Iſraelites are put to flight by the Ainites. Ioſuahs praier vnto God.

Gods anſwer to Ioſuahs praier.

Achar found out by Lot and puniſhed.

Ainan ſackt and burnt.

The prey diſtributed amongſt the people.

The yeere of the world, 2494. before Christs Natiuitie. 1470.
Iosuah 9.

Galgal) distributed amongst the soldiers. But the Gabeonites (who dwelt not farre off from Ierusalem) vnderstanding what had hapned to them of Hiericho (and seeing the estate of the Ainites, and fearing lest the like misfortune might fall vpon them) thought it not good to offer treaties of peace to *Iosuah*, supposing they should find no tolerable conditions at his hands, because they knew that he warred vnder that resolution, vtterly to roote out and extinguish the nation of the Chanaanites from off the earth. They therefore made a league with the Cepherites, and Cathierimites their neighbours, telling them that they should not escape the danger, if so bee it so fell out that the Gabeonites were first taken by the Israelites: but that if they were vnited together, they might both resist the greatnesse, and auoide the danger of them. Which counsell of theirs being accepted, they sent Embassadors vnto *Iosuah* (such men as they thought to be both most capable and wisest amongst them in the affaires of Cõmon-weale (to the intent to entreate a peace betwixt them and the Israelites: who knowing that it would bee very dangerous for them, if they should say that they were Canaanites; and that on the cõtrary side, they should auoid the danger, if they protested that they had no communitie or alliance with them, but that they dwelled far off from them; told *Iosuah*, that (being incited by his fame) they had vndertaken a long iourney, the truth whereof hee might coniecture by their habits: for vpon their setting forth their garments were new, and now by their long iourney quite worne (for they had purposely put vpon them old raiment, to the end it might be sutable to their subtile insinuation.) Standing vp therefore in the middest of the multitude (attired after this maner) they told them that they were sent by the Gabeonites, and the neighbouring Cities thereabouts (farre disioyned from that countrey) to articulate and ratifie a peace betweene them, according as they haue been accustomed to proceed in their accords: For knowing well that the countrey of Canaan was giuen vnto them by the grace and gratuitie of God (to the end they should bee masters and possessours thereof) they were much reioyced thereat, and required them to bee receiued as their confederates. By these words, and tokens of their garments, and intimation of their long iourney, they perswaded the Hebrewes to enter an accord and amitie with them. And the high Priest *Eleazar* with the councell of the Elders sware vnto them, that they should be reputed for friends and allies, and that no vniust action should bee enterprized against them; the people likewise approoued their oathes. But *Iosuah* encamping with his Army vpon their confines, and vnderstanding that the Gabeonites dwelt not farre off from Ierusalem, and that they likewise were of the race of the Canaanites, he sent for the principall and princes among them, and complained and vpbraided them of their deceit: wherunto they answered, that they had no other meanes to procure their safetie and securitie, and for that cause (and their necessitie sake) that they had sought their refuge thereby. Whereupon hee called vnto him *Eleazar* the high Priest and the councell of the Elders, who tolde him that he might not infringe the oath which they had made vnto them, but that he might depute them to serue the publike ministeries. Whereupon they were adiudged to attend on these seruices: and by this meanes deliuered they themselues from their imminent perill. But for that the King of Ierusalem was sore incensed against the Gabeonites (for that they had reuolted and submitted to *Iesus*) hee assembled together the kings of his neighbour nations, to make warre against them. The Gabeonites perceiuing the danger they were in, and how the enemy was prepared to assault them (and how to that intent they had pitched their tents neere vnto a certaine fountaine not farre off from the Citie) they required *Iesus* to assist and defend them. For their affaires were in that estate, that they expected death from the hands of their friends: and contrariwise hoped for helpe to be warranted by those Hebrews, with whom they had cõtracted amity (notwithstãding that they arriued in that country to destroy the whole nation of the Canaanites.) *Iosuah* therfore (hastning onward with his whole army to giue them assistance, and marching both day and night) early in the morning charged the enemy (at such time as he intended his assault) and hauing put them to flight, he pursued them by a steepie tract, which place is called Bethora, where hee knew that God had fought for him (as it appeared manifestly by the thunder, lightning and haile that fell at that time, far bigger then was accustomed.) The day likewise (the like wherof was neuer heard of before) was lengthened, lest by the speedy approch of the night the enemy should escape from the victor: whereupon it came to passe that *Iesus* tooke all those fiue Kings in a certaine caue neere Makkedah, where they were hidden, and condemned them all to the death. And that the day at that time encreased aboue common custome, it is extant and registred in the sacred volumes, which are reserued in the Tẽple. When after this manner the Kings that inuaded the Gabeonites were slaine and conquered, *Iesus* led his Armie into the mountaines of Chanaan, where hauing made a great slaugh-

The Gabeonites send Embassadors to Iesus.

The Gabeonites oration to the Hebrewes.

Iesus maketh a couenant with the Gabeonites.

The Gabeonites are appointed to publike ministeries. *Iosuah* 10.

The king of Ierusalem moueth warre against the Gabeonites.

Iesus driueth them of Ierusalẽ to flight.

The Sunne stood still.

Fiue kings slaine. *Iosuah* 11.

ter

A ter of men, and taken a rich bootie, he brought backe his Armie into Galgal. Now, when the renowne of the Hebrewes valiant acts, and the admirable number of thoſe that were ſlaughtered, were bruited and ſcattered farre and neere amongſt the neighbour Nations, they were ſurprized with a ſudden feare: ſo that the Kings of the Chanaanites, that bordered vpon Libanus, and they alſo of the Plaine of Chanaan, joyned themſelues confederates with the Paleſtines, and all of them were incenſed againſt them, and incamped neere vnto Berotha, (a Citie of the higher Galilee, not farre from Cedeſa, which is alſo ſituate in the Land of Chanaan.) The whole Armie of them conſiſted of three hundreth thouſand footmen, ten thouſand horſemen, and twentie thouſand Chariots. This great multitude of the enemie aſtoniſhed *Ioſuah*, and the Iſraelites, and (by reaſon of the aſſured feare wherewith they were ſeized) they conceiued but little hope of obtai-

B ning the vpper hand: but God reproached him, and vpbraided him of that his timiditie; and for that they ſuſpected themſelues to be ſcarcely ſecured vnder his protection, hee promiſed them likewiſe, that he would ouercome their enemies, and make their Horſes vnprofitable, and would conſume their Chariots by fire. *Ioſuah* therefore was emboldened by theſe promiſes from God, and marched out againſt his enemies; whom he ſurprized on the fifth day. The encounter was ſtrong, and the ſlaughter ſo great, that they who ſhould but heare the ſame, would ſcarcely beleeue it. Many alſo were ſlaine in the purſuit; ſo that (a few onely excepted) the whole Armie was put to the ſword. The Kings alſo were all of them ſlaine; and of their men, there remained not any one aliue. *Ioſuah* alſo commanded, that their Horſes ſhould be ſlaine, and he burned their Chariots, and ſecurely marched thorow the whole countrey; ſo that no man durſt ſally out, or

C make head againſt him. He beſieged likewiſe their ſtrong places, and killed all thoſe whom hee might apprehend. Now, when the fifth yeere was fully finiſhed, and not any one of the Chanaanites were left aliue, (except ſuch as were fled into their Cities and Forts of defences) *Ioſuah* once more retyred his Campe toward the mountaines, and placed the ſacred Tabernacle in the Citie of Siloe, which ſeemed to be a very conuenient place, by reaſon of the beautie of the ſame; where the Arke might remaine, till ſuch time as their affaires of eſtate permitted them to build a Temple. From thence he departed with all the people, to repaire vnto Sichem; and there builded he an Altar in that place, (according as before-time *Moſes* had commanded and enjoyned) and hauing diuided his Armie, he planted the halfe of them on the mountaine of Garizim, and the other halfe on the mountaine of Gebal (on which alſo there is an Altar) with the Leuites and the

D Prieſts: and after they had ſacrificed and done their execrations, and ingrauen them on the Altars, they returned into Siloe. Now, inſomuch as *Ioſuah* was well ſtrucken in yeeres, and very well perceiued, that the Cities of the Chanaanites were hardly to be aſſaulted, both in reſpect of the places wherein they were ſituate, as alſo for the munitions wherewith (beſides other aduantages of nature) their walls were ſtrengthened & fortified: (for the Chanaanites hauing intelligence of the departure of the Iſraelites out of Ægypt, and how they haſtened thither-ward, to the intent vtterly to extinguiſh & ouerthrow that Nation, ſpent all that time in defencing & fortifying their Cities) he aſſembled all the people in Siloe; where, when (with mutuall and frequent concourſe) they were aſſembled, he declared vnto them the happie ſucceſſe which (till that time) had befallen them, and the braue executions, worthie (in their euents) to challenge God for their Au-

E thor; furthermore, the excellencie of the Ordinances vnder which they liued: alledging, that the thirtie one Kings, which had beene ſo hardie as to encounter them hand to hand, had by them been ouercome; that all the Armie that had vndertaken to ouerthrow them in battell, was wholly diſcomfited, ſo that there remained not any memorie of them. But for that certaine of the Cities were taken, and the reſt better defenced (and for this cauſe more obſtinate) had need of a longer aſſault & expugnation, he thought good, that they (who had been drawne from out the countrey, ſituate beyond Iordan, to be aſſociates in this common cauſe of conqueſt, & by reaſon of affinitie had made themſelues copartners and companions in their perils) ſhould be ſent backe into their own countrey, with all complement of thankes, and gratuitie. Afterwards, that ſome one of each Tribe, of approued vprightneſſe and loyaltie, ſhould be pickt out, who leuying out and ſurueying

F the countrey, might faithfully, and without fraud, report the greatneſſe thereof. This ſentence was approued by the whole multitude; and thereupon diuers men were ſent (accompanied with ſuch as were skilfull in Geometrie, who in reſpect of their Science, could neyther erre, nor be deceiued) to meaſure out the Land, according to the goodneſſe thereof. For the nature of the Land of Chanaan is ſuch, that there are great Plaines very fruitfull, and which (being compared with other places) might be eſteemed happie and fruitfull in all ſorts of fruit: but if they be compared with the other countries of Iericho, and the Land about Ieruſalem, they ſeeme to be nothing worth:

The yeere of the world, 2494. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1470.

The Kings of the Chanaanites mooue warre againſt the Hebrewes.

The huge Armie of the Chanaanites.

All the Kings of the Chanaanites ſlain.

Ioſuah ſpoyleth the whole Land of Chanaan.

Ioſuah diuideth his Army into parts.

The yeere of the world, 2499. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1465.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 3. *Ioſ.* 13. 14, 18.

Ioſuah commandeth the diuiding of the countrey, & counſelleth, that the two Tribes and a halfe ſhould be diſmiſſed.

Ioſuah ſendeth certaine men to meaſure & diuide the Land.

The yeere of the world, 2499. before Christs Natiuitie, 1465.
Iosuah 9.

worth: for although in generalitie the whole countrey bee small, and for the greater part mountainous, yet in respect of the aboundance, bountie, and incredible beauty of the fruits thereof, it is second to no other whatsoeuer. For this cause he thought good that the portions should rather bee estimated according to their value, then their measure; by reason that oftentimes one plow land was worth one thousand other. Those which were sent were ten in number, who (hauing trauailed ouer the whole country and suruaied the same) returned againe to Siloe, at the end of sixe moneths, where the Arke was kept.

Iosuah diuideth the Region of Chanaan to the nine tribes and the halfe tribe of Manasses. *Ios.* 16.17,18.

Then *Iosuah* (taking vnto him *Eleazar* with the Elders, and Princes of the tribes) diuided the Region amongst nine tribes, and the halfe part of the tribe of *Manasses* (hauing an vnpartiall respect of the greatnesse of euery tribe) & when as each mans lot was cast, there fell to *Iudahs* part all the higher Iudæa (which extendeth it selfe in length euen vnto Ierusalem, and in breadth to the lake of Sodom; to which likewise were annexed the cities of Ascalon & Gaza.) The tribe of *Simeon* (which was the second) obtained a part of Idumæa, confining vpon Ægypt and Arabia. The Beniamites had that countrey which extendeth from Iordan vnto the sea in length, and in breadth vnto Ierusalem and Bethel: and this portion was very small (by reason that the countrey was good) for it contained the Cities of Iericho and Ierusalem. The tribe of *Ephraim* was alloted his portion in length, from Iordan vnto Gadera; and in bredth from Bethel vnto the great plaine. The halfe tribe of the Manassites was valued frō Iordan to the city of Dor in length, and in breadth vnto Bethsan (which is at this day called Scythopolis.) After them *Isachar* had the mount of Carmel, and the flood of Iordan, for the limits and termes of his length, & the mountaine Itobir for the bounds of his bredth. The Zabulonites were allowed that countrey, which stretcheth out as farre as Genazereth, and that abutteth on the mountaine Carmel, and the sea. The countrey which is betwixt Carmel and Sidon, was adiudged to the Asserites, in which portion was comprized the Citie of Arce, which is also called Actipus. The Nephthalites possessed that quarter that stretcheth out from the East vnto the Citie of Damascus, and the lower Galilee as farre as the mountaine of Libanus, and the head of Iordan, that issueth from the same, on that side where are the borders of the Citie of Arce on the North side. To them of Dan was assigned the valley that is extended to the Westward, and is terminated by the Cities of Azoth and Dor, that containeth all the countrey of Iamnia and Gitta, from Abaron euen vnto that mountaine where beginneth the tribe of *Iuda*. After this manner did *Iesus* diuide the countrey of the sixe nations (bearing the name of Chanaan) and gaue it in possession to nine tribes and a halfe. For Ammorrhæa (so called by one of the sonnes of Chanaan) had beene already taken by *Moses*, and assigned by him to two tribes and a halfe, as I haue already heretofore declared. But all the quarter of Sidon, of the Aruceans, Amatheans and Aritheans were not comprized in this diuision, neither was it tilled. But *Iesus* (seeing himselfe ouerburdened with yeeres, and vnfit to execute in his owne person those counsels, which hee had concluded vpon; & foreseeing that the Gouernours of the people which should succeed after him, would be negligent in procuring the common profit) commanded euery seuerall tribe in particular, that (when they should possesse the countrey thus distributed amongst them) they should not suffer any one of the race of the Chanaanites to liue. For *Moses* had before time told and perswaded them, that their securitie and the maintenance of the customes of their forefathers consisted in that one point) which he had likewise learned by his owne experience. Further, that they should deliuer vnto the Leuites thirty and eight Cities, because they had already ten in their possession, within the land of Amorrhea: three of which were ordained for cities of refuge to those that fled: (for hee aduised them with all consideration and care to omit nothing of that which *Moses* had commanded them) of the tribe of *Iuda*, *Hebron*; of that of *Ephraim*, *Sichem*; and of *Nepthali*, *Cedesa*: which is a place in higher Galilee. Moreouer he distributed vnto them the surplusage of the prey which was very great: so that not onely in publike, but in priuate, they got no small quantity of substance, for there was so much gold and rayment, and housholdstuffe, and so great store of cattell and horses, as the number may not bee comprehended. After which hee assembled the whole armie, and to those that were planted on the other side of Iordan (who had borne armes with the rest, and were in number no lesse then fiftie thousand) hee spake after this manner:

Supra lib. 4. chap. 7.

Num. 32. *Iosuah* 13.

Iesus seuerally commandeth euery tribe to roote out the race of the Chanaanites.

The cities of refuge. *Num.* 35. *Deut.* 4. *Iosuah* 20.

The distribution of the prey.

Iosuahs oration to those that dwelt on the other side of Iordan, and had serued with the rest.

Since God (the father and master of our Hebrew nation) hath giuen this countrey into our possession, and hath promised, that (at such time as it shall bee conquered) hee will continue and conserue the same in our possession, and since likewise you haue willingly and forwardly assisted vs in all our necessities and dangers (according to Gods command and direction) it

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A is requiſite at this preſent (ſince there remaines not any further matter wherein we haue need to imploy you) that we diſmiſſe you, and abuſe not your forwardneſſe and readineſſe any further; by reaſon we are aſſured, that if hereafter we ſhall haue need of you, you will with no leſſe endeuour & willingneſſe be as induſtrious to doe vs kindneſſe. We therefore yeeld you heartie thanks, for that you haue vouchſafed to be companions in our perils: and we require you, that you will perſeuere in this your mutuall beneuolence, remembring you of your friends, and how you haue gotten your poſſeſſions by our helpe, as we (by Gods fauour and your aſſiſtance) haue attained to this our preſent felicitie. Neyther haue you aduentured, without ſome reward of your trauailes: for in this your warfare you are enriched, and ſhall beare away with you a great prey both of Gold and Siluer; and beſides all theſe, our beneuolence and loue, tyed vnto you with all alacritie
B and readineſſe, whenſoeuer you ſhall haue cauſe to vſe vs. For we haue neyther forgot, nor ſet light by *Moſes* command, before he departed out of this life, and haue ſpared no endeuour, whereby you might allye and tye our affections to you. We therefore diſmiſſe you to your owne poſſeſſions, in complete fulneſſe of your delight; praying you to remember your ſelues only of theſe things, that you will ſuppoſe that no terme can terminate our kindred: neyther (by reaſon of the entercourſe of the Riuer Iordan betwixt you and vs) ſuppoſe you vs to be any others then Hebrewes. For all of vs (both thoſe that dwell on this ſide, and on the other ſide of Iordan) are the poſteritie of *Abraham*; and one and the ſame God hath brought to light both yours and our progenitors; whoſe Lawes and Religion (inſtituted by *Moſes*) are diligently to be obſerued: for by this meanes, he will become our helper and fauourer; as on the contrarie ſide (if we ſhall degene-
C rate from his Statutes) he will be an enemie againſt vs. After hee had ſpoken vnto them after this manner, he embraced in particular all thoſe that were in dignitie, and in generall, the whole people. This done, he ſtayed in that place; but the reſt of the whole people conueyed them onward with teares, and they departed the one from the other with great griefe and remorſe. But after that the Tribe of *Ruben* and of *Gad*, and the reſt of the Manaſſites had paſſed ouer Iordan, they builded an Altar vpon the banke of the Riuer, that might ſerue for a memoriall to poſteritie, and a token for the preſent, of the conjunction which they had with thoſe that dwelt on the other ſide of Iordan. But when the tidings hereof came vnto their eares that dwelt on the further ſide of the Riuer, and that they knew that they had builded an Altar, but notwithſtanding were ignorant of the reſpect and cauſe they had in building it; they ſuppoſed, that ſeeking to in-
D nouate their Religion, they would introduce the ſeruice of forraine and falſe gods. And being raſhly ſtirred vp with this ſuſpition of the violation of their Religion, they put themſelues in Armes, with this reſolution, to reuenge themſelues of thoſe who had builded that Altar, and to take puniſhment of them, for that they had forſaken the Lawes and Ordinances of their fore-fathers. For they ſuppoſed, that they were not ſo farre to reſpect their parentage, or dignitie, (who were accuſed) as to forget the will of God, and that ſeruice which was agreeable in his ſight. For which cauſe (being in this manner incenſed) they prepared themſelues to the expedition. But *Ioſuah*, and the high Prieſt *Eleazar*, with the reſt of the Elders, reſtrained them; counſailing them firſt of all to ſound their deliberation, and afterward (if it ſhould be apparant vnto them, that they did it vnder a ſiniſter intent) at that time they might lawfully inuade them by the Sword.
E Hereupon they ſent *Phinees*, the ſonne of *Eleazar*, and ten other of the moſt nobleſt among the Hebrewes, as Embaſſadours vnto them, to know what the intent and reaſon was, why they had builded that Altar on the banke of Iordan.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 4. *Ioſuah* 22. The Iſraelites after they had paſt ouer Iordan, builded an Altar on the banke thereof.

The embaſſage of the ten Tribes to the reſt of the Iſraelites.

Now, when theſe Embaſſadours had paſt the floud, and were come amongſt them, they ſummoned an aſſembly, and *Phinees* ſtanding vp in the midſt of them, ſpake after this manner: You haue committed ſo haynous an offence (ſayth he) as there is no queſtion eyther to reprooue or
F puniſh the ſame hence-forward in words: yet notwithſtanding, we haue not vpon the inſtant taken Armes, neyther aſſaulted you in battell, or had reference or regard to the hainouſneſſe of your Crime, to the intent to puniſh you, but we haue beene ſent to you as Embaſſadors, (in conſideration of our alliance) and for that (as we ſuppoſe) you may be drawne by good perſwaſions to the acknowledgement and deteſtation of your miſdeeds; to the end, that when we are informed of the cauſe that hath induced you to erect this Altar, it might not be thought, that we haue headlong thruſt our ſelues into Armes againſt you, if vnder an holy affection you haue builded the ſame: and if it appeareth otherwiſe, that the offence is juſtly imputed & grounded againſt you, we may take reuenge of the ſame, according as reaſon requireth. For ſcarcely could we beleeue, that you (who are inwardly grounded in the knowledge of God, and who are hearers of thoſe Lawes which he himſelfe hath giuen you) ſhould (ſince your departure from vs, and vpon your arriuall

Phinees Oration to the Rubenites.

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in your owne patrimonie(which you haue obtained by lot by the means of his grace,and peaceably enioy by the power of his prouidence)ſhould forget him, ſo ſoone as to forſake the Tabernacle, Arke, and Altar,which we haue by hereditarie right receiued from our progenitours,and introduce ſtrange gods, to the intent to be partakers of the impieties of the Chanaanites. But if you repent your miſdeedes,and plunge your ſelues no further in ſo great madneſſe, but reclaime your thoughts,and reuerence your domeſticall and ancient lawes,the pardon is granted you:but if you obſtinately perſiſt in your wickedneſſe, we will refuſe no trauell for the maintenance of our lawes, but paſſing the riuer in defence both of them(or to ſpeake more fitly)of our God,and accounting you no leſſe hatefull and impious then Chanaanites, we will vtterly roote out and race both their memorie, and your poſteritie together. For doe not ſuppoſe this, that becauſe you haue paſt the riuer, you are exempt from Gods power, becauſe in what place ſoeuer you be, you are numbred amongſt them that appertaine vnto him; and it is impoſſible for you to auoide either his power, or his vengeance: And if you thinke that the place is an impediment and let vnto you from following the better courſe, it were better for you to make a new diuiſion of lands, and leaue this region to be conuerted into paſtures. It behoueth you therefore to grow better aduiſed, and that changing your purpoſe, you deſiſt from innouation: Whereunto we exhort you by that loue which you beare to your children and wiues, and beſeech you by the reſpect you hold of that which is moſt deare vnto you, that you inforce vs not to wage war againſt you, who are wholly vnwilling to liſten to your iniuries. Reſolue your ſelues therefore in this preſent matter, aſſuring your ſelues that therein conſiſteth the iſſue, whether you had rather perpetually enioy your peace and affections by our perſwaſion, or expoſe both you and yours to the perill of a bloody warre.

The Rubenites anſwer.

After that *Phinees* had finiſhed this his oration, they that were the Peeres and principals of the Aſſembly, gaue this anſwer in defence of the common cauſe: Men and brethren, neither will we neglect our kinred,neither innouate any thing in that religion, of which we make a reuerend account: we know,that there is one God common vnto all the nation of the Hebrews,and acknowledge alſo his brazen Altar which is before the Tabernacle,& no other but that ſhall receiue our ſacrifices. As for that which we haue now erected,and that breedeth in you at this preſent a cauſe of ſuſpition,we built it not to the intent to pacifie God by ſacrifices,but that it might remaine as a perpetuall argument of our friendſhip, and might admoniſh vs of our countrey Religion; not to the end you ſhould ſuſpect it were an induction toward the violating of Religion. And that this was the onely cauſe which allured and induced vs to build the ſame,we only challenge God for our faithfull witneſſe,(for which cauſe,hereafter conceiue a better opinion of vs) and God forbid you ſhould ſuppoſe vs to be ſo beſotted in that ſinne; of which, whoſoeuer of *Abrahams* poſteritie is guiltie,and whoſoeuer ſhall degenerate from the manners and cuſtomes of his forefathers, may not expiate that Crime, without a capitall puniſhment. As ſoone as *Phinees* had heard theſe things,and prayſed their conſtancie, he returned vnto *Ieſus*,and declared all thoſe things vnto the people: who rejoycing (in that they had no occaſion to leuie men, nor cauſe of ciuill warre,or bloudſhed) offered vnto God their ſacrifices of thankſgiuing; and preſently diſſoluing the aſſembly,each man returned vnto his owne home: but *Ieſus* choſe his habitation in Sichama. Twentie yeeres after,*Ioſuah* being extremely old,(calling vnto him the moſt honourable of euery Citie, and both the Elders and Magiſtrates, and as many of the people as might commodiouſly be aſſiſtant) ſpake vnto them after this manner: Firſt,he called vnto their remembrance the diuers benefits which God had beſtowed vpon them; by meanes whereof, from their poore and afflicted eſtates,they had attained to ſo great riches and glorie. Then exhorted he them,that they ſhould endeuour themſelues hereafter in ſuch ſort,as God might hold and continue his mercifull hand ouer them; ſince they knew,that his beneuolence could be allyed vnto them by no other meanes,but by their good endeuours. He further alledged,that it was his dutie,before he departed out of this life,to admoniſh them of their dutie. Laſt of all,he required them,that they ſhould accept of that his good admonition, and ſhould be perpetually mindfull of the ſame. After this his Oration,he payd the due of nature, and died in the hundreth and tenth yeere of his life; whereof he ſpent fortie,as miniſter vnder *Moſes*,their Magiſtrate; and after his death,gouerned the Common-weale twentie fiue yeeres. A man of incomparable,both prudence and eloquence; moreouer,ſtrong and expedite in matter of gouernment,and both good and profitable in affaires of peace;finally,moſt exact in all ſorts of vertue. He was buried in a Citie called Thamna,belonging to the Tribe of the Ephraimites. About the ſame time likewiſe died *Eleazar* the high Prieſt (leauing the inheritance of the Prieſthood to *Phinees*) the Monument layd

Ioſuah dwelt in Sichama.

Ioſuahs exhortation at his death, to the Magiſtrates and Elders amongſt the Hebrewes.

Joſuah 23.24. Ioſuahs death.

Eleazars death.

laid on his ſepulcher is extant in the Citie Gabatha. After their deaths *Phinees* being demanded by the people what Gods pleaſure was, and to whoſe charge the affaires and warres againſt the Chanaanites ſhould be committed, anſwered them that God commanded them to giue the gouernment to the tribe of *Iuda*, which by election chuſing *Simeon* and his, they for their aſſociates vndertooke the warre vnder this condition, that when they had vtterly rooted out the remnant of the Chanaanites out of their owne nation, they ſhould likewiſe employ themſelues to extinguiſh all the reliques of that race amongſt the other tribes.

The yeere of the world, 2409. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1465.

Iudg. 1.

CHAP. II.

How the Iſraelites, after the death of their Emperour, forgetting the religion of their forefathers, fell into extreme calamities: and how through a ciuill warre raiſed amongſt them, there were onely 600. of the tribe of BENIAMIN *left aliue.*

BVT the Chanaanites (whoſe eſtate at that time was in ſufficient ſecurity) expected them with a great hoſt about the Citie of Bezeca, hauing their army conducted by the King of that place called *Adoni-Bezec*, which name ſignifieth Lord of the Bezecenites: (for, *Adoni* in the Hebrew tongue is as much to ſay as Lord) now theſe men promiſed vnto themſelues the vpper hand, by reaſon that *Ioſuah* was deceaſed. Againſt theſe (of whom I haue foreſpoken) the two tribes fought very valiantly, and ſlaying tenne thouſand of them (whileſt they purſued the reſt) they tooke *Adoni-Bezec* captiue, who hauing his hands and feete cut off, acknowledged the diuine iuſtice: for he confeſſed that he had vſed ſeuentie and two Kings beforetimes after the ſame manner. In this plight they conducted him neere vnto Ieruſalem, where departing out of this life, they buried him. Then ouerranne they the conntry, ſacking & taking the Cities, and after they had diuers of them in their poſſeſſion, they beſieged Ieruſalem, and entring the lower Citie thereof, they put all the inhabitants to the ſword. But the higher towne was very hard to be aſſaulted (by reaſon of the fortreſſes and ſtrength of the walles, and the naturall and ſtrong ſituation of the place) which was the cauſe that they leuied their campe to goe and beſiege Hebron, which they tooke, and ſlew all thoſe that were therein. In that time there were ſome remainder of the race of Giants, who in that they were greater in ſtature, and vnlike vnto other men, were horrible to behold, and terrible to be heard. Their bones are to be ſeene as yet at this day, which for their hugeneſſe ſurpaſſe all credulity or conceit. This Citie was giuen in way of honour to the Leuites with two thouſand cubits of land, or thereabouts: and as touching the reſt of the countrey it was freely giuen to *Caleb*, according as *Moſes* had commanded it (this was one of thoſe ſpies which *Moſes* ſent to ouerlooke the land of Chanaan.) They gaue lands and poſſeſſions likewiſe to *Iethro* the Madianites poſterity (who was father in law to *Moſes*) for that they had forſaken their owne territories, and annexed themſelues to the Iſraelites, and had beene with them in the deſart. The tribe of *Iuda* and *Simeon* tooke thoſe Cities of the mountaynous countrey of Chanaan, and thoſe that were in the Plaine neere vnto the ſea-coaſt (namely *Aſcalon* and *Azoth*.) But as touching *Gaza* and *Accaron*, they eſcaped: for theſe Cities being in the Plaine, & defenced with a great number of charriots, repulſed thoſe that aſſaulted the ſame to their diſaduantage. So theſe two tribes hauing had good ſucceſſe in warres, retired themſelues into their Cities, and laid aſide their weapons.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 5. al. 2.

Ten thouſand Chanaanites ſlaine, and Adoni-Bezec taken.

The yeere of the world, 2525. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt. 1439.

Joſuah 21.

Iethroes poſteritie who was the father of Moſes, poſſeſſed of lands.

As touching the Beniamites to whom Ieruſalem appertained, they receiued the inhabitants thereof as their tributaries, ſo that all of them being in peace, and the one ceaſing from ſlaughter, and the other aſſured from danger, both of them imployed themſelues in manuring the countrey. The reſt of the tribes did the like, conforming themſelues according to the example of the Beniamites, and contenting themſelues to receiue their tributes, they ſuffred the Chanaanites to liue in peace. The tribe of *Ephraim* (beſieging the Citie of Bethel) could not ſee ſuch an end of their deſſeigne, as the length of time and the trauels they had taken in the ſiege required: and although they were very much toyled and wearied with the ſame, yet deſiſted they not the continuance of the ſiege. At laſt they tooke one of the City (who iſſued forth to find out certaine neceſſary things that he wanted) whom they aſſured that if he would deliuer them the Citie, they would ſaue him, and grant life and libertie likewiſe to all them that were of his linage; who ſware vnto them that he would deliuer the Citie into their hand: which when he had performed, both he and his were wholly warranted; but all the reſt of the inhabitants were put to the ſword. From that time forward the Iſraelites behaued themſelues more mildly towards the enemie, and imployed

The Iſraelites ouercame not the Chanaanites at one time.

The Ephraimites recouer Bethel by a ſtratagem.

The yeere of the world, 2525. before Christs Natiuitie. 1439.

ployed them in tillage of their lands, and husbanding their fruits : and being growne in riches, they followed the delights and pleasures of the world, yea in such sort grew they dissolute, that they had no minde neither of their policy, nor the lawes of their forefathers. Whereupon God was grieuously incensed against them, who gaue them to vnderstand first of all, that contrary to his command they had spared the Chanaanites: and afterwards, that those Chanaanites in time to come should exercise great cruelties against them. And although they were astonished at that which was declared vnto them, yet notwithstanding they took no pleasure in feats of armes, both for that they had receiued many profits by the Chanaanits, as also for that (being effeminate thorow delights) they were vnapt for labour. It hapned thē at such time as their Aristocraticall gouernment was corrupted, & that they respected not their elders, or any other magistrates beforetime ordained, & were extremely addicted vnto gaine, and infinitely tooke pleasure therein; that amidst their greatest security, a grieuous mutiny and commotion was once more raised amongst them, so that at length they fell at oddes one with another, on that occasion which ensueth.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 6. al. 3.

The Israelites omit warre.

Iudg. 19.

The history of the Leuites wife.

A certaine Leuite and one of them of the common sort, that dwelt within the dominions of the Ephraimites, tooke a wife that was borne in the Citie of Bethleem, which pertaineth to the tribe of *Iuda*, whom (by reason of her incomparable beautie) he most intirely loued; and found himselfe much aggrieued, for that he found not her affection answerable to his loue : at last his passion so much preuailed with him, as they grewe at oddes, and fell into contentious mislikes, whence at last it fell out that the woman (tired with disquiet) forsooke her husband, and went and dwelt with her father. The husband sore aggrieued thereat (by reason of the loue which he bare her) came vnto her fathers house and appeased the differents, and was reconciled vnto her: There abode hee for the space of foure dayes, being friendly intreated and intertained by his wiues father and mother. On the fift day, he thought good to returne to his owne dwelling, and both of them departed about mid-day (by reason that the father and the mother gaue them a loth farewell, and consumed the better part of the day in entertainment.) They had a seruant which followed them, and an asse likewise, on which the woman was mounted. Now when they had trauelled the space of thirty Stadia or furlongs, and that they drew neere the Citie of Ierusalem: their seruant counselled them to take vp their lodging in some place, for feare lest by their late trauell they might fall into some disaster, the rather for that they were not farre frō the enemies countrey, and that the present time was such, as might make those things that were most assured, suspected. But this opinion of his pleased not his master, who would not lodge amongst those of a forraine nation (for the Citie pertained to the Chanaanites) but his intent was to passe further, and trauell yet twenty furlongs more, to take vp his lodging in one of their cities. This aduice of his beeing allowed, they came to Gaba of the Tribe of *Beniamin*, when it was late: and whereas they found no man in the market place that might lodge them; at length a certaine old man, returning out of the countrey to his house (who was by birth an Ephraimite, and dwelt in that City) meeting with him, asked him what he was, and for what cause so late as it was hee sought for his supper? He answered, that he was a Leuite, and that he brought his wife with him from her father and mother, & was returning to his house, which was amongst the Tribe of *Ephraim*. The old man hauing regard vnto his parentage (by reason that he was of the same tribe, and that by good hap they had after that manner met the one with the other) lodged him in his owne house. But certaine yong men amongst the Gabeonites, perceiuing the woman in that place, were rauished in admiration of her beauty and good graces, and getting some notice afterwards that shee had beene brought thither as a guest, they set light by him (by reason of his weaknes and age, and the small retinue that he had in his house) & came and knockt at his doore. The old man required them to depart, and that they should offer him no violence, nor to her, outrage. But contrariwise they importuned him to deliuer them his guest, and that done, they promised him in no sort to procure his further molestation. But although that the olde man alleadged that shee was of his parentage, and that her husband was a Leuite, and that they should commit an hainous offence, in sinning for their corrupt pleasures sake against the lawes: yet had they no regard of equity, but mocked him, menacing him likewise to murther him, because he hindred them from satisfying their lust. Finally, he was driuen to that exigent, that (to the intent they should not offer violence to his guest, and a stranger) he abandoned and prostituted vnto them his owne daughter, supposing it to be a lesse inconuenient to let them satisfie their vnbridled concupiscence on her, then that his guest should suffer any villany; at leastwise he made this account, that by this meanes he should not be guilty of any iniury done vnto them. Notwithstanding all this, they intermitted not to sollicite and vrge the deliuery of the woman (being incensed

The yeere of the world, 2526. before Christs Natiuitie, 1438.

Thirty Stadia are foure Italian miles. Two Italian miles and a halfe.

The horrible wickednesse of the Gabeonites.

incenſed in vnbridled luſt towards her.) Contrariwiſe he beſought them that they would not be ſo audacious as to violate the lawes: but they ſeconded their diſordinate deſires with extreme violence, and rauiſhed her perforce, and led her to their owne lodgings. Afterwards (when as during all the night time they had lewdly appeaſed their luſts on her) they thruſt her out of doores from them vpon the breake of day. But ſhe being wholly deſolate, & diſcomforted by this diſaſter, returned to her lodging, and both by reaſon of the agonie which ſhee had ſuffered, as alſo for the ſhame that hindered her from appearing before her husband, who would be incredibly and extremely tormented with that accident, ſhe fell downe and gaue vp the Ghoſt. Her husband ſuppoſing that ſhee was onely ſeized with ſome ſound ſleepe (not ſuſpecting any other inconuenient) thought to awake her, with that deliberation to confort her, becauſe ſhee had not willingly condeſcended to their violences and luſts, but maugre her reſiſt was rauiſhed by them, and taken out of his lodging. But ſo ſoone as he perceiued that ſhee was dead, he moderated his affections, conſidering the extremitie of his euils, and laying the dead body vpon his Aſſe, he carried it to his houſe; where he no ſooner arriued, but that he diuided and cut the ſame into twelue pieces, which he ſent to the twelue tribes of Iſrael; commanding them that bare the ſame, to tell euery tribe, who they were that were the authors of the death of his wife, and that villany they had practiſed againſt her. The tribes were very much diſcontented at that which they both ſaw, and heard (hauing neuer before that time heard of any the like aduenture) and incenſed with extreme diſpleaſure (and yet iuſt) they aſſembled themſelues in Siloe: and being arranged before the Arke, they reſolued ſodainly to take armes, and to aſſaile the Gabeonites as their capitall and mortall enemies. But the elders with-held them, declaring vnto them that they ought not after that manner enterprize a headlong warre againſt their brethren, before they had conferred and debated the cauſe with them, and examined the crimes whereof they were accuſed; the rather, for that the law permitteth not any warre (no not amongſt ſtrangers) before an enterparle and embaſſage, which might reclaim thoſe that were held culpable & reduce them to reaſon. For which cauſe they told them that they ſhould conforme themſelues, both according to the letter of the law, and the bond of brotherhood, to ſend certaine meſſengers to the Gabeonites, to demand at their hands the authors of that villany, to the end that when they were deliuered, they might take their ſatisfaction by their puniſhment: but if they ſhould not regard that which was demanded, then that it was lawfull for them to aſſaile them with open warre. Hereupon they ſent certaine meſſengers to the Gabeonites to accuſe thoſe yong men that had perpetrated that indignity againſt the woman, to demand them at their hands, to the intent they might ſuffer condigne puniſhment by death for the breach they had made of the law. But the Gabeonites would not yeeld vp the yong men, ſuppoſing it to be an indignity for them for feare of war to be obedient to other mens commandements, by reaſon that they thought themſelues no waies inferiour vnto others in feates of warre, both in reſpect of their number, and the courage both in the one and the other. The reſt of the tribe alſo made great preparation, by reaſon they were all of them reſolued, & vnited together, mutually to defend thēſelues againſt whoſoeuer ſhould aſſaile them. After that the report of the Gabeonites anſwer was brought vnto the Iſraelites, they ſware an oth the one vnto the other, that none of them would giue their daughters in marriage to a Beniamite, promiſing each of them to iſſue & make war againſt them: againſt whō they were more incenſed, then our predeceſſors haue bin animated againſt the Chanaanites, as we haue bin giuen to vnderſtand. They ſpeedily therefore leuied and led into the field an army of 400000. men againſt them. The Beniamites hoſts conſiſted of 26000. armed men, & 600. others, 50. of which were expert in ſhooting, and fighting with the left hand. The field was fought neere to Gaba, wherein the Beniamites put the Iſraelites to flight, who were ſlaine to the number of 22000. & more of them had beene ſlaughtered that day, had not the night ſodainly ouertaken them and ended the skirmiſh. Thus did the Beniamites ioyfully returne vnto their Cities, & the Iſraelites were diſcomforted thorow their vnexpected calamitie. The next day they once more renewed the battell, and the Beniamites had the vpper hand once again: ſo that the Iſraelites loſt eighteene thouſand men more, and by that meane forſooke their campe thorow feare, & retired to Bethel, which was not farre off from the place. The day after they faſted, and beſought God (by the mediation of *Phinees* the high Prieſt) that it would pleaſe him to appeaſe his wrath againſt thē, and that contenting himſelfe with the two ouerthrowes which he had ſent them, he would now at laſt both giue them victory and valour to encounter their enemies. All which God promiſed them by the prophecy of *Phinees*. Whereupon they diuided their army into two parts, and laid the one thereof in ambuſh neere vnto the Citie. In the meane time (whileſt the other halfe that

The yeere of the world, 2526. before Chriſts Nativitie. 1438.

The Leuite diuideth the bodie of his wife into 12. parts, and ſent them to the 12. tribes. *Iudg.* 20.

The Iſraelites ſend Embaſſadors to the Gabeonites to require thoſe at their hands that had committed the rape. They deny to yeeld them vp: hereupon the Iſraelites make an oath neuer to match their daughters with any one of the tribe of Beniamin, and they leuy and lead out againſt them an army of foure hundreth thouſand men. Twenty two thouſand Iſraelites ſlaine in battell. Eighteene thouſand Iſraelites more ſlaine. The Iſraelites place one halfe of their battell in ambuſh, and as if they fought with diſaduantage, they retired by little and little.

The yeere of the world, 2526. before Christs Natiuitie. 1438.

made head against the Beniamites, retired themselues, to the intent their enemies should assault them) the Beniamites sodainly issued, and set vpon them that orderly retired, and the more they retired (vnder purpose to draw them the further from the town) the more eagerly the enemy insisted: so that all they likewise, who through age and weaknes were left in the City, sallied out as companions and sharers in the future prey. But when as they were drawne far enough from the City, the Hebrewes staied, made head, and fought against them. Then gaue they a signe to those that were in ambush, in such sort as was accorded amongst them: who sodainly issuing out together, rushed in vpon their enemies with a huge crie. Who seeing themselues so sodainly surprized, knew not what to doe, but retiring thēselues into certaine Baricadoes, they defended themselues with arrowes, but all of them were slaine, except it were sixe hundreth: who making head, and closely filletted and embattelled together, thrust themselues desperately into the midst of their enemies, and by this meanes escaped they into the mountaines hard by, where they encamped. All the rest to the number of twenty fiue thousand or thereabouts were slaine. And the Israelites burned Gaba vtterly, and slew both the women and children. They exercised no lesse iustice on the other cities of *Beniamin* (so much were they fleshed and transported with fury.) And for that *Iabes* (a Citie of Galaad) would not ioyne with them in battell against the Beniamites, they sent twelue thousand chosen men out of their companies to destroy the same, who slew all those that might beare armes, with their wiues and children, except foure hundreth virgins. So much griefe and fury had they conceiued through the accident that chanced to this woman, and the despight they had conceiued against the Beniamites for prouoking them vnto armes: which furie when it was somewhat appeased, they repented themselues, reputing themselues to be depriued of one tribe: And although they thought them iustly oppressed in battell (by reason they had offended against the lawes of God) yet celebrated they a fast in the behalfe of the dead. They sent Embassadors also, and reuoked those sixe hundreth that were fled, and held a certaine rocke in the desart which is called Rhoa. The Embassadors complained not onely for that the warre had extinguished them, but also for the Israelites had lost their Parents: and by these perswasions they preuailed so much, that they bare their crosse and losse with lesse griefe, and they came vnto them and besought them that they would not giue sentence of the totall extinctiō of the tribe of *Beniamin*. We grant you (said they) the reuenues of your whole tribe, and as much bootie as you may driue away. But they acknowledging their iniustice, and that they were condemned by the iust iudgement of God, returned into the possessions of their tribe, and the Israelites gaue them in marriage those foure hundreth virgins of *Iabes*: and for the rest (which were two hundreth) they deliberated with themselues how they might prouide them of wiues, to the intent they might haue issue. And when as before time in the beginning of their warre it was decreed by an oath, that none of them might match his daughter with any of the tribe of *Beniamin*; there were some of them that thought good that the oath might be suspensed withall (by reason it was grounded vpon wrath, and not on iudgement) alleadging further, that they should doe nothing contrary to the will of God, if they might saue a tribe which was in danger vtterly to be extinct: That periuries were dangerous and noysome, not at such time as they are inforced by constraint, but when they are practized with an intent to doe euill. But when as the Elders reclaimed here-against (abhorring the mention of periury) there arose vp a certaine man amongst them, that said he had a policie, whereby without breach of oath the Beniamites might light vpon wiues. And being commanded by the Senate to expresse the same, we haue a custome euery yeere (said he) to assemble and keepe a feast at Siloe, and for companions in those our congregations we haue both our wiues and daughters: as many of these as they can rauish, let the Beniamites lay hold of, without reproofe (neither being inhibited nor encouraged by vs) and if their fathers shall be displeased therewith, and shall require reuenge, we will say that they are in the fault who haue negligently kept their daughters, and that we ought not too much to whet our wrath against the Beniamites, for that we had too much already vsed and abused the same towards them. This sentence was allowed by all of them, and it was decreed, that it was lawfull for the Beniamites to rauish and violently take to themselues wiues amongst them. Now when the feast was at hand, the two hundred Beniamites (of whom we haue spoken (came two by two, and three by three, and lay in ambush neere vnto the Citie (amongst the vines and other thickets, and close places, in which they might hide themselues to surprize the Damsels.) Now they suspecting nothing, securely and pleasantly wantoned on their way: but the yong mē breaking from the ambush, laid hold of them (beeing scattered and diuided here and there) and after they had married them, they departed home to labour their land, and began to studie anew

Fiue & twenty thousand Beniamites slain, & onely sixe hundreth escape aliue.

Iabes & other Cities of the Beniamites burned. *Iudg.* 21.

The Israelites reuoke the sixe hundreth that were fled.

The Israelites gaue the Beniamites the foure hundreth virgins of Iabes in martiage.

When & how an oath ought to be kept.

The Beniamites are permitted to rauish them wiues.

anew how to recouer their former good hap. Thus the tribe of *Beniamin* (which was wel-nigh vtterly exterminated) was reſtored to his former dignity after this manner, by the wiſedome of the Iſraelites: and it incontinently flouriſhed and encreaſed in a little time, as well in number of men as in all other things. Thus finiſhed this fatall warre. *The yeere of the world, 2526. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 1438.*

The like accident hapned to the Tribe of *Dan*, which fell into the like incombrance for this cauſe which enſueth. Hedio & Ruffinus. cap. 7. al. 4.

The Iſraelites about this time hauing forgotten the exerciſe of armes, and being onely occupied in tilling, and trimming their land: the Chanaanites (in contempt of that nation) raiſed forces, not for that they were affraide of their owne eſtates, but to the intent that ouerlopping the Hebrewes with ſome memorable ouerthrow, they might more ſecurely inhabit their Cities thereafter: and conſpiring together (and arming a great number of footmen; and ioyning to them certaine chariots) they drew *Aſcalon* and *Acharon* (two cities within the lot of *Iuda*) into their confederacie, and diuers other Cities of the champaine countrey: ſo as they of *Dan* were driuen into the mountaines, hauing no place in the champaine where they might peaceably inhabit; who (for that neither in warre they were able to confront them, neither had ſufficient habitation for the number of men, which they had) ſent fiue men of their tribe into the champaine countrey and Midland, to ſpie if they could finde any place that were fit and conuenient for them to eſtabliſh and fixe their colonies in. Theſe trauelled a daies iourney not farre from the mountaine of Libanus, and more lower then are the ſources of Iordan, bordering vpon the great plaine of the citie of Sidon. In which place (hauing obſerued that the land was good and fertile in all ſorts of fruits) they made it knowne vnto their people, who trauelling thither with their army, builded a citie in that place called *Dan* (by the name of the ſonne of *Iacob* ſo called, and in honour of the tribe of *Dan.*) Many aduerſities befell the Iſraelites from that time forwards, both for that they were vnexerciſed in trauell, and for that they cõtemned piety. For hauing once forſaken the obſeruation of their ordinances, they ſuffered themſelues to be deuoured in pleaſures, liuing according to their owne appetites: ſo that they gorged and glutted themſelues with thoſe vices, which were moſt of all accuſtomed and vſuall amongſt the Chanaanites. *Iudg. 18.* The tribe of Dan oppreſſed by the Chanaanites. They of Dan ſeeke out a place to inhabit.

CHAP. III.

How the people of Iſrael by reaſon of their wickedneſſe, were by God deliuered to the ſeruitude of the Aſſyrians.

FOR this cauſe the wrath of God was kindled againſt them, in ſuch ſort, as (through their negligence) they loſt the good which they had gotten by infinite trauell. For *Schiſart* king of the Aſſyrians leuied an army againſt them, who killed a great number of their men in the fight, and either by force, or compoſition, tooke diuers of them priſoners; and brought their city vnder his ſubiection. Diuers alſo willingly ſubmitted themſelues vnto him, (through the feare they had conceiued) and they payed tributes exceeding their powers, enduring all kinde of outrage for the ſpace of eight yeeres, after which they were deliuered by theſe means following. *Iudg. 3.* The Iſraelites oppreſſed by Schiſart.

CHAP. IIII.

Their liberty reſtored by CENIZVS.

A Certaine man of the tribe of *Iuda* called *Cenizus*, a man of execution and of braue courage, was aduertiſed by a voice from heauen, that he ſhould not permit the Iſraelites in that ſort to be reduced into ſo extreme neceſſity, without taking care for them, but that he ought to aduenture himſelfe to ſet them at liberty. For which cauſe, calling vnto him ſome few companions of his perils, who were diſcontented with their preſent eſtate, and deſired a change, he firſt of all diſcomfited the garriſon which *Schiſart* had placed ouer them: and ſo much was he furthered with his firſt ſucceſſe, that the number of his followers increaſed more & more, ſo that they ſeemed ſufficient to equall the enemy in open field: whereupon encountring him in one battaile, they ouercame him, and recouered their libertie; and the reſt of the ſcattered and confuſed army retired themſelues toward Euphrates. Now after that *Cenizus* had by this effect giuen proofe of his valour, he receiued the gouernment at the peoples hands, and exerciſed the office of Iudge fortie yeeres, at the end whereof he died. Ibidem. Cenizus or as the holy Scripture ſpeakes, his ſonne Athniel raigned eight yeeres.

CHAP. V.

How the people were againe made ſubiect to the Moabites, and how by IODES *they were exempt from ſeruitude.*

The yeere of the world, 2526. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1438.

AFTER whoſe death (the gouernment and ſeat being void) the affaires of the Iſraelites began again to fall to ruine, and the rather for that they neither yeelded due honor vnto God, neither obedience to the lawes: whence it came to paſſe, that *Eglon* king of the Moabites (ſeeing the diſorder of their policy) ſet thē at nought, ſo that he waged war againſt them, and ouercame them many times. And for that he was a Prince of greater forecaſt then any of his predeceſſors, he fought againſt them and weakned their forces, and conſtrained them to pay tribute.

Hedio & Ruſſinus, chap. 8. *Iudg.* 3. Eglon king of the Moabites conquereth the Iſraelites.

The yeere of the world, 2534. before Chriſts birth, 1430.

This man (tranſlating his court to Iericho, and proud in his victories) omitted no meanes whereby he might vexe and moleſt the people: ſo that they liued for the ſpace of 18. yeeres in great miſerie. But God (being mooued with their calamities, and ſupplications) deliuered them from their intolerable thraldome after this manner: *Iodes* the ſonne of *Gera* of the tribe of *Beniamin* (a yong man, both addreſſed by valour of minde, and ſtrength of hand to attempt any worthy action) dwelt at Iericho. This man inſinuated himſelfe into *Eglons* familiaritie, and by preſents and gifts entertained and courted him in ſuch ſort, as he was well beloued and eſteemed amongſt all thoſe courtiers that were neereſt about the King. It chanced one day, that bearing certaine preſents vnto the King (attended by two of his houſhold ſeruants) he ſecretly girt a dagger to his right thigh, at ſuch time as he entred in to the king: now it was about mid-ſummer and mid-day likewiſe; whereby the watch was growne the more careleſſe and ſlothfull, partly by reaſon of the heate, and partly for that the guard were occupied about their dinner. The yong man therefore offering his preſents vnto *Eglō* (who at that time diſported himſelfe in a certaine ſummer chamber) began to diſcourſe with him. Now they were both alone (by reaſon that the king reſoluing to talke familiarly with *Iodes*, had ſent away his guard, and ſate him downe in a ſeate:) but *Iodes* fearing, leſt falling to ſtab home enough, he ſhould not giue him a fatall and deadly wound, required him to riſe, telling him that he had a dreame to report vnto him by the commandement of God. Whereat he reioycing very much, leapt from his ſeate; whereupon *Iodes* ſtabd him to the heart: and leauing the poynard ſticking in his wound, he eſcaped and locked the doore after him; the guard making no noiſe at all, ſuppoſing that the king had laid him downe to reſt. But *Iodes* giuing priuate notice hereof to them of Iericho, offered himſelfe to be their leader in the recouery of their former liberty: who (willingly accepting thereof) preſently tooke armes, & ſent trumpets to publiſh the ſame thorow the whole country: (for after that maner were they wont to aſſemble the people.) They that were about *Eglon*, were wholly ignorant of that which hapned: but about the euen-tide (fearing leſt ſome miſhap had befalne him) they entred into the place where he was, and found him dead; whereat they were greatly aſtoniſhed, ſo as they knew not what to doe. For before they had aſſembled their forces together, the Iſraelites fiercely charged them, and ſome they killed inſtantly; the reſt that were ten thouſand in number, betooke themſelues to flie, vnder hope to recouer their countrey of *Moab*: but the Iſraelites (hauing before that, laide and fortified the paſſages of Iordan) purſued them and ſlew them: ſo that diuers of them periſhed in the Ferry, and not one of them remained that eſcaped their hands. By this meanes the Iſraelites were deliuered from the ſeruitude of the Moabites: and for this cauſe *Iodes* was aduanced to the gouernment of the people. Finally, after he had liued for the ſpace of foureſcore yeeres, he died. A man (beſides the act of late rehearſed) worthy of praiſe in all other things. After him *Sanagar* the ſonne of *Anath* was elected gouernour, and in the firſt yeere of his raigne, he left this life to partake the fruition of another.

Iodes or Ehud inſinuateth himſelfe into Eglons familiaritie.

Iodes killeth Eglon.

The Moabites put to flight and ſlaine by the Iſraelites.

CHAP. VI.

How the Iſraelites were brought vnder the ſubiection of the Chanaanites, and ranſommed from ſeruitude by BARAC.

The yeere of the world, 2614. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt. 1350.

BVT the Iſraelites (in no ſort reclaimed or reconciled by their forepaſſed calamities) fell againe into their former impietie and diſobedience: and before they had ſufficiently ſhaken off the ſeruitude of the Moabites, were ſubiected vnto *Iabin* king of the Chanaanites. This man kept his reſidence imperiall at Aſor (a Citie ſituate on the lake of Sachonites) he

Hedio & Ruſſinus, c. 9. *Iudg.* 4. Iabin king of the Chanaanites, ſubdueth the Iſraelites.

A he had in pay thirtie thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe: and beſides theſe, he had three thouſand warlike Chariots. Ouer all this huge Armie commanded *Siſares*, (an eſpeciall man amongſt the Kings fauourites) who encountring with the Iſraelites, brought their affaires into ſo deſperate an eſtate, that they willingly (for their owne ſecuritie ſake) accepted ſeruitude, and payed tribute, (whereunto they were enforced, through the auſteritie of their ſubjection, almoſt for the ſpace of twentie yeeres, not daring to lift vp their heads) all which fell vpon them by the will of God, to the end he might puniſh the too great contumacie and ingratitude of that Nation. Who at length repenting themſelues, and acknowledging the cauſe of their calamities, (namely, that it proceeded from the contempt of their Lawes) they repaired to a certaine Propheteſſe, called *Debora*, (which name in the Hebrew Tongue ſignifieth a Bee) beſeeching her, that by her prayers B ſhe would endeuour to prouoke God vnto mercie (to the intent, he ſhould not ſuffer them ſo to be oppreſſed by the Canaanites.) Hereupon God (being inclined to take compaſſion on them) granted them helpe, and appointed *Barac* to be their Gouernour (a man of the Tribe of *Nepthali*, whoſe name ſignifieth Lightning.) *Debora* therefore ſending for *Barac*, commandeth him to pick out and muſter ten thouſand choſen men, and lead them forth againſt the enemie; alledging, that they were ſufficient to obtaine the victorie which God had promiſed by the Oracle. But *Barac* denying to vndertake the Gouernment, except ſhe alſo would adminiſter the ſame with him; ſhe mooued therewith, ſpake thus: Wilt thou (ſaid ſhe) ſurrender the Dignitie which God hath giuen thee, to a Woman? Well, I will not refuſe it. Whereupon leuying ten thouſand men, they pitched their Tents neere to the mountaine of Itabyr. *Siſara* at that time (according as the King C had commanded him) preſently marched out to meet them, and encamped himſelfe not farre from the enemie. But *Barac* and the reſt of the Iſraelites (being terrified with the multitude of the enemies) was encouraged by *Debora*, who commanded them, that very day to enter and vndertake the battaile; aſſuring them, that the victorie ſhould be theirs, and that God would both aſſiſt and helpe them. Whereupon they charged the enemie, and there ſuddenly fell a ſtorme of Raine, mixed with Haile, which the Winde droue againſt the faces of the Chanaanites, and tooke away their ſight, making thoſe that carried Darts, and ſuch as ſerued with the Sling, vnprofitable in their ſeruice; the Targettiers likewiſe hauing their hands benummed with cold, could ſcarcely wield their ſwords. But the Tempeſt beating on the backs of the Iſraelites, not onely wrought them leſſe offence, but made them alſo more forward (being whetted thereunto by the manifeſt D ſigne of Gods fauour and preſence.) Whereupon diſarraying and breaking thorow their enemies battaile, they made a great ſlaughter of them; ſo as part of them fell by the weapons of the Iſraelites, the reſt were ouer-run by their own horſemen and Chariots. *Siſara* alſo, as ſoone as he ſaw his ſouldiers turne their backs, leaping from his Chariot, fled away haſtily, till at laſt he arriued in the Tent of a woman of Cenetis, called *Iael*; who being deſired by him to conceale and hide him, entertained him: and whereas he required Drinke, ſhe gaue him ſowre Milke; which when he had ouer-greedily drunke, he fell aſleepe: and whileſt he ſo lay buried in his ſlumbers, *Iael* tooke a Mallet, and droue an yron Nayle thorow his Temples, and faſtned him to the Pauement. And anon after, when *Baracs* ſouldiers came vnto her, ſhe ſhewed him vnto them, in ſuch manner as he was nayled. And thus a woman, according as *Debora* had fore-told, was the author of this E victorie. But *Barac* leading his Armie to Aſor, ſlew *Iabin*, that came out againſt him: And hauing ſlaine the King, and leuelled the Citie with the ground, he gouerned the Iſraelites for the ſpace of fortie yeeres.

The yeere of the world, 2614. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1350.

Siſares, or Siſara, the Captaine of the Hoſt.

Debora, the Propheteſſe.

Barac appointed Emperour againſt the enemie.

Debora and Barac charge the enemie.

Siſara ſlaine, with his Hoſt.

Iael killeth Siſara with an yron Nayle.

Barac gouerned the Iſraelites 40. yeres.

CHAP. VII.

How the Amalechites ouercomming the Iſraelites, deſtroyed their countrey for the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres.

The yeere of the world, 2654. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1310.

BVT when *Barac* and *Debora* were dead, about the very ſame time, and hard after, the Madianites, accompanied with the Amalechites and Arabians, armed themſelues againſt F the men of Iſrael; and encountring them in open field, ouercame them in a great battaile, and (deſtroying their Fruits and Harueſt) led away a great prey. And when as they continued theſe their incurſions for the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres, they compelled the Iſraelites to forſake the Champaine, and flye vnto the Mountaines: who digging them Dennes and Houſes vnder the Earth, kept all that ſecretly hidden, which they had reſerued and conueyed from the furie of the enemie. For the Madianites inuading them in the Summer time, permitted the Iſraelites to plye their Husbandrie in the Winter, to the intent they might ſpoyle and depopulate their countrey

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 10. *Iudg. 6.*

The Madianites, confederate with the Amalechites, ouercome the Iſraelites in a great battaile.

countrey the more. Thus liued they in perpetuall famine, and want: neyther was there any other hope or ſuccours left them, but onely by prayers and ſupplications vnto God. G

The yeere of the world, 2654. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1310.

CHAP. VII.

How GEDEON *deliuered the Iſraelites.*

God commandeth Gedeon to deliuer the Iſraelites from the Madianites. *Iudg.7.*

ABOVT that time, *Gedeon* (the ſonne of *Ioaſue*, one of the chiefeſt of the Tribe of *Manaſſes*) ground certaine ſheaues of Corne, which he had ſecretly conueyed into his Preſſe: for he durſt not bring them openly, for feare the enemie ſhould haue eſpyed him. To him appeared there a Viſion, in the forme of a young man, which ſaid vnto him, That he was happie, and beloued of God: and that a certaine ſigne of his good hap ſhould be, that he ſhould vſe his Preſſe in ſtead of his Grange; willing him to be of good courage, and to endeauour himſelfe to recouer his Countries libertie. *Gedeon* anſwered, That it was impoſſible; by reaſon, that the Tribe whereof he was deſcended, had very few men in it; and that he was too young and feeble, to thinke on affaires of ſo great conſequence. But God promiſed him to ſupply his neceſſities, in whatſoeuer he held himſelfe deficient; and aſſured him (vnder his conduct) that he would giue the Iſraelites the victorie. Theſe things *Gedeon* communicated with certaine young men; who willingly beleeuing the Oracle, anſwered, That for the preſent they had ten thouſand ſouldiers in a readineſſe, moſt readie to attempt any thing, in regard of their libertie. But God appeared to *Gedeon* in a Dreame, and told him, That men naturally were louers of themſelues, and haters of thoſe who were excellent in vertues: ſo that if there grow any queſtion of victorie, they forget God, and appropriate the ſame vnto themſelues, ſaying, That they are many, and all valiant men at Armes. To the end therefore that they may conceiue his handy-worke in their deliuerance, he counſelled him, That about the mid-time of the day, at ſuch time as the heat was moſt vehement, he ſhould conduct his Armie to the Riuer; and that being there, he ſhould diligently obſerue thoſe that bowed themſelues to drinke, which he might eſteeme for men of valour; but all thoſe that dranke haſtily, and with noyſe, ſhould be marked as men fearefull, and afraid of the enemie. *Gedeon* did according as God had commanded him: and there were found three hundreth men that lifted water to their mouthes with their hands, with feare and trouble. God willed him, that hee ſhould aſſayle the enemie with thoſe three hundreth; promiſing, that hee would giue him the victorie. About this time were they encamped vpon the banke of Iordan, readie to paſſe the Foord the next morrow. But *Gedeon* was ſore troubled, by reaſon that God had before-times told him, that he ſhould aſſayle the enemie by night. But God willing to deliuer him of his feare, commanded him to take one of his ſouldiers with him, and enter the Camp of the Madianites; aſſuring him, that he ſhould be both aduiſed and encouraged by themſelues. Whereunto hee obeyed; and for his better aſſurance, hee tooke with him one of his ſeruants. Now as hee drew nigh a certaine Tent, hee perceiued, that they that were within the ſame, were awake, and that one of them with a lowd voyce told his companion the Dreame which that night he had had; which *Gedeon* ouer-heard, and thus it was: Him ſeemed, that he ſaw a Barly Cake (ſo lothſome, as no man would feed vpon the ſame) which rowled thorow the Campe, which firſt ouerthrew the Kings Tent, & afterwards the Tents of all his ſouldiers; alledging, that this Viſion ſignified the loſſe of the whole Armie. Annexing to this his allegation, the reaſons that induced him thereunto; namely, that of all ſorts of Corne, Barly is moſt contemptible: and amongſt all the Nations of Aſia, there were not this day any people to be found more diſgraced and contemned then the Iſraelites; and that in this reſpect, they reſembled Barly. That which at this day ſeemeth to encourage them, is *Gedeon*, and the Armie that is with him: and whereas this Cake turned to ouerthrow our Tents, I feare me leſt God hath giuen ſome ſigne of victorie vnto *Gedeon*. *Gedeon* (hauing ouer-heard all theſe things) conceiued good hope, and tempted with a valiant heart, preſently commanded his domeſticall ſeruants to arme themſelues, diſcourſing vnto them the Viſion which appeared to their enemie. Whereupon they ſpeedily prepared themſelues at his commandement, ruminating and hammering in their mindes vpon that diſcourſe which he had declared vnto them. About the latter Watch of the Night, *Gedeon* led forth his Armie, and diuided them into three Bands, and in euery Band he put a hundreth men: all of theſe bare in their hands emptie Pots, in which were hidden burning Torches, in ſuch ſort, as the enemie might not diſcouer them, when they ſallyed out. Moreouer, they bare Rams-hornes in their right hands, which they vſed in ſtead of Trumpets. The aduerſe Armie tooke vp much ground (by reaſon

God commandeth Gedeon to chuſe a few men. The victorie is to be attributed to God.

Gedeon repaireth to the enemies Tents, and by them is confirmed by a Dreame.

Gedeon with three hundreth attempteth the fight.

reaſon that they had a great number of Camels, and were diſtributed by Nations) yet notwithſtanding were all of them comprehended in one incloſure.

The yeere of the world, 2654. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1310.

The Hebrewes hauing had inſtructions from their Captaine what they ought to doe, at ſuch time as they approached neere vnto their enemies, and the ſigne of the battaile was giuen, they ſounded their Hornes, and brake their Pots, and with their flaming Lights brake into the enemies Campe, crying, Victorie, Victorie, by the aſſiſtance of God, and the ſtrength of *Gedeon*. Hereupon ſuch a trouble and feare ſurprized the enemie, as they lay aſleepe, (for this accident fell out in the night time, and God diſpoſed all things to this iſſue) that few of them fell by the Hebrewes Sword, but they themſelues ſlew one another in great numbers (by reaſon that they were different in Language.) For confuſedly encountring one another, they maſſacred all thoſe that encountred them, ſuppoſing them to be enemies. When the rumour of this ſlaughter, and *Gedeons* victorie, came vnto the eares of the reſt of the Iſraelites, they armed themſelues, and purſued and ouertooke the enemie, (being intangled and circumuented in certaine places, made vnpaſſable through many running brookes) ſo that being enuironed on euery ſide, they were all of them put to the Sword; amongſt which were their two Kings, *Oreb* and *Zeb*. The reſt of the Chiefetaines trouping onward with their ſouldiers, to the number of eighteene thouſand, or thereabouts, encamped not farre from the Iſraelites: but *Gedeon* was no wayes aſtoniſhed hereat, but purſuing them valiantly with his whole Armie, and charging them deſperately, he diſcomfited all the reſt of the enemies, & led away captiues thoſe Chiefetaines which remained, namely, *Zeeb*, and *Ezarbon*. There died in this battell of the Madianites, and Arabians, their allyes, to the number almoſt of ſixſcore thouſand: beſides that, the Hebrewes tooke an ineſtimable prey of Gold, Siluer, Apparell, Camels, and other Horſes. But *Gedeon* returning into his countrey, *Ephraim* ſlew the reſt of the Kings of the Madianites. Neuertheleſſe, the Tribe of *Ephraim* being diſpleaſed with his happie execution, reſolued to make warre againſt him; accuſing him, for that he had not made them priuie of his ſtratageme intended againſt the enemie. But *Gedeon* being a temperate man, and endowed with all kind of vertue, gaue them this modeſt anſwer, That it was not he that by his owne direction had ſet vpon the enemie, but that it was Gods onely handy-worke: notwithſtanding, that the victorie was no leſſe theirs, then his or thoſe his followers, that atchieued the enterprize. And with theſe his words appeaſing their wrath, he no leſſe profited the Hebrewes thereby, then by his valiant actions; by reaſon, that he deliuered them from a ciuill warre, whereinto they had fallen, if his diſcretion had not preuented it. This Tribe was puniſhed for this outrage offered to ſo noble a perſonage, as we will declare hereafter in his place. *Gedeon* labouring to diſmiſſe himſelfe of the Gouernment, was forced to continue the ſame, and ruled the Iſraelites for the ſpace of fortie yeeres, doing juſtice to euery one that required the ſame at his hands, and deciding their controuerſies (ſo irreuocable & certaine was that eſteemed which he had decreed.) Finally, he died when he was very old, and was buried in the countrey of Ephraim.

The Madianites and their confederates kill one another.

The Iſraelites purſue their enemies, and kill Oreb and Zeb. *Judg.* 8.

Gedeon taketh Zeeb and Ezarbon.

One hundred and twentie thouſand Madianites, with their confederates, ſlaine.

The yeere of the world, 2292. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1270.

Gedeon raigned 40. yeeres.

CHAP. IX.

How ſome of GEDEONS *ſucceſſors made warre with the Nations round about them.*

GEDEON had ſeuentie lawfull ſonnes, begotten on diuers lawfull Wiues. He had likewiſe one Baſtard by his Concubine *Druma*, which he called *Abimelech*: who, after the deceaſe of his father, retyred himſelfe to Sichem, where his mother was borne. There (aſſiſted with money by his mothers kindred, and backed by them who were men reſolute, and addreſſed to all facinorous actions) he returned to his fathers houſe, where he ſlew all his brethren (except *Iothan*, who by good hap ſaued himſelfe by flight.) Now, when as *Abimelech* had once obtained the Tyrannie, he ruled all things according to his luſt, and neglected the Ordinances & preſcript of Law, hating all thoſe that in any ſort were maintainers of equitie. One day therefore, whileſt there was a ſolemne feaſt held at Sichem, (whereunto the whole people were vſually wont to reſort) *Iothan* his brother (who, as we ſaid, ſaued himſelfe by flight) climbing the mountaine of Garizim, which ouer-hangeth the Citie of Sichem, with a lowd voyce (which might eaſily be ouer-heard by the people, and in a generall ſilence of the whole multitude) hee beſought them, that they would heare him in a few words; and when as they intentiuely liſtned with a greater and more reuerend ſilence, he told them, in times paſt the Trees were accuſtomed articulately to ſpeake, after the manner of men; and that (in a certaine aſſembly, wherein they were to conſult of their Gouernment) they beſought the Fig-tree to accept the ſoueraigntie ouer them; which when ſhe refuſed, and

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 1. *Judg.* 6. 9.

Abimelech killeth 69. of his brethren.

Iothan, by an alluſion, vpbraideth the Sichemites of their ingratitude towards Gedeon.

The counſell of the Trees, in choyſe of a King.

The yeere of the world, 2649. before Christs Natiuitie, 1270.

and pleaded in his owne behalfe, that he was contented with that honor which he reaped by the meanes of the fruit which he bare, and sought not further. The Trees surceased not to seeke another Prince, resoluing with themselues to ascribe that honor to the Vine; which, in as many words as the Fig-tree, refused the same; and no lesse did the Oliue-tree. At last they preferred their humble protestation of election to the great Bramble, (whose Wood is good for firing) he answered, If you doe vnfainedly require me for your King, repose your selues vnder my shadow; but if you intend Treasons against me, there shall a fire issue from me, and consume you. These things (said *Iothan*) I report vnto you, not to mooue you to laughter, but for that you (hauing receiued many benefits at the hands of *Gedeon*) suffer *Abimelech*, who in spirit differeth nothing from the fire, to vsurpe the Princedome, after the slaughter of my brethren. When he had spoken after this manner, he departed, and for three yeeres space liued hidden amongst the mountaines, flying the power of *Abimelech*. Neyther did there many dayes ouer-passe, but that the Sichemites (being mooued with compassion and just reuenge, in respect of the murther which was committed vpon the sonnes of *Gedeon*) banished *Abimelech* out of their Citie, & the whole Tribe. Whereupon he resolued to doe some mischiefe to both the Citie and Citizens. And for that their Vintage was at hand, and they durst not gather the fruit, fearing lest they should receiue some injurie at the hands of *Abimelech*, by good hap about that time a certaine Prince, called *Gaal*, retyred thither with a troupe of souldiers, and his kindred: Him did the Sichemites beseech, that he would grant them a Conuoy, whilest they had gathered in their Harueſt. Which requeſt of theirs being accepted by *Gaal*, they issued out with their forces, being seconded by him and his, and securely brought in their fruits: and feasting one with another in companies, they were so bold as to scoffe at *Abimelech*, and the chiefest of his followers. And the chiefest of those strangers among them, that came into their Citie to their assistance, surprized by Ambuscado diuers of *Abimelechs* people, and slew them. But *Zebel*, one of the Sichemites, and *Abimelechs* Oast, signified vnto him by a messenger, how *Gaal* incited the people against him; inuiting him to lye in wait for him neere about the Citie, promising him that he would bring *Gaal* thither, to the end that he might easily reuenge him of that injurie which his enemie had offred him. Which done, he promised to worke so wisely, that he would reconcile him to the peoples fauour againe. And when as *Abimelech* had chosen a place fit to lye in ambush, and *Gaal*, with *Zebel*, too carelesly liued and walked in the suburbs, at length he suddenly espying certaine armed men, cryed out to *Zebel*, That he had discouered the enemie; whereunto *Zebel* replyed, That they were the shadow of Rocks. But *Gaal* drawing more neere vnto them, and perceiuing apparantly who they were, answered *Zebel*, That they were no shadowes, but ambushes of men. Whereunto *Zebel* replyed, Doest thou not object cowardize to *Abimelech*? why therefore shewest thou not thy great valour, in fighting with him? *Gaal* confusedly amazed, assayled the souldiers of *Abimelech*: in which conflict, certaine of his followers were slaine, and he himselfe fled into the Citie (giuing example vnto the rest to follow him.) Hereupon *Zebel* labored, that *Gaal* might be expulsed out of the Citie; accusing him of his cowardly encounter with the souldiers of *Abimelech*. Now, when as the same *Abimelech* had afterwards gotten certaine intelligence, that the Sichemites would issue anew to gather their Vintage, he layd an ambush neere vnto the Citie. And no sooner were they issued, but that the third part of his troupes surprized and seized the Gates, to cut them off from their returne, that thought to re-enter; the rest ranne after those that were scattered here and there: so that there was a great slaughter on euery side; and the Citie was ruinated euen vnto the very foundations, (for they could not withstand the siege) and they sowed Salt vpon the ruines thereof. Thus perished all they that were in the Citie of Sichem. But they that escaped thorow the countrey, and had auoided the danger, assembled and fortified themselues vpon a strong Rocke, and there incamped, and began to defence the same. But as soone as *Abimelech* had notice of their intention, he hasted thither with his forces, and enuironed the place with Faggots of drie Wood, (carrying them thither in his owne person, and encouraging thereby those of his Armie to doe the like) so that the Rocke was incontinently compassed with Wood: whereunto he set fire round about, and in an instant it flamed, and burned vehemently; so as none of them were saued, but all of them perished, with their wiues and children, to the number of fifteene hundred men, besides many other of the weaker sort. This calamitie hapned to the Sichemites (in so grieuous a measure, that there is not any griefe sufficient to deplore it) were it not, that that so horrible misfortune fell vpon them, by reason of their ingratitude they had shewed to so vpright a Iudge, and so gracious a Benefactor. *Abimelech* allayed the courage of the Israelites, by this encounter & conquest of the Sichemites, and gaue sufficient testimonie that he aspired more higher, and that he would neuer terminate

The Sichemites banish Abimelech.

Abimelechs practice against the Sichemites.

Gaal put to flight by Abimelech, is banished out of Sichem.

Sichem taken and sacked, and razed to the ground.

The Sichemites flying, are burned vpon a Rock.

terminate his violence vntill he had vtterly extinguished them. He therefore led forth his army against the Tibeans and their City, which he tooke: but in that towne there was a great tower, whither all the people had retired themselues, and whilest he prepared himselfe to besiege the same, and approached likewise neere vnto the gates, a certaine woman cast a piece of a milstone at him, and hit him on the head: which was the cause that *Abimelech* called at that time for his Squier, commanding him to dispatch him, to the intent it might not be reported that hee died by the hands of a woman. His Squier did according as he had commanded him, and reuenged on *Abimelech* (by putting him to death) the cruelty he had committed against his brethren, and the tyranny executed vpon the Sichemites; on whom all these misfortunes fell according as *Iothan* had foretold them. As soone as *Abimelech* was slaine, all the armie was dispersed, and euery one returned vnto his dwelling place: and *Iair* the Galeadite of the tribe of *Manasses* tooke vpon him the gouernment. Amongst other conditions of this man, these were of the greatest note, that he was rich, and had thirty worthy sonnes, all expert vpon horse-backe, and exercised the magistracie in the countrey of Galaad: hee (after he had gouerned the people for the space of twenty yeers) died, when he was very old, and was honourably intombed in Chamon a city of Galaad. From this time forward the policy and estate of the Hebrewes grew more and more disordered, and the lawes began to be neglected: Whence it came to passe that the Ammonites and Philistines (setting light by them) destroyed all their countrey with a great army, during which time they occupied all the land on this side Iordan, and so much were they heartned, as that they pressed further, and possessed the better part on the other side of the riuer, and conquered the same. Whereupon the Hebrewes being brought to more moderation by these their aduersities, had their recourse vnto God by prayers and sacrifices, requiring him that it might please him to moderate his wrath, and that hauing regard and respect to their supplication, he would be pleased to stay his heauy hand ouer them. This submission of theirs preuailed with God, who inclined himselfe to assist them. Whilest therefore the Ammonites led their armie into Galaad, they of the countrey arose to meete and fight with them, being disfurnished of a Gouernour to conduct them. Now there was a certaine man called *Ieptha*, of great estimation, as well for the vertue of his ancestors, as his owne particular valour (the rather for that he had beene trained and maintained in warlike seruice.) To him they sent a messenger, requiring him that he would assist them; promising him, that he should continue in the gouernment during the terme of his life. But he was nothing mollified with this their request, but reprochfully obiected against them, that they had abandoned him at that time, when as his brothers had done him open wrong: for (by reason he was not their brother by the same mother, but a stranger, begotten on a woman which their father had entertained for his Paramour, they had driuen him out of their family, setting light by him, by reason of his base birth) yet notwithstanding he had liued in Galaad, receiuing all those into wages which came vnto him, of what place soeuer they were. But after they had besought him, and sworne vnto him that he should continue in the gouernment, hee became their Generall in warre, and speedily (prouiding and foreseeing whatsoeuer was necessary) he encamped himselfe neere vnto Maspha, and sent Embassadours to the Ammonites, accusing them for inuading a countrey that belonged not vnto them. They contrariwise blamed the Israelites, for that they were fled like fugitiues from Ægypt, and commanded that the Israelites should depart out of Amorrhæa (which was their ancient patrimony.) *Ieptha* answered that they had no reason to accuse their ancestors, in respect of Amorrhæa: but rather that they ought to giue them thankes, for that they had permitted them to enioy the country of Ammon, by reason it was in *Moses* power to haue commanded the same. In a word, they were resolued not to forsake the countrey which God had both giuen and purchased for them, and which they had held in their possession for the space of three hundred yeeres, alledging that he would defend the same against them by dint of sword: with these words dismissed he the Embassadours of the Ammonites. Then besought he God that it might please him to grant him victory: and he made a vow that if he returned vnto his house whole and in safetie, he would offer vp in sacrifice, that of his which he should first meete withall in his returne: whereupon encountring the enemy he defeated him, and pursued him, killing those that fled continually till he came to the City of Maniathen. Then entring the countrey of the Ammonites; he destroyed diuers Cities, and led away a great prey, and deliuered and ransomed diuers slaues of that nation, who had endured that seruitude for the space of eighteene yeeres. But as hee returned homeward, he fell into such an inconuenient, as was no wayes answerable to his noble actions. For his onely daughter (of the age of eighteene yeeres) came out to meete him: whereupon resoluing and melting

The yeere of the world, 2694. before Christs Natiuitie, 1270.

Abimelech taketh Tebez. A woman woundeth Abimelech, and his Squier killeth him. Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 12. al. 19. *Iud.* 10.

The yeere of the world, 2697. before Christs Natiuity, 1267.

Thola raigned 23. yeers. After him Iair 22. yeeres.

The yeer of the world, 2719. before Christs Natiuity, 1245

The Israelites oppressed by the Ammonites and Palestines.

The yeer of the world, 2742. before Christs Natiuity, 1222

Ieptha is created the Iudge of Israel.

The yeer of the world, 2760. before Christs Natiuity, 1204

Ieptha maketh a vow.

He ouercommeth the Ammonites.

melting himſelfe into teares, he began to checke her, for that ſo haſtily ſhee had iſſued forth to meet him, by reaſon he had conſecrated the firſt thing he met withall to God. But this accident was no wayes diſpleaſant vnto the Damſell, but that ſhe willingly dyed, both for the victorie of her father, and the deliuerance of her brethren. She therefore beſought her father, that it would pleaſe him to grant her two moneths, before ſhe ſhould be ſacrificed, to the end ſhe might lament her youth, with her companions: and that, after that terme, her father might acquit himſelfe of that Vow which he had made. *Ieptha* granted her the terme and time ſhe had limitted: which being expired, he ſacrificed his Daughter for a burnt-Offering. Which Oblation of his, was neyther conformable to the Law, nor agreeable vnto God, (by reaſon he examined not, in his vnderſtanding, before he committed the act, how it would be taken by thoſe that ſhould heare the report thereof.)

The yeere of the world, 2760. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1204.

Ieptha ſacrificeth his Daughter.

The Tribe of *Ephraim* hearing of his victories, would haue ſent out men of warre againſt him, (by reaſon he had not communicated his enterprize againſt the Ammonites with them, but had onely reſerued the prey, and vſurped the honour of the execution to himſelfe) whereunto he anſwered firſt of all, That being of his kindred, they could not be ignorant, that both hee and his were aſſayled by Warre; and had, beſides that, alſo beene required to giue them their aſſiſtance: wherunto they had anſwered very faintly, and being requeſted would not be preſent. Secondly, he told them that that which they vndertooke, was both vnlawfull and moſt wicked, in that not daring to confront or aſſaile the enemie, they made no bones to ſet vpon and aſſault their owne brothers and familiars, threatning them that if they gouerned not themſelues, he would (by the aſſiſtance of God) be reuenged on them. But theſe words of his were both neglected & deſpiſed, ſo that he was forced to arme himſelfe againſt them, and with an hoſt of men ſent from *Galaad*, he made a great ſlaughter, partly in purſuing thoſe that fled, partly alſo in preuēting their paſſage who fled vnto Iordan: and the number of thoſe that were ſlaine, amounted to forty thouſand or thereabouts. But after that *Ieptha* had gouerned ſixe yeers, he deceaſed, and was buried in Sebei, in the place where he was borne, and in the countrey of *Galaad*. After his deceaſe, *Apſan* tooke vpon him the gouernment. He was of the tribe of *Iuda*, of the city of Bethleem, and had ſixtie children, thirtie males and thirty females, which he left all aliue and married: he died when he was very old, without performing any thing worthy either recitall or memory, during the ſpace of his ſeuen yeers gouernment: he was buried in his country. *Elon* a Zabulonite his ſucceſſor differed nothing from him in the ſame, and during the terme of ten yeers wherein he gouerned, he atchieued nothing that was worthy commendation. *Abdon* the ſonne of *Elon* (of the tribe of *Ephraim* of the City of Pharathon) was declared ſoueraigne Iudge after *Elon*, and is renowned onely for his felicity in his children (by reaſon that the eſtate was in peace and ſecurity, and that hee exploited nothing worthy glory) hee had forty ſonnes, who had thirty other children, and he rode accompanied with theſe ſeuenty, who were all of them expert on horſebacke. Hee left them all aliue, and died when he was very old, and was magnifically buried in Pharathon.

The Ephraimites are incenſed againſt Ieptha. *Iudg.* 12.

Almoſt fortie thouſand of the Ephraimites ſlaine.

Ieptha dieth.

Apſan was for ſeuen yeeres ſpace the Iudge in Iſrael.

Elon reigned ten yeeres.

The yeere of the world, 2773. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1191.

Abdon, Iudge.

CHAP. X.

Of SAMSONS *valour, and how many miſchiefes he did vnto the Philiſtines.*

AFTER his death, the Philiſtines had the vpper hand ouer the Iſraelites, and exacted tribute from them for the ſpace of forty yeeres. From that miſery were they ranſomed after this manner: *Manoach* an excellent man, and one of the chiefeſt of the tribe of *Dan*, recounted without exception for the onely eſteemed Prince amongſt them, had a wife moſt famous for her beauty, and excellent amongſt all other of that time; yet had he no children by her; whereat he was very ſore diſpleaſed: and for this cauſe hee made his continuall prayers vnto God (departing with his wife to his countrey farme) beſeeching him that it might pleaſe his Maieſty, to grant him ſome lawfull heire and ſucceſſour (now the place whither they reſorted, was ſituate in a broad Plaine.) Furthermore he loued his wife ſo exceedingly, that hee almoſt doted on her, and for this occaſion he was extremely iealous of her. Whileſt thus the woman liued ſolitarily by her ſelfe, an Angell of God appeared vnto her in a viſion, promiſing her a goodly, faire and puiſſant ſonne, who denounced vnto her the pleaſant meſſage of the birth of her child, which God by his prouidence would beſtow vpon her, who ſhould be goodly and admirable in his forces, and vnder whom alſo (as ſoone as he ſhould attaine to mans eſtate) the Philiſtines ſhould endure many ouerthrowes: exhorting her not to cut his haire, commanding likewiſe

The Iſraelites are ouercome by the Paleſtines. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 13. all. 10.

The yeere of the world, 2783. before Chriſts birth, 1181.

The Angell fore-telleth Samſons birth.

likewiſe that he ſhould taſte no other drinke but water (becauſe that God had ſo commanded it:)and after he had finiſhed theſe ſayings,he departed according to the pleaſure of God. As ſoone as her husband returned home againe,ſhee told him all that which the Angell had ſaid vnto her, who was amazed at the beauty and greatneſſe of the young meſſenger, who appeared vnto her after ſo ſtrange a manner, as *Manoach* was almoſt ſpent with iealouſie and ſuſpicion (which ſuch a paſſion is woont to engender.) But ſhee deſirous to mitigate his diſcontent, and that diſtruſt which he had vainely and vnaduiſedly conceiued; beſought God that it might pleaſe him once more to ſend his Angell vnto her, to the intent that her husband might ſee him. Whileſt therefore they liued in this ſort out of towne,the Angel preſented himſelfe againe (through the grace of God) and appeared vnto the woman (being apart from her husband.) But ſhee beſought him to abide vntill ſuch time as ſhe had called her husband: which when ſhee had obtained,ſhe went and fetcht *Manoach*, who notwithſtanding was not deliuered of his ſuſpition: but required him that he would againe relate vnto him all that which he had ſignified to his wife. The Angell anſwered him,that it ſufficed that ſhe onely knew it: whereupon he asked him what he was,to the end that when his ſonne ſhould bee borne, hee might both giue him preſents, and preſent him thankes. The Angell anſwered, that he had no need thereof, by reaſon that he had not brought the good newes of the birth of his ſonne for any neceſſity that hee had. *Manoach* beſought him to ſtay and receiue ſome token of kindneſſe: but he would not conſent. Finally, being inſtantly preſſed to abide and receiue ſome gift: *Manoach* killed a kid, and commanded his wife to roſte the ſame. And when as all things were in readineſſe, the Angell commanded them to lay the bread and fleſh vpon a rocke without diſhes: which being done,he touched the fleſh with a wand which he bare in his hand, and ſuddenly a flaming fire conſumed both the bread, and fleſh; and the Angell was ſeene to aſcend vp into heauen in the ſmoake,as it were in a chariot. *Manoach* was affraid leſt ſome inconuenient ſhould happen vnto him, by reaſon that they had in that ſort ſeene God: but his wife recomforted him,by reaſon that God had appeared vnto them for their profit ſake. Anon after ſhe became big with childe,and obſerued all that which had beene commanded her, and when the infant was borne,ſhe called his name *Samſon* (which is as much to ſay, as ſtrong) who preſently endowed with an excellent beauty both of mind and body,vſing his haire vnſhorne, and ſobriety in his diet, he ſeemed to make ſhew in himſelfe of ſome propheticall and more then humane forwardneſſe.

The yeere of the world, 2783. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1181.

The Angell appeareth once more vn. to Manoach.

Samſons birth. *Iudg.* 14.

It happened on a day that there was a ſolemnity celebrated in Thamna,a Citie of the Philiſtines, whither *Samſon* reſorted with his father and mother, and was ſurprized with the loue of one of the damſels of that place, requiring his father and mother that this maiden might be giuen him in marriage: which they refuſed to doe, alleadging that ſhee was not of the ſame linage that he was of, and that God would prouide him of a match to the good and profit of thoſe of his Nation: but in the end he preuailed ſo much,that he eſpouſed the maiden. Now as he ordinarily walked to her parents, it hapned one day, that being diſarmed, he met with a Lyon vpon the way, whom he graſped and ſtrangled with his hands; and hauing ſlaine him, he caſt the body of the beaſt into a wood not far diſtant from the high way. Another day,and at another time, returning in like ſort to the damſell, hee found a ſwarme of Bees which went and made their hony and habitation in the breſt of the ſame beaſt, and hee tooke three hony-combes which he carried with other preſents vnto his betrothed. After this,he inuited the Thamnites to the celebration of his marriage, who (for that they ſuſpected his forces) vnder colour to doe him honour, choſe out thirtie of their ſtrongeſt and valianteſt young men, whom in words they aſſigned for his companions, but in effect appointed for his guardians; to the end hee might not attempt any commotion at ſuch time as he had drunke deepely: and there was nothing intended but ſport, according as it is the cuſtome in other ſuch like occaſions. To whom *Samſon* ſaid, I will propoſe a queſtion vnto you, which if any one of you can reſolue, I will giue each of you a fine linnen ſhirt,and other veſtments in reward of your prudence. They being very deſirous both to be reputed wiſe,as alſo to gaine the reward which was propoſed,willed him to propound his queſtion:which he did in theſe tearmes: He that deuoureth all,and that of himſelfe is vnpleaſant to be fed vpon,hath brought forth a moſt pleaſant kind of fruit. They trauelled for the ſpace of three dayes to finde out the ſence thereof,but they could not: and therefore they required *Samſons* beſt-beloued, that ſhee would ſound the ſecrets thereof, and diſcloſe the ſame vnto them; which if ſhee failed to performe, they threatned to burne her to death. *Samſon* at the firſt (notwithſtanding all her flatteries and ſollicitations) denyed to tell it her: at laſt ſhee vrged him ſo inſtantly, and ſhed ſo many teares (telling him that if he did not expound the queſtion vnto her,

Samſon teareth a Lyon in pieces with his hands.

Samſon marrieth one of the daughters of the Paleſtines.

Samſon propoundeth a riddle to the Thamnites.

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that she would take it for a certaine signe that he hated her: that at last he told her what hapned with the Lyon which he had slaine, and how in him hee had the three hony-combes which hee brought vnto her: and (suspectlesse of either fraud or guile) he deciphered the whole story vnto her, and shee afterwards reported the same to those that had besought her in that behalfe. When as therefore the seuenth day was come wherein the question was to bee decided, they assembled themselues together about sunne-set, and said: There is nothing more irksome to meete withall then a Lyon, neither any thing more pleasant to taste, then hony: Whereunto *Samson* replyed, that there was not any thing more fraudulent then a woman, for shee it is that hath reported my words vnto you. Notwithstanding all this, he deliuered that which he had promised them out of that booty, which he had taken from certaine Ascalonites, whom he encountred vpon the way. From that time forward hee forsooke this marriage, and the woman (the more to despite him) married one of his friends, who had in his behalfe first sollicited the marriage. *Samson* (beeing the more incensed by this iniury) resolued to reuenge himselfe both on her, and the whole nation: For which cause in the summer season (when the corne was ready to be reapt) hee tooke three hundreth foxes, to whose tayles he fastned flaming torches, and droue them into the Philistines fields of corne, consuming by this meanes all their haruest hope. The Philistines vnderstanding that *Samson* had done this, and conceiuing the reason that induced him to execute this action, sent their garrison to Thamna, and burnt this woman aliue with all her kinred, as the authors of that losse that had hapned vnto them. After that *Samson* had slaine diuers Philistines in the countrey, hee went and dwelt at Etam (which is a strong rocke in the tribe of *Iuda*.) For which cause the Philistines assailed that tribe, who certified them that there was no reason why they should suffer for those offences which were committed by *Samson*, and that in especiall, because they paied them tribute. The Philistines replied, that except they would not be maintainers of this act of iniustice, they should deliuer *Samson* vnto them. They therefore (desirous that the Philistines should haue no cause of quarrell against them) came vnto the rocke to the number of three thousand men, or thereabouts, and blamed *Samson* for those actions which hee dared to commit against the Philistines (a people that might endomage all the nation of the Hebrewes) alledging further that they came to the end to take, surprize and deliuer him into the Philistines hands, praying him to submit himselfe voluntarily to that their resolution. *Samson* made them sweare that they would doe him no further iniury, but deliuer him onely vnto their enemies, and that done, he descended from the rocke, surrendring himselfe to the hands of those of Iuda, who bound him with two cables, and led him away to deliuer him to the Philistines. Now being arriued in a certaine place, which before that time had no name, and at this present is called the Maxilla, that is to say, a Iawe (by reason of the valour which *Samson* shewed in that place) and approaching neere the Philistines campe; shouting and reioycing in their presence, by reason that they had faithfully executed that which they willed them) *Samson* brake his bonds, and catching vp the iawe of an Asse which hee found at his feete, and marching foorth against the Philistines, he slewe and beat downe to the number almost of two thousand of them, putting all the rest to flight and confusion. *Samson* (becomming more elate after this execution then he ought to haue beene, and confessing not that it was done by the assistance of God, but attributing the same to his owne vertue) gloried, that with the iawe of an Asse he had partly slaine, and partly constrained the enemies both to feare and flie. But being seized with an exceeding thirst, hee acknowledged and confessed that mans force is of no force, and protested that all ought to be ascribed to God, who he besought that he would not be displeased with that which he had spoken, but that it might bee remitted, and himselfe deliuered from the present danger. Whereupon God heard his praiers, and caused a pleasant and aboundant fountaine to issue and spring from the foote of a rocke: for which cause *Samson* called the place Maxilla or Iaw, which name continueth euen vnto this day. After this battaile *Samson* set light by the Philistines, and went to Gaza where he soiourned in an Inne. The gouernours of the Citie vnderstanding of his arriuall, set men to keepe the gates, to the end hee might not depart without their knowledge. But *Samson* (beeing no waies ignorant of that which they intended against him) arose about midnight & carried away the gates, with the hinges and lockes and all the furniture of the same; and laying them on his shoulders, carried and cast them on the mountaine Hebron. Not long after that, hee transgressed the ordinance of his fathers, and corrupted his domesticall manner of liuing, conforming himselfe to the fashions of the Gentiles, which was the source and of-spring of all his ruine. For hee was surprized and intangled with the loue of one that was called *Dalila* (which was a common strumpet amongst the Philistines.) To her resorted the gouernours of the Philistines,

Samsons wife discouereth the riddle to the Thamnites.

Samson killeth certaine Ascalonites, and his wife marrieth with another. *Iudg.* 15.

Samson burneth the Palestines fruite.

Samson is deliuered to the Palestines.

Samson with the iaw-bone of an Asse killeth a thousand men.

Samson by his prayers causeth a fountaine to breake out of a rocke.

Samson beareth away the gates of Gaza.

A Philiſtines, and by promiſes wrought ſo much with her, that they wrought her to worke out of him wherein his force conſiſted, and what the cauſe was that he might not bee apprehended by his enemies. Shee (conuerſing with him in drinking and keeping him company) tolde him that ſhee maruailed at his actions, and by ſubtill inſinuations practiſed to vnderſtand the manner and cauſe that made him ſo excellent in vertue. But *Sampſon* (that as yet was ſubtill, ſtaied and well gouerned) in countercheck of her craft anſwered her: that if he were tyed with ſeuen vine branches that were yong and pliant, hee ſhould become the moſt feebleſt amongſt men. Whereupon for that time ſhee contented her ſelfe; and hauing giuen notice thereof to the gouernours of the Philiſtines, ſhee had in her houſe certaine men of warre: then when he was drunke and a-
B ſleepe, ſhee bound him as ſtrongly faſt as might bee poſſible, and ſodainly waking him, told him that certaine ſouldiers were at hand to aſſaile him: but *Sampſon* brake the bonds of the vine branches, and addreſſed himſelfe to repulſe the aſſaults of thoſe that lay in waight to offend him. The woman fruſtrate of that hope which ſhe expected, not long time after that (getting a fit opportunitie, in that *Sampſon* conuerſed continually) began grieuouſly to complaine againſt him, for that diſtruſting her loue and conſtancy, hee had concealed that from her which ſhee moſt of all deſired to know, as if ſhe had beene inſufficient to conceale that which might any waies concerne the fortune and ſafety of her beloued: But he deceiued her the ſecond time, and ſaide vnto her, that if hee were tyed with ſeuen cords, hee ſhould loſe his force. Which when ſhee had done, and found a contrary iſſue to her expectation, the third time *Sampſon* told her, that if ſhee pleighted his haire with a fillet, hee ſhould be weakned: and hauing experimented that alſo, ſhee found
C that it was falſe. Finally (for that a great misfortune attended vpon him) ſhee beſought him ſo much, that at laſt hee condeſcended to gratifie her, and ſpake to her after this manner: God hath care ouer mee, and I am by his eſpeciall prouidence bred and brought vp: for this cauſe I nouriſh this haire, for that God hath commanded me not to cut the ſame, becauſe my force ſhall endure and augment as long as theſe lockes ſhall endure and grow. Which when ſhee vnderſtood, ſhee ſhaued off his haire and betraied him to his enemies, whoſe forces at that time he was too feeble to reſiſt, who plucked out his eyes, and led him away bound: but in ſpace of time his haire grewe againe, and at ſuch time as the Philiſtines celebrated a publique feaſt (wherein the Princes and Peeres banquetted and entertained one another in one place, which was a houſe, the couer whereof was ſuſtained with two pillars) *Sampſon* was ſent for, and brought to the feaſt, to
D the end they might mocke at him in the midſt of their feaſts and drunkenneſſe. But hee taking it more grieuouſly then all other the euils which hee indured, that hee might not reuenge himſelfe on thoſe that thus iniuriouſly did iniure him: hee wrought ſo much with the boy that led him, that he approched and tooke hold of the foreſaid pillars, telling him that hee had great neede to repoſe himſelfe, conſidering the trauell that he had ſuſtained. As ſoone therefore as he got holde on them, he ſhooke them in ſuch a ſort, as they were ouerturned, and the houſe fel vpon thoſe that were therein, who died to the number of three thouſand men: with theſe alſo died *Sampſon*, who finiſhed his daies in this ſort, after he had commanded ouer Iſrael for the ſpace of twenty yeeres:
E He was a man of great vertue, force and magnanimitie: and eſpecially in that which concerneth his end, he meriteth to be admired at, becauſe that euen vnto his latter houre hee was animated againſt the Philiſtines. And whereas hee was allured and beſotted by a woman, it ought to bee attributed to humane nature, which is ſo weake that it cannot reſiſt ſinne: otherwiſe in all other things, we ought to yeeld teſtimony of his vertue. His kinsfolke tooke his body and buried it in Saraſa his countrey, by his parents.

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Dalila the ſtrumpet ſoūdeth Sampſon, to finde out wherein his ſtrength conſiſted and is deluded.

Sampſon diſcouereth to Dalila wherein his ſtrength conſiſted: his eies are pulled out and he is led away priſoner.

The yeer of the world, 2811. before Chriſts Natiuity, 1153.

Sampſon with three thouſand Paleſtins is ſlaine. Sampſon ruled 20. yeeres.

CHAP. XI.

How the ſonnes of ELI *the high Prieſt were ſlaine in battell by the Paleſtines.*

AFTER the deceaſe of *Sampſon*, *Eli* the high Prieſt tooke vpon him the gouernment ouer the Iſraelites. During his time there was a great famine, and *Elimelech* vnable to endure
F the miſerie thereof, came from Bethleem a Citie of the tribe of *Iuda* to inhabit in the countrey of Moab, bringing with him *Naomi* his wife, and *Chelion* and *Maalon* his ſons, whom he had by her. Now when as his affairs had fallen out with as fortunate ſucceſſe as might be deſired, he married his ſonnes to certaine daughters of the Moabites, *Chelion* vnto *Orpha*, and *Maalon* to *Ruth*. Some ten yeeres after, *Elimelech* and his ſonnes dyed, the one after the other. By which miſhappe *Naomi* being caſt into great ſorrow and deſtitute of their companie, whoſe deare familiarity ſhee had preferred before the loue of her countrey: changing her reſolution

Ruth. 1. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 14. A famine in the dayes of Eli.

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(according to those occurrences that had happened her) shee determined to returne vnto her friends, by reason shee had receiued intelligence, that her countrey at that time was in goode-state. But her daughters in lawe could no wayes endure to bee separated from her, and will shee, nill shee, they would needes accompany her: but shee willing them a more happy marriage then that which they enioyed with her sonnes, and in all other things prosperity, and protesting vnto them that there was no ability in her to doe them good; shee besought them that they would stay in that place, and not (desiring to follow their wretched mother in lawe in an vncertaine euent) to lose the certaine pleasure and peaceable fruition of their countrey. These her perswasions tooke effect with *Orpha*: but *Ruth* (resolued in no sort to forsake her) attended on her mother in law (as an assured and future companion of whatsoeuer fortune should fal vpon her.) Now when as both of them were arriued in Bethleem, *Boos* (*Abimelechs* kinsman) entertained them in his house: and whereas the Citizens called her by the name of *Naamis*, she said vnto them, that it was more seemely for them to call her *Mara* (for *Naomi* in the Hebrew tongue signifieth good hap, and *Mara* is as much to say as bitternesse.) Whereas then it was haruest time, *Ruth* by the permission of her mother, went out into the fields to gleane, and gather corne for her sustenance: and it fortuned that shee met by good hap in the fields with *Boos*, who came thither likewise not long after; who beholding her, inquired and questioned with the chiefe reaper as touching the woman. Now hee had a little before that time vnderstood by her, her whole estate; which he declared vnto his master, who gaue her thankes for the good affection which shee bare vnto her mother in lawe, and of the care shee had of her deceased sonne, whom *Ruth* had married, wishing her in effect all good fortune: and not suffering her to gleane, he permitted her to reape and to gather all that which shee might, commanding his master-reaper that he should no waies let her from taking whatsoeuer she pleased: giuing order likewise, that when the reapers should take their refection, they should giue her both meate & drinke. Now when as *Ruth* had receiued graine at their hands, shee reserued it for her mother in lawe, and came home at night and brought her the sheaues. In like manner *Naomi* had reserued a portion of certaine victuals for her, which in way of honour her neighbours had sent her. Vpon her returne *Ruth* reported vnto her all those words that *Boos* had said vnto her: and *Naomi* gaue her to vnderstand that *Boos* was of her kin, and that it might be that he was mooued by deuotion towards God to haue care of her. Some other daies after, *Ruth* issued againe with *Boos* handmaids to gather her gleanings. And certaine dayes after (and about that time that they threshed barley) *Boos* came and slept on the floore: which when *Naomi* vnderstood, shee bethought her selfe of some subtill practice, whereby shee might make *Ruth* lie with him (presuming that it would bee a very good fortune for the yong woman, if they might growe in acquaintance together) for which cause she sent her to sleepe at his feete. *Ruth* (that made it a conscience to contradict her mother in lawe in whatsoeuer shee commanded her) repaired thither, and vpon her first arriuall *Boos* perceiued nothing (because he was fast asleepe:) but when he awaked about midnight, and felt that there was some body that lay fast by him, hee demanded what shee was: whereupon shee told him her name, requesting him as her master, that hee would permit her to repose in that place for that time. But early in the morning, before the seruants began to fall to their worke, hee commanded her to arise, and to take as much barley with her as shee could beare, to the end she might returne vnto her mother in lawe, before that any man might perceiue that shee had slept in that place (because it is wisedome to auoide slander, especially at such time when there is occasion offered for a man to speake ill.) Touching the rest (said hee) the matter standeth thus: Thou hast a kinsman (said hee) that is more neere thee in blood then I am; thou must enquire of him, if it bee his pleasure to take thee to his wife: and if hee saith that hee liketh thee, thou must then necessarily submit vnto him: but if hee refuse thee, I will take thee for my wife according as the lawe intendeth. Now when she had reported these newes vnto her mother in law, shee gathered courage and conceiued hope that *Boos* would take care of her. Thereupon *Boos* came into the Citie about noone-daies, and called a councell of the elders, and sent for *Ruth* and his kinsman, to whom in person hee spake thus: Doest thou possesse the heritage of *Abimelech* and his successors? Who when he had publikely declared that hee was seized thereof in right of proximity, according to the ordinance of the lawe: *Boos* replyed, Thou must not (saith hee) onely obserue the lawes in part; but thou must precisely execute them according as they are. For, behold heere a yong woman, whom it behoueth thee to marry according to the lawe, if thou wilt bee inheritor of his possessions. But hee surrendred vnto *Boos*, not onely the possessions, but also the woman; by reason that *Boos* was allied also to those that were dead, & especially for that the said kinsman had already both wife and children.

Naomi after the decease of her husband & sons, departed with Ruth into her owne countrey.

Ruth goeth into Bethleem.

Ruth 2.

Boos friend to Naomi and Ruth.

Ruth 3.

Ruth by her mother in lawes perswasion lieth at Boos feete.

Ruth 4.

Boos exhorteth his kinsman to marry Ruth.

Boos

A *Boos* therefore (hauing firſt of all taken witneſſe of all the councell) called for the woman, and willed her to draw neere vnto her kinſman, and to vnlooſe his ſhooe, and ſtrike him on the face (according as the law had ordained) which done, *Boos* eſpouſed *Ruth*, by whom (about a yeere after) he had a ſonne, which *Naomi* brought vp, and by the aduice of the women ſhe called his name *Obed* (becauſe ſhe had nouriſhed him in her age: for *Obed* in the Hebrew tongue ſignifieth a ſlaue.) *Obed* begat *Ieſſe*, and *Ieſſe* begat *Dauid*, who was King, and who left the Realme to his ſucceſſours for one and twenty generations of men. I haue been enforced to declare theſe things as touching *Ruth*, becauſe I haue an intent to declare the power of God, to whom it is poſſible to raiſe men from obſcurity to the higheſt tippe and title of dignity, as he had choſen *Dauid*, who deſcended from theſe of whom I haue ſpoken.

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Boos begetteth Obed Dauids grandfather vpon Ruth. 1 *Kings* 2.

B The affaires of the Hebrewes were at this time in very poore eſtate, and they armed themſelues anew againſt the Philiſtines vpon this occaſion: The High Prieſt *Eli* had two ſonnes, *Ophni* and *Phinees*. They againſt all right and law (offering outrages to men, and vrging impieties againſt God) ſuffered no ſinne to ouer-ſlip them which they committed not: for they tooke preſents (partly in way of honour, partly rauiſhed by force and rapine.) And as touching thoſe women that came vnto the Tabernacle in way of deuotion, they abuſed them, and rauiſhing ſome againſt their wils; and corrupting ſome others by preſents, they ſo lewdly liued, that their life ſeemed to be a true and licentious tyranny: for this cauſe their father was ſore diſpleaſed with them, but the people were ſo much the more ouer-burdened with griefe, becauſe as yet they perceiued not that Gods puniſhment ſhould ſo ſuddenly fall vpon them. But

Ophni and Phinees the wicked ſonnes of Eli the High Prieſt. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 15. al. 12.

C incontinently after that God had declared to *Eli* and the Prophet *Samuel* (who about that time was very young) what miſhap ſhould fall vpon *Elies* children, hee mourned ouer them, as if they had beene already dead. (But I will firſt of all declare ſomewhat vnto you as concerning the Prophet *Samuel*, and afterwards will I ſpeake of the children of *Eli*, and what inconuenience fell vpon all the Hebrew Nation.) *Elcana* was a Leuite of baſe condition, liuing in Ramatha a part of Ephraim: he had married two wiues, the one called *Anna*, the other *Phenanna*: by *Phenanna* he had children; yet notwithſtanding loued he *Anna* very intirely, although ſhee were barren. Now as *Elcana* with his wiues repaired to Silo, where the Tabernacle of God was reſident (as we haue before declared) to the intent to offer ſacrifice in that place: whileſt, I ſay, during the feſtiuall he diſtributed the portion of his meate to his wiues and children, *Anna*

Anna the wife of Elcana requireth a ſon at Gods hand.

D (beholding the children of his other wife ſitting round about their mother) began to weepe and lament with her ſelfe, becauſe ſhe was without iſſue and alone. And after that by her griefe ſhee had ouercome all that conſolation which her husband could giue her, ſhe went vnto the Tabernacle to beſeech God that it might pleaſe him to giue her a ſonne, and make her a mother; promiſing that her firſt begotten ſonne ſhould be dedicated vnto the ſeruice of God, and ſhould lead a particular life farre differing from that of other liuing men. And for that ſhe employed long time in making her prayers, the High Prieſt *Eli*, who ſate before the Tabernacle, commanded her to depart from thence, ſuppoſing that ſhee had taſted too much wine: but after that ſhee had told him that ſhee drunke nothing but water, and that (being oppreſſed with griefe) ſhee was come into the Tabernacle to beſeech God that it might pleaſe him to grant her children;

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E he exhorted her to be of good courage, promiſing that God had heard her prayers: whereupon ſhee returned to her husband repleniſhed with good hope, and tooke her repaſt with ioy and gladneſſe. When as then they returned to their owne houſe, ſhe began to waxe big with childe, and at laſt ſhe bare a little young ſon, whom ſhe called *Samuel* (that is to ſay, Requeſted at Gods hands.) Afterwards they returned to offer ſacrifice, and giue thankes vnto God for the birth of the childe, which God had giuen them, and to bring their tenths; whereupon the woman (remembring her of the vow ſhee had made in his behalfe) deliuered him into the hands of *Eli*, and conſecrated him vnto God to be his Propher. For which cauſe they ſuffered his haire to grow, and he dranke nothing but water, and *Samuel* was nouriſhed and brought vp in the Temple: *Elcana* had by *Anna* other ſonnes and three daughters. But as touching *Samuel* (incontinently

Anna bare Samuel to Elcana her husband.

F after he had attained to the age of twelue yeeres) he prophecied. On a certaine night therefore whileſt he ſlept, God called him by his name: and he ſuppoſing that the High Prieſt had wakened him; came vnto him: but he told him that he had not called him. This notwithſtanding, God continued to call him three times: whereat *Eli* being ſore amazed, he ſaid vnto him, *Samuel*, I neither now at this preſent, nor before this time haue ſpoken vnto thee, but it is God that calleth thee, anſwer him therefore, and ſay, Here I am. Now it chanced that he heard the voice of God once more; and he required him that it might pleaſe him to ſpeake, and he would anſwer, not

1 *King.* 3.

The yeere of the world, 2818. before Christs Natiuitie, 1146.

failing any waies to doe him ſeruice in that wherein he ſhould command him. Whereunto God G
anſwered, ſaying: Since (ſaith he) thou art here, know that ſo great a calamitie ſhall fall vpon the
Iſraelites, that there is not any tongue that may expreſſe the ſame, or man that may beleeue it.
The ſonnes of *Eli* ſhall die, and the Prieſthood ſhall bee tranſported into the family of *Eleazar:*
For, *Eli* hath more loued his children then my ſeruice, and more then was expedient for them.

God foreſheweth Samuel of the death of Eli and his ſons. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 16. 1. *Reg.* 4.

Eli inforced the Prophet by imprecations to declare vnto him that, which he had heard. But
Samuel (for feare he ſhould diſcomfort him) would not diſcloſe the ſame vnto him, which made
him the more aſſured of the intended and imminent death of his ſonnes. And becauſe that
which *Samuel* prophecied in effect prooued true, his reputation increaſed daily more and
more.

The Paleſtines kill foure thouſand of the Iſraelites.

In that time the Philiſtines (leading out their army againſt the Iſraelites) incamped neere H
vnto the City of Amphec, and for that the Hebrewes were negligent to withſtand them, they
paſſed further into the countries thereabout: ſo that in fighting with their enemies, the Philiſtines
at laſt got the vpper hand, and ſlew the Hebrewes, and had them in chace, for the ſpace of foure
miles, purſuing the reſt of thoſe that fled euen vnto their owne tents. Whereupon the Hebrewes
grew iealous and affraid of their whole eſtate: and therefore ſent they to the councell of the El-
ders and the high Prieſt, praying them to bring the Arke of God with them, to the end that ha-
uing it in preſence with them, they might ſtrike the battell and ouercome their enemies. But
they bethought them not, that he that had pronounced the ſentence of their calamitie againſt
them, was greater then the Arke which was made for him. The Arke then was brought, and the
ſons of *Eli* attended it, whom their father had expreſly commanded, that if it ſo fell out that the I
Arke were taken, they ſhould neuer more come before his preſence, except they would die. Now
Phinees executed the office of the high Prieſt, by the permiſſion of his father, by reaſon he was
very aged.

The yeere of the world, 2850. before Christs Natiuitie, 1814.

The Hebrewes bring the Arke into the battell.

The Hebrewes becauſe of the preſence of the Arke conceiued very great hope and aſſu-
rance, that they ſhould haue the vpper hand of their enemies. The Philiſtines likewiſe were ſore
amazed, fearing the preſence of the ſame: but the iſſues were not anſwerable according to the
one or the others expectation. For when they ioyned battell, the victory which the Hebrewes
hoped ſhould be theirs, fell vnto the Philiſtines; and the loſſe which the Philiſtines feared, fell
vpon the Hebrewes, who at laſt perceiued that they had repoſed their confidence on the Arke
all in vaine. For as ſoone as their enemies, and they fought pell mell with them, they turned I
their backes, and loſt about thirtie thouſand men, amongſt whom the ſonnes of the high Prieſt
were ſlaine, and the Arke was taken and carried away by the enemie.

Ophni and Phinees with thirtie thouſand are ſlaine and the Arke is ſurprized by the enemy.

CHAP. XII.

ELI *vnderſtanding of the loſſe of his ſonnes, fell from his ſeate and dyed.*

Eli vnderſtandeth of the loſſe of his ſonnes, and the ſurprizall of the Arke.

AS ſoone as the newes of this ouerthrow was brought into Silo, and that it was certainly
knowne that the Arke was taken (for a yong Beniamite, who was at the execution, was L
come to bring tidings thereof) all the Citie was filled with ſorrow: and *Eli* the high
Prieſt (who ſate in one of the gates on a high throne) vnderſtanding the lamentation, and iudge-
ing that ſome diſaſter had befallen his people; ſent to ſeeke out this yong meſſenger, by whom
he was aduertiſed of that which had hapned. This accident of his ſonnes and the army he bare
with great moderation, becauſe that before that time he had vnderſtood by God what ſhould
happen (for thoſe aduerſities which are leaſt ſuſpected, doe more grieuouſly oppreſſe vs, at ſuch
time as they happen:) But when he knew that the Arke was ſurprized, and in the enemies hands,
by reaſon that it hapned beyond his expectatiõ, he was in ſuch ſort attainted with griefe, that he
ſuffered himſelfe to fall from his throne vpon the ground, where he died: he liued ninety and
eight yeeres in all, and had ſpent fortie of them in the gouernment of the people. M

Eli hearing of the loſſe of the Arke died.

The ſame day died the wife of *Phinees* the ſonne of *Eli*, who had no more power to liue,
when ſhe vnderſtood of the misfortune of her husband: for ſhe was with childe at ſuch time as
the meſſage of this his death was brought vnto her, and ſhe brought forth a ſonne in the ſeuenth
month, which liued and was called *Ichabod* (which ſignifieth ignominie) by reaſon of the infamy
receiued at that time by the army.

Phinees wife bare Ichabod and died.

Eli was the firſt that gouerned among the ſucceſſors of *Ithamar*, one of the ſonnes of *Aaron:*
he

for before that time the houſe of *Eleazar* was poſſeſſed of the Prieſthood(the ſonne receiuing it from his father) *Eli* transferred it to *Phinees*,after him *Abiezar* his ſonne occupied the place, and left it to his ſonne *Boci*,whoſe ſonne called *Ozes* receiued it,after whom *Eli*(of whom we ſpeake at this preſent)tooke the ſame,whoſe poſterity retained that dignity till the time of the raigne of *Salomon*: for at that time the poſteritie of *Eleazar* were reinſtalled.

The yeere of the world, 2850. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1114.

The genealogy & progeny of Eli the High Prieſt.

THE SIXTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES: WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the ſixt Booke.

1 *How the Paleſtines compelled by peſtilence and famine, ſent the Arke of God backe againe vnto the Hebrewes.*
2 *The victorie of the Hebrewes vnder the conduct of* Samuel.
3 *How* Samuel, *when his ſtrength failed him through age, committed the adminiſtration of the affaires to his ſonnes.*
4 *How the people beeing offended with the manners of* Samuels *ſonnes, required a King that might rule ouer them.*
5 Saul *by Gods Commandement was anointed King.*
6 Sauls *victorie againſt the Ammonites.*
7 *The Paleſtines aſſayling the Hebrewes, are ouercome by them in battell.*
8 *The victorie of* Saul *againſt the Amalechites.*
9 Samuel *tranſlateth the Royall dignitie vnto* Dauid.
10 *The expedition of the Paleſtines againſt the Hebrewes.*
11 Dauids *ſingle fight with* Golias, *and the ſlaughter of the Paleſtines that ſucceeded.*
12 Saul *admiring Dauids fortitude, giueth him his daughter in marriage.*
13 *How the King ſought* Dauids *death.*
14 *How* Dauid *oftentimes hardly eſcaped from the Kings treaſons, yet hauing him twice in his power, how he would not hurt him.*
15 *The Hebrewes are ouercome in a great battell by the Paleſtines, wherein* Saul *the King, and his ſonnes fighting valiantly,are ſlaine.*

CHAP. I.

How the Paleſtines compelled by peſtilence and famine, ſent backe the Arke of couenant vnto the Hebrewes.

AFTER that the Philiſtines had gotten the victory ouer the Hebrewes, and taken the ſacred Arke(as we haue before this declared)they brought it with other their ſpoiles vnto the City of Azot,and placed it in maner of a trophee in the Temple of Dagon their Idoll. But on the next day after (when early in the morning they came and entred into the Temple to adore their god) they found him fallen from that baſe or pillar that ſuſtained him, and lay along vpon the ground,his face vpward before the Arke; whereat being ſore mooued,they tooke and faſtned him in his former place:and when as they came very oftentimes thither,and alwaies found him proſtrate, and adoring before the Arke, a great feare and perturbation inuaded the whole people. At length a grieuous plague, not onely ranged in the City of Azot, but alſo ſeized on all the inhabitants of the countrey. For the people being ſuddenly taken with the flixe, died in great torment, and ſome of them vomited vp their bowels, beeing corrupted and corroded with the diſeaſe. Beſides this,the whole land ſwarmed with mice,who deſtroying all things, neither ſpared the corne,nor any other fruit. The Azotians being thus ouerpreſſed with theſe calamities,and vnable any longer to indure the ſame,vnderſtood that the Arke was

1 Kings 5. Hedio & Ruffinus,chap.1. The ſacred Ark is carried into the Temple of Dagon. They of Azot are horribly plagued for taking away the Arke. Mice deuoure the fruite of the countrey of Azot.

The yeere of the world, 2850. before Christs Natiuitie, 1114.

was the cauſe thereof, and that neither the victory, neither the ſurprizall of the ſame, had any wayes procured either their good or profit. They therefore ſent vnto the Aſcalonites, requiring them that they would receiue the Arke into their Citie, who (willingly condeſcending to their embaſſage and demand) receiued the Arke, and were preſently plagued with the ſame ſickneſſes and miſhaps which the Azotians had ſuffered. For together with the Arke the calamities alſo were tranſlated, for which cauſe it was likewiſe ſent from this place into another, with whom it remained but a little while: for the inhabitants of that place being afflicted by the ſame grieuances which the other indured, ſent it to the neighbour Cities, ſo that after this ſort the Arke was conueied to fiue Cities of the Paleſtines: (exacting as it were by thoſe plagues a tribute in euery one of them of violated religion) who wearied with ſo many euils, and made examples vnto others not to entertaine the Arke, which ſo grieuouſly recompenced thoſe that receiued the ſame, perceiued that there was no other way left them, but to finde out ſome good meanes to rid themſelues of the ſame. When as therefore the Princes of the fiue Cities, of *Geth*, *Accaron*, *Aſcalon*, *Gaza*, and *Azot*, were aſſembled, they conſulted amongſt themſelues what were beſt to be done, and firſt of all they reſolued to ſend backe the Arke vnto thoſe to whom it appertained, whoſe captiuity God did reuenge, in that with it many plagues entred into the ſame Region, and ceaſed not to waſte both their men and their countrey. There were ſome that ſaid that this reſolution was vnſeemely to be executed, denying that theſe things ſhould be imputed to the captiuity of the Arke (whoſe power if it were ſo great as they intended, or if God had any wayes care of the ſame; hee would neuer haue permitted it to haue fallen into the hands of men of a contrary religion) perſwading them to digeſt theſe misfortunes with an equall minde, and ſo to thinke that all theſe things were nothing elſe but the effects of nature, which in certaine periods of times is wont to ingenerate in mens bodies, in the earth, and in plants, (and in other things ſubiect to her power) theſe kinds of alterations and mutations. But the counſell of thoſe men, that had approoued their vnderſtanding and wiſedome in times paſt, was preferred before their opinion. For the aſſiſtants ſuppoſed that in this deliberation, as alſo their opinion and counſell was moſt conuenient. They therefore aduiſed that the Arke ſhould be ſent backe and not retained, and that the fiue Cities ſhould dedicate fiue golden ſtatuaes in teſtimonie of their gratitude, becauſe they had beene preſerued by his fauour from that plague, from which by humane remedies it was impoſſible to eſcape: they annexed alſo ſo many golden mice vnto them, like vnto thoſe that ſpoiled their country. All theſe locked in a cheſt and laid vpon the Arke, they commanded that a new Cart ſhould be built, and that they ſhould yoake and tie to the ſame certaine kine that had new calued, locking vp their calues from them, leſt they ſhould be an impediment to their dammes, and (to the intent that through the deſire to ſee their yong) they ſhould haſte the faſter. That done, that driuing the chariot and them, they ſhould leaue them in a place that had three wayes, and ſuffer them to draw that way that them liſted: and if they tooke the way of the Hebrewes, and ſhould trauell towards their countrey, they then ſhould aſſure themſelues that it was the Arke which was the cauſe of their euils; but if they drew another way, let them (ſaid they) be driuen backe againe, being moſt aſſured that the Arke hath no ſuch vertue in it. This counſell was approoued by euery one of the aſſembly, and preſently effected: ſo hauing prepared all thoſe things whereof we haue ſpoken, they brought the Chariot into a high way that extended three wayes, and leauing it in that place, they returned backe againe.

1 Kings 6.

Conſultation about the Arke.

The concluſion of the counſell as touching the ſacred Arke.

CHAP. II.

The victory of the Hebrewes vnder the conduct of SAMVEL.

The yeere of the world, 2851. before Christs Natiuity, 1113.

The ſacred Arke cõmeth to Bethſama. The gratulation of the Bethſamites vpon the arriuall of the Arke.

NOVV when the kine entred and kept the right beaten way, and trauailed therein no otherwaies then if ſome men had led them, the gouernours of the Philiſtines followed after them, deſirous to vnderſtand whither they would trauell, and in what place they would reſt both themſelues and the chariot. There is a borough in the tribe of Iuda called Bethſama, towards which they drew: and although they had a very faire Plaine before them, yet would they not trauell any further, but reſted the charriot in that place. The inhabitants came vnto this ſpectacle, & greatly reioyced therat: for although it was ſummer time (wherin euery one buſied himſelfe in gathering in the fruits of the field) yet ſo it was, that when they perceiued the Arke, they were ſo tranſported with the pleaſure that they had, that they laid aſide the worke wch they had in hand, and ran preſently vnto the Chariot. Then taking downe the Arke and the Cofer (wherin the

A the ſtatuaes of gold, and golden rats were, they laid them vpon a certaine rocke in the field, and after they had ſolemnly ſacrificed and royally feaſted together, they offered vp both the chariot and kine for a burnt offering vnto God. Which when the Princes of the Paleſtines perceiued, they returned backe againe into their owne countrey. But Gods indignation and diſpleaſure was whetted againſt the Bethſamites: ſo that ſeuentie of them were ſlaine, by reaſon they had touched the Arke, & with prophane hands (not being Prieſts) attempted to ſuſtaine it. For which cauſe the inhabitants thereabouts lamented their loſſe, and mourned for that their countrimen were extinguiſhed by no fatall death, but by a puniſhment and plague ſent from God, lamenting in particular euery one of their alliance. And ſuppoſing that they were vnworthy that the Arke ſhould remaine with them, they ſent meſſengers to the gouernours and the reſt of the He-
B brewes, to let them vnderſtand that they had recouered the Arke out of the hands of the Philiſtines; who being made priuy to euery accident, placed the ſame in Cariathiarim a Citie bordering vpon the Bethſamites. In that place there dwelt a man of the race of the Leuites, called *Aminidab* (who had the honour and reputation of a good man, and was renowned for his good and godly life) to his houſe directed they the Arke, as to a place agreeable vnto God, becauſe there dwelled in the ſame a man of ſo much vertue. His ſonnes had the charge of the Arke, and continued in that ſeruice for the ſpace of twenty yeeres, during which time it remained in Cariathiarim, after it had onely remained 4. moneths with the Philiſtines. During the time that the Arke was in the Citie of Cariathiarim, all the people conuerted themſelues vnto God with prayers and ſacrifices, ſhewing great deuotion and forwardneſſe in his ſeruice. The Prophet
C *Samuel* perceiuing this their readines in courage, and ſuppoſing he had got a fit occaſion to exhort them vnto libertie, and thoſe profits which conſequently follow the ſame; and applying his ſpeech vnto the opportunitie, time & affaires, ſpake vnto thē ſuch words as ſounded to this effect: Yee men of Iſrael, ſince at this preſent the Philiſtines ceaſe not to moleſt you, and God beginneth to ſhew himſelfe merciful and fauourable vnto you: it behoooueth you, not onely to be touched with a deſire to recouer your liberty, but alſo to endeuour your ſelues to purchaſe the ſame in effect. Beware therefore leſt through your owne manners you make your ſelues vnworthie therof, and let each one of you endeuour to follow iuſtice; and expulſing all ſinne out of your
D mindes, conuert your ſelues in all puritie vnto God, and perſeuere conſtantly in his ſeruice. For in doing theſe things, you ſhall ſhortly obtaine all felicitie, and eſpecially purchaſe vnto your ſelues a new libertie, and an aſſured victory againſt your enemies; which neither by armes, neither by the ſtrength of your bodies, neither by the multitude of your armies, you were able to obtaine: for God hath not propoſed rewards for theſe things, but for vertue and iuſtice, who (truſt me) will not deceiue your expectation, nor faile in the execution of his promiſes. When he had ſpoken after this manner, all the people teſtified their conſent in good words, ſhewing the pleaſure they had conceiued by his diſcourſe, promiſing to doe that which ſhould be well liking and agreeable vnto God. Whereupon *Samuel* aſſembled them the ſecond time in the city of Maſpha (which word ſignifieth conſpicuous) there erected they an Altar and ſacrificed vnto God, and after they had faſted for a daies ſpace, they publikely addreſſed them to call vpon the
E name of God. The Philiſtines in the mean ſpace, who were aſſembled together in the ſame place, had an inkling of that which the Hebrewes did, and being certified of this aſſembly, came with a great armie and many forces, intending to intrap the Hebrewes, who neither expected or were prepared for them. This ſodaine attempt of theirs ſore diſmaied and troubled the Hebrewes: ſo that they repairing and running vnto *Samuel*, told him that their hearts failed them through feare, and their minds were troubled through the remembrance of thoſe precedent loſſes which they had receiued: For which cauſe they ought to hold themſelues in quiet, for feare leſt the enemy ſhould inforce his power againſt them. Whileſt (ſaid they) thou haſt led vs hither to pray,
F ſacrifice, & offer vp our vowes vnto God, they are encāped neer vnto vs, being ready to ſurprize vs that are naked and diſarmed: we haue no other hope therfore of our ſecuritie, but that proceedeth from thee and God; who being moued by thy prayer, may giue vs meanes to eſcape from their hands. *Samuel* in way of anſwer wiſhed them to be of good cheere, promiſing them that God would yeeld them ſome teſtimonie of his aſſiſtance: whereupon ſacrificing a ſucking lambe for the people, he beſought God that it might pleaſe him to ſtretch forth his right hand for them in this battell againſt the Philiſtines, and that he would not permit them to fall this ſecond time into the enemies hands. To theſe prayers of his, God liſtned with intentiue eares, and accepted their humble hearts and dutifull obſeruance, ſmiling vpon their offering, and promiſing them both force, and victorie. Both before the ſacrifice was wholly conſumed with flame, and the ceremonies

The yeer of the world, 2811. before Chriſts birth, 1113.

Ruffinus writeth that God ſtrooke 70. of the greateſt, and 5000 of the common ſort, as it is, 2. *Kin.* 6. 1. *Kin.* 7.

The Arke is transferred into Cariathiarim.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 2.

The puniſhment of the Iſraelites.

Samuels oration to the people.

Samuels exhortation to the people as touching their repentance.

The yeere of the world, 2871. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt. 1093.

The prayers ſupplications and faſts of the Iſraelites in Maſpha.

What things in warfare are to be oppoſed againſt the enemy.

Samuel comforted the people.

Samuels ſacrifice & prayer.

The yeere of the world, 2871. before Christs Natiuitie, 1093.

remonies performed; the enemies arranged their battels in the Israelites sight, supposing that the day was already theirs, in that they had intercepted the Iewes who were vnprepared for the fight (who were not onely disappointed, but also assembled in that place to no such end.) But the matter fell out farre contrarie to that which they expected (and had they beene foretold the same, they had scarcely beleeued it.) For first of all by Gods commandement the earth trembled vnder their feete, and with vncertaine pase they knocked their heads the one against the other; some likewise were sodainly swallowed vp by the earth-quake: at length astonished by often flashes, and hauing both their eyes and hands halfe blasted and burned by the fierie lightnings that fell (so that they could not weild nor mannage their weapons) they reposed all their hope and confidence in flight. But *Samuel*, seeing them in this sort dismaied, sodainly set vpon them, and killing many of them, he ceased not to pursue the rest as farre as a place called Corræus, where he fixed and erected a stone or trophee, as a marke both of his owne victorie, and the enemies flight, and called the same The strong rocke; as a witnesse of the force that God had giuen him against the Philistines: who after they had receiued this ouerthrow, sallied not out any more against the Israelites. But remembring themselues of their feare and those accidents that fell vpon them, they remained in peace, offering no further inuasion: for the confidence which the Philistines had before that time conceiued and gotten against the Hebrewes, translated it selfe and remained with the Hebrewes euer after this victorie. And *Samuel* led forth his armie against them, and slew a great number of them, and for euer abased their pride, taking from them that countrey which before-times they by conquest had cut off from the inheritance of the Iewes, which countrey extendeth it selfe from the frontire of Geth, to the Citie of Accaron: and the rest of the Chanaanites at that time had peace with the Israelites.

The sacrifice deuoured by celestial flame a token of Gods assistance.

A horrible earth-quake among the enemies.

Samuels victorie ouer the enemie.

Samuel recouereth those lands which the Israelites had lost.

CHAP. III.

SAMVEL weakned by reason of his old age, cannot any longer gouerne the estate, and committeth it to the administration of his sonnes.

NOVV when the Prophet *Samuel* had reduced and brought the people to a good forme of gouernment, he assigned them a Citie whither they might appeale, and decide those differents that might fall out amongst them: and as touching himselfe, he trauelled twice euery yeere from citie to citie, to administer iustice vnto them, and continued the maintenance of this policie for a long time. But as soone as he perceiued himselfe to be ouerburdened with yeeres, and vnapt to execute his ordinary offices, he reserued the gouernment and superintendence of the people to his sonnes, the elder of whom was called *Ioel*, and the yonger *Abia*; and he commanded that the one of them should make his seate of iustice in Bethel, and that the other should giue audience at Bersaba, diuiding the people, and attributing each part to his particular Iudge. In these was there a manifest example and infallible testimonie, that children are not alwaies borne like vnto their fathers: but that sometimes of euill parents there are good children bred, as contrariwise at that time, of a good father there were euill sonnes begotten. For forsaking the instructions of their father, they followed a quite contrarie course, and oppressed iustice through corruptions and rewards; and, swallowed vp and surfeited in delights and pleasures, they both contemned the will of God, and the instructions of their father, who had no other care, then that the people should studie to liue well, and vprightly.

Samuel prescribeth lawes and disposeth the iudgement seat in seuerall cities. Hedio & Russinus, chap. 3. 1. *King.* 8.

Samuel committeth the gouernment and care of the commonweale to his two sonnes Ioel & Abia.

CHAP. IIII.

How the people being displeased with the manners and gouernment of the sonnes of SAMVEL, demanded a King.

WHEN as therefore the people perceiued, that the sonnes of the Prophet had cõmitted so many outrages against their lawes & policie, they were verie sore displeased, & had recourse vnto their father where he dwelled in the Citie of Ramatha; where reckoning vp vnto him the misdemeanors of his sonnes, and how through the multitude of his yeeres, he was vnfit according to his accustomed manner to administer the affaires of the common-weale, they earnestly intreated and besought him, that hee would nominate and elect some King ouer them, who might both command their nation and Empire, and exact due punish-

ment

The Israelites report vnto Samuel the lewd behauiour of his sons, and beseech him to nominate a king that may raigne ouer them.

ment on the Paleſtines, for their many and too oftentimes offered iniuries. This reſolution of the people grieuouſly tormented *Samuels* minde, who by reaſon of his innated and vpright iuſtice, miſliked of the kingly authority, as a ſtile and ſtate too imperious: for he greatly delighted himſelfe in the Ariſtocracie or gouernment of the elders, deeming no eſtate more conducible, or auailable for the ſecuritie and proſperitie of the people, then that was. And ſo did this matter diſtemper and diſtract this man, as by reaſon of his care, he could neither taſte food, nor entertaine ſleep: but all the night long toſſed and tumbled in his bed, during thoſe times complotting and imagining many things in his mind. Whileſt theſe his indiſpoſitions continued, God appeared vnto him and comforted him, willing him not to be aggrieued at that which the people had required: but that he ſhould ſuppoſe that this iniurie, not onely concerned him, but God himſelfe, whom they diſclaimed alſo for their King and ſole Gouernour ouer thē. The effect wherof they had complotted, from the day that they departed out of Ægypt: but ere it be long (ſaid he) they ſhall repent themſelues, yet ſhall not their repentance vndoe that which ſhall be done; and it ſhall appeare by thoſe counſailes they haue taken, that they haue bin contemners & ingrateful toward me by their owne confeſſion, and towards thee alſo which haſt beene their Prophet. I will therefore that you chooſe them a King, and ſuch a one as I ſhall nominate vnto thee, after thou haſt aduertiſed them what euils they ſhall endure (at ſuch time as they ſhall haue a King) & haſt publikely declared vnto them, what inconuenients follow the change which ſo vehemently and vnhappily they purſue. Whē *Samuel* vnderſtood theſe ſayings, he aſſembled the people about the break of day, and proteſted publikely vnto them, that he would eſtabliſh them a King. But ſaith he, before I ſhall effect that which you requeſt, I muſt expoſe and declare vnto you what eſtate you ſhal liue in, being vnder the ſubiection of royaltie; and how many and grieuous euils you ſhall be preſſed withall, by thoſe Kings that ſhall gouerne you. Know therefore firſt of all, that they will take your children from you, and make ſome of them coachmen, and otherſome their horſemen and archers of their guard, others their poſts and tribunes and centurions; ſome likewiſe their handicraftſmen, and armorers, and chariot-makers, and ſmiths, and forgers of other ſorts of weapons, beſides husbandmen of his fields, and plowers, and diggers of his vineyards: neither is there any thing which they ſhal not be cōpelled to do after the maner of bondſlaues, that are bought with money. They ſhall take your daughters alſo, and make them their perfumers, cookes and bakers; and they ſhall employ thē in all ſeruile offices, wherunto their chambermaides are to be imploied either by ſtripes or torture. They ſhall take from you your ſubſtance, and giue it to their Eunuches, and guard. They ſhall take your flocks, and diſtribute them amongſt their ſeruants: In a word, you & all yours ſhall ſerue one King, & ſhal be of no better reckoning then the ſlaues of his houſhold. When you ſhall endure theſe paines, then ſhall you call to remembrance al theſe things which I haue told you, and with repentance you ſhal beſeech God, that he will haue mercy vpon you, and giue you aſpeedy deliuerance from the ſeruitude of your Kings: but he ſhall not reſpect your prayers, but neglecting and repulſing them, ſhal ſuffer you to beare the penalty of your euill counſell. Although theſe future inconueniences were foretold them, yet did the people neglect and ſet light by them: and not ſuffering that ſiniſter opinion which before that time they had conceiued in their minds, to be altred or fruſtrated in them, they inſiſted with all obſtinacy; requiring (without any care of future miſhaps) that they might haue a King created ouer them, becauſe (as they ſaid) it was neceſſarie that they ſhould haue a King that might wage warre with them, to reuenge them on their enemies, and repreſſe their aduerſaries forces, and that there was no abſurditie in it, but that they might be gouerned in the ſame ſort as their neighbours were. *Samuel* perceiuing that his perſwaſions could preuaile nothing at all with them, and that they could not be diuerted from that reſolution wherein they perſiſted, he ſpake thus: Goe your waies for this time euery one of you vnto your houſes, and I will cauſe you to be aſſembled when the cauſe requireth, and when God ſhall haue informed me what King he will giue you.

The yeere of the world, 2871. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1093.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 1.

Samuel is diſcomforted through the peoples demand.

Samuel is comforted by God.

God cōmandeth Samuel to create a King.

Samuel expreſſeth vnto the Iſraelites thoſe inconueniences they ſhall ſuffer vnder a King.

The people obſtinately perſeuereth in crauing a King.

CHAP. V.

SAVL *by the commandement of God is declared King.*

The yeer of the world, 2880. before Chriſts Natiuity, 1804.

THERE was a certaine man of the tribe of *Beniamin*, noble in birth, and commendable in manners called *Cis*, who had a yong ſonne faire in face, great in body; hauing a ſpirit and iudgement farre more excellent then were the lineaments and perfections of his body, whoſe name was *Saul*. This *Cis* hauing faire Aſſes, wherein he tooke more pleaſure then

1. King. 9.

in

The yeere of the world, 2880. before Christs Natiuitie, 1084.

Saul seeketh the Asses that were lost.

in any other kinde of cattell, had lost certaine of them which were straied from the rest of his flocke: whereupon he sent his son accompanied with a seruant to search and seeke them out; who hauing trauersed and trauelled in quest of them thorow all his fathers tribe, iournied thorow the rest of the tribes, without any hope or inkling of them: for which cause hee determined to returne home againe, for feare lest his father should conceiue some care and griefe in his absence. Whilest then he arriued neere vnto the Citie of Ramatha, the seruant that followed him, certified him that there dwelt a Prophet in that place, to whose foresight the knowledge of the truth was subiect, towards whom hee counsailed him to addresse himselfe, with assurance and confidence, that by him hee should vnderstand what was become of his Asses. *Saul* replied, that he had no meanes left to recompence the Prophet, by reaspn they had consumed all the money they had brought foorth with them in their iourney. His seruant told him that he had as yet the fourth part of a sicle, with they might giue him: but they were both of them deceiued, in that they were ignorant that the Prophet was not to be bribed. When as therefore they drew neere vnto the gates of the Citie, they met with certain maidens that went out to fetch water, of whom they demanded where the Prophet dwelt: who gaue them directions, telling them that they were to make haste before that he were set downe to supper, by reason he at that time entertained diuers guests, and he himselfe was first wont to sit downe at the vpper end of the table. *Samuel* had inuited this company, by reason that all the day long hee had instantly besought God, that hee would declare vnto him, who it was that should bee established: and God also gaue him to vnderstand that he would informe him the next day after, and that about the same houre he would send a young man vnto him of the tribe of *Beniamin*. For this cause *Samuel* sat in his house expecting the assignation: which being come, he came downe vnder pretence to go to supper, and in the way he met with *Saul*. At that very instant God signified vnto *Samuel*, that it was he whom he should elect Prince and gouernour ouer the people.

Saul asketh where the Prophet dwelleth.

God certifieth Samuel whom he should create King.

Saul commeth vnto Samuel. Samuel certifieth Saul how he shall enioy the kingdome.

Saul addressing himselfe vnto *Samuel*, besought him that he would shew him the Prophets lodging, by reason that he was a stranger and knew it not. *Samuel* told him that he himselfe was the man to whom hee spake, and led him to the banquet; assuring him that his Asses (in search of whom he had trauelled so long) were in safetie, and that all mens goods were at his command. *Saul* answered: My Lord, I am too base to hope or expect so much; and further, my familie is the least of all the families: you therefore iest and mocke at me, in speaking of such things as surpasse my condition. The Prophet tooke him by the hand, and brought both him and his seruant to the table, and placed him aboue all those that were inuited, who were to the number of seuentie. *Samuel* commanded that the royall portion should bee set before *Saul*: and when the houre of bed time came, all the rest arose and departed to their houses, but *Saul* and his seruant lodged that night with the Prophet: and as soone as it was day, *Samuel* awaked *Saul*, and departing with him out of towne, he commanded him to send his seruant before, and to remaine himselfe with him behind, because he had certaine things to impart vnto him in priuate. Hereupon *Saul* sent away his seruant, and *Samuel* taking a cruet with oyle, powred the same vpon the young mans head, and embracing him, said: Bee thou King elected by God against the Philistines, and for the defence of the Hebrewes. Thou shalt haue this signe which I now shall informe thee of, of thy future honour: When thou shalt be parted from hence, thou shalt ouertake three men in the way, who trauell to Bethel to adore and sacrifice vnto God: the first of which, thou shalt see bearing three loaues, the second shall beare a goate, & the third shall follow carrying a glasse of wine. These shall embrace thee and caresse thee: they shall giue thee two loaues, and thou shalt receiue them. And from thence shalt thou depart vnto that monument that beareth the name of Rachel, where thou shalt meete with a messenger, that shall certifie thee that the Asses are found. From thence comming vnto Gabatha, thou shalt finde the Prophets assembled in their congregation, and being rauished by the Spirit of God, thou shalt prophecy amongst them: so that whosoeuer shall behold thee, shall be rauished in admiration, and shall say: Whence commeth it to passe, that the sonne of *Cis* hath attained to so good fortune? and when thou hast had these signes, know that God shall be with thee: salute thy father and thy kinsmen in my behalfe. Hereafter thou shalt repaire and be sent vnto me vnto Galgal, to offer sacrifices of thankesgiuing vnto God. Hauing in this manner told and foretold him that which is foresposen, he gaue him licence to depart: and all these things hapned vnto *Saul*, according as the Prophet *Samuel* had prophecied vnto him. When *Saul* was arriued at *Abners* house, who was his vncle (whom he loued aboue all the rest of his other familiars:) *Abner* questioned with him about his voiage, and as touching those things which had chanced vnto him: and *Saul* hid nothing from him, but

1. *King.* 10. Samuel anointed Saul King.

Samuel conducteth Saul vnto the banquet.

Samuel in way of confirmatiõ telleth Saul what shal befortune him in his iourney.

but point by point informed him of all that which had hapned vnto him, during his being and aboad with the Prophet *Samuel*, and how he had declared vnto him the recouery of his Asses: but as touching the royaltie, and those things that concerned the same, hee concealed them; supposing that if it should be made knowne, it would not be beleeued; but that he should reape hate thereby. For although he were both his friend and cousin; yet thought he it more secure and conuenient for him to burie the same in silence: reputing (as I suppose) in himselfe the infirmitie of mans nature, that no man is constant in loue, but although by manifest assistance from God, felicity fall vpon any man, yet other men doe grieue and repine that any one should be preferred before them.

The yeere of the world, 2880. before Christs Natiuitie, 1084.

Saul concealed his royall dignity.

The inconstancy of mans loue.

After this, *Samuel* assembled the people in the City of Maspha, where he framed his speech in such sort, as he certified of those things which he had receiued from God, namely, that he hauing procured their liberty, and brought their enemies in subiection vnder them; next, how they were forgetfull of so many benefits, and had degraded God of his royalty; as if they were ignorant, that the greatest good that might happen vnto men, is to be gouerned by him that is the soueraigne good; how they had determined to haue a man to their King, who according to his pleasure and appetite, or according to the vnbridled bent of his passion, would vse them like slaues made subiect vnto him, and would vsurpe vpon their goods without forbearing any thing whatsoeuer; that men are not so studious to maintaine their handie works and labours, as God, who hath an inestimable care of those whom he hath created. Notwithstanding (saith he) since you haue thus determined, and are after this manner resolued, and that the outrage which you haue enterprized against God, preuaileth with you, set your selues all of you in order according to your tribes and families, and let each of you cast your lots. To this the people condescended, and the lot fell on the tribe of *Beniamin*, which being cast the second time, light on the family of *Metri*, and afterwards being approued by the people, it fell to *Sauls* lot, who was the sonne of *Cis*, to haue the kingdome. The young man, who before that time knew what should happen, had stept aside, to the intent (as I suppose) that it might not seeme that he had desired this dignity; and such moderation and temperance shewed he in this matter, that although it so fell out, that diuers cannot conceale the ioy they conceiue, if any face of felicity smile vpon them; but manifest the same vnto all men: yet notwithstanding he not onely was voide of vaine appearance (although he were to be King and Lord of so many worthy people) but that wch is more, he stole away from the presence of those men ouer whom he should command, and so handled all things that he made them seeke after him, and trauell to find him out. Whilest therefore they carefully sought, and knew not what was become of *Saul*, the Prophet praied God that he would shew thē where he was, & that he would bring him into their presence: when as therfore he was enformed by God in what place he remained; *Samuel* sent out certaine messengers to conduct him thither, and assoone as he came amongst them, *Samuel* set and placed him in the midst of the people: now was hee more high then any of the company by the shoulders; and had a Kingly and goodly shape and appearance: then spake the Prophet after this manner, God hath giuen you this man to be your king, behold how he surpasseth you al, and shewes himself worthy to be your Prince. But as soone as the people had cried God saue the King; the Prophet, who had reduced into writings all those mischiefes that should befall them, read the same vnto them in the hearing of the King, and put the book into the Tabernacle of God for a perpetuall testimony vnto posterity of those things which in future ages should succeed, according as he had fore-prophecied: which done, *Samuel* dismissed the people, and returned to the City of Ramath, which was his countrey. But *Saul* departing vnto Gabatha, diuers worthy men gaue their attendance on him, and did him the honor that appertained vnto a King. But diuers seditious and loose companions, who set him at noughts, both mocked them, and those things which they did, neither brought they any presents vnto *Saul*, neither seemed they either in affection, or in word, any wayes to respect their King. A moneth after this instalment, there fell a war betwixt him and *Naas* King of the Ammonites, which was the originall of that honour which was generally attributed vnto him by the whole multitude: this *Naas* had offered diuers outrages vnto those Iewes that dwel on the other side of Iordan. For he had trauersed the riuer with a great & huge army leuied against them; and had ouercome diuers of their Cities. For at that time he vsed force and violence against them: and to the intent that they might not rebel, neither deliuer thēselues from his subiection, he vsed this subtilty & preuention to cut off al colour & occasion from them, of opposition. For to those that surrendred themselues, and subscribed to his mercy, & to those that were taken captiues, or conquered in the wars, he plucked out their right eyes: and this did he to that intent, that when they

Lots cast thorow euery tribe and family.

Sauls modesty and temperance in vndertaking the gouernment.

Saul hideth himselfe from the presence of the people.

Saul of a high stature.

Saul saluted by the people for their king.

Diuers attend on Saul, other some contemne him. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 5. 1. *King.* 11.

The yeere of the world, 2880. before Christs Natiuitie, 1084.

Sauls warre against the Ammonites.

ſhould defend themſelues, they ſhould haue their left eyes couered with their bucklers, and by that meanes be made vnapt to enter battell. The king of the Ammonites hauing after this manner dealt with thoſe on the other ſide of Iordan, he led his armie towards the Galaadites, and encamped neere vnto their chiefe Citie called Iabes, to which he ſent Heraulds to ſummon the inhabitants to ſurrender the ſame, vnder theſe conditions: either to ſuffer their right eyes to be pulled out, or elſe by enduring the ſiege, to ſee the finall ouerthrow both of themſelues, & of their City: wiſhing them to make choice of which they liſt, whether they would loſe a little part of their bodie, or hazard both their fortunes and liues at once. The Galaadites, terrified with this ſo doubtfull and dreadfull an election, neither durſt returne an hoſtile or peaceable anſwer, but asked truce for ſeuen dayes, to the end that ſending their meſſengers to their kinsfolke, they might craue their aide: which if they could obtaine, they would warre; and otherwiſe they promiſed to ſubmit themſelues vnto the enemy, vnder what condition ſoeuer were beſt pleaſing vnto him. *Naas*, that neither cared for the Galaadites, neither for their anſwer, granted them that time of truce which they demanded, and permitted them likewiſe to craue aſſiſtance at all their hands, who were their aſſociates. Whereupon they preſently ſent meſſengers from city to city, and certified the Iſraelites of all that which *Naas* had done vnto them, and the extremity whereunto they were reduced. The Iſraelites hauing beforetime vnderſtood in what eſtate they of Iabes were, had grieuouſly lamented and conceiued great diſpleaſure thereat; but the feare that afflicted them, ſuffered them to aſſiſt their friends in no other manner then by commiſeration: yet as ſoone as their meſſengers arriued in the Citie where *Saul* was, and that they had recounted vnto him the dangers wherewith the Iabeſites were oppreſſed; the people were as in times paſt mooued with compaſſion. For they lamented the miſerie of their Parents: but as touching *Saul*, he returning from the fields into the Citie, perceiued the inhabitants drowned in their teares, and enquiring of them for what cauſe they were ſo confuſed and abaſhed, hee was certified of that, which the meſſengers had reported: and on the inſtant he was rauiſhed by a diuine motion, and ſent the Embaſſadours backe againe to thoſe that ſent them, promiſing that within three dayes he would come and ſuccour them, and that he would haue the vpper hand of the enemie before ſunne-riſe, to the end that the riſing ſunne might behold them victorious, and deliuered from all feare. Meane while he commanded ſome of them to make ſtay with him, to the intent they might guide and direct him in his way.

Naas King of the Ammonites offereth vniuſt conditions of peace to the Galaadites.

The Embaſſadours of the Galaadites to the Iſraelites.

Saul promiſeth aſſiſtance to the Iabeſites.

CHAP. VI.

The combate and victorie of SAVL *againſt the Ammonites.*

Sauls ſerious exhortation & command for warre.

SAVL deſirous to incite the people to iſſue out and make warre vpon the Ammonites, to the intent vnder a penaltie he might aſſemble them with more readineſſe, he houghed his owne oxen, and threatned all thoſe whom he met withall to doe the like vnto theirs, except the next day they preſented themſelues with their armes vpon the banke of Iordan to follow the King, and the Prophet *Samuel*, and march vnto the place whither by them they ſhould be conducted.

1 Kings 11.

The feare of this penaltie publiſhed among the tribes, made them gather to head about the ſame time, ſo that all the aſſemblies of the people were muſtered in the City of Bala. In this ſuruey, beſides thoſe of the tribe of *Iuda*, there were numbred ſeuen hundred thouſand men, and of the tribe of *Iuda* in particular, there were ſeuenty thouſand. Hauing therefore paſſed Iordan and marched ſome ten cubits length of Nilus (which is about ſome three leagues) all the night time, before the ſunne riſe, hee attained the place whither he intended to conduct them, and diuiding his armie into three parts, he aſſailed the enemie on euery ſide, that ſuſpected no ſuch encounter: and fighting valiantly againſt them, he ſlew diuers, and amongſt the reſt *Naas* King of the Ammonites. This victorie made *Sauls* name famous amongſt all the Hebrewes, ſo that he was wonderfully praiſed and honoured for his valour: ſo that if before that time any one had contemned him, at that time they changed their opinions and honoured him, and accounted him the worthieſt of them all. For he was not ſatisfied to redeeme and deliuer thoſe of *Iabes*, but he entred the Countrey of the Ammonites alſo, and forraged the ſame with his armie, and vtterly ouerthrew them: and after he had obtained a great booty and prey, both he and his victoriouſly and magnifically returned to their dwelling places. The people highly pleaſed with this noble action atchieued by *Saul*, reioyced becauſe they had choſen them ſo noble a King, and exclaimed againſt thoſe that ſaid, that it would be diſcommodious and vnprofitable for their common

Ten Schæni or cables length of Nilus: ſo called by the cords that drew the ſhips by Nilus, make 37. Italian miles.

Saul kils the Ammonites, and Naas their King.

Saul made his name famous amongſt the Hebrewes.

Saul is praiſed by the people.

A common-weale, saying, Where are now these murmurers? let them be put to death: with other such like words, that a people besotted with some good successe, is wont to speake and inforce against them that set light by the authors and inducers of the same. *Saul* receiued great content and comfort through this good liking and allowance of the people: yet notwithstanding he swore that no one of their tribe should be put to death that day, because it would not seeme conuenient nor agreeable, that the victorie which was giuen them by God, should be mixed with the blood of their brethren; but rather that it was more decent and comely that the time should be spent in feast and iollitie. Hereupon *Samuel* told them, that it behooued them to confirme the kingdome to *Saul* by a second election: and to that end, they assembled together in the Citie of Galgal, according as he had commanded them: and there in the sight of all the people

B *Samuel* anointed *Saul* the second time with the consecrated oyle, and proclaimed him King anew. Thus was the Aristocracie and gouernment of the better sort amongst the Hebrewes, turned into a Monarchie. For vnder *Moses* and his disciple Iesus, who gouerned the Empyre, and armie at that time, the nobilitie and elected worthy men ruled the State. After whose death for the space of eighteene whole yeeres, the people was without gouernment, the common-weale not long after reassumed her pristine policie, and the gouernment was giuen vnto him, which was esteemed the most valiant in warre, and the most vpright in doing of Iustice. All which time for this cause hath beene called the time of the Iudges.

The yeere of the world, 2880. before the birth of Christ. 1084.

Sauls lenitie against his aduersaries.

Saul once more anointed King by Samuel.

The distinct gouernments of the Hebrewes.

After this, the Prophet *Samuel* assembled the people, and spake vnto them after this manner: I coniure you by that great God that hath giuen life to those two brothers (I meane *Moses* and

C *Aaron*) and that hath deliuered your forefathers frō the Ægyptians, & their tyranny, that without any affection either of feare or shame, or instigation of any other passion, you truely testifie whether I haue committed any sinister or wicked act, either for profit sake, or for auarice, or fauor. Reproue me, If I haue taken away any mans calfe, or sheepe, or any other thing whatsoeuer, but that which I might lawfully take for my reliefe and sustenāce, and at such hands as willingly offered me the same; or if I haue drawn any mans beasts to my vse, or vsed his cattell to my profit and his hinderance: in these and such like, if I haue offended any man, let him now accuse me in the presence of the King. All of them cryed out with one voyce, that no such default had beene committed by him, but that he had gouerned their nation in holinesse and iustice. After that the people had thus publikely testified in the behalfe of *Samuel*; hee said vnto them: Since you haue

D liberally & freely protested, that you haue no cause of wrong to vrge or inforce against me, heare I pray you, that wherewith I can iustly accuse you. You haue grieuously offended against the maiestie of God, in that you haue required a King at his hands: you should haue rather remembred, that your old father *Iacob* accōpanied onely with his 70. sons came into Ægypt, constrained thereunto by famine, and that in that countrey diuers thousands of persons issued from his loynes, whom the Ægyptians kept in captiuity, offering them extreme outrages: And when as your fathers called vpon God, how he wonderfully deliuered them from the necessities wherin they were, without giuing thē any King, contenting thēselues with two brothers, *Moses* & *Aaron*; who brought and conducted you into this countrey which you possesse at this present. And although you participated these benefits by the hands of God, yet notwithstanding you haue not

E forborne both to forget religion, and neglect pietie. This notwithstanding, at such time as you haue bin conquered by your enemies, he hath set you free; gracing you first of all with the ouerthrow of the Assyrians and their forces: secondly, giuing you victory ouer the Ammonites, and Moabites: and finally ouer the Philistines. Now these great exploits were performed by you, not vnder the conduct of a King, but by the direction of *Ieptha* and *Gedeon*: what folly therefore hath bewitched you to make you flie from God, and to seeke to liue vnder the subiection of a King? But I haue named such a one vnto you, whom God hath chosen to be your gouernour. Notwithstanding, to the intent that I may giue you a manifest testimony, that Gods wrath is whetted against you, because you haue desired to haue a King; I will striue to expresse it vnto you, by visible signes done by God himselfe, I will therfore require of God, that he will make you see in this

F place, & in the heart of sūmer such a storme, that there is not any one of you, that hath euer seene the like thereof: Scarce had he spoken the words, but that sodainly there fell great store of lightning, thunder & haile, in approbation of that which the Prophet had said: so that amazed & transported with feare, all of them confessed that they had offended. They notwithstanding professed that their errour was of ignorance, not of obstinacie, and besought the Prophet that with a good and fatherly affection, hee would beseech God to appease his wrath towards them, and forgiue them their offences at that present, which to their other grieuous negligences they had

Samuels iustification of himselfe in the presence of the people.

Samuel expostulateth with the people, and obiecteth their sins, and ingratitude.

A huge tempest falleth, vpon Samuels prayer.

The yeere of the world, 1880. before Christs Nativitie. 1084.

annexed, and whereby they had transgressed his holy will. All which *Samuel* promised them to doe, and besought God that it would please him to pardon them the errour which they had committed in that behalfe, and that it would please him to be appeased by his praiers. Besides this, he exhorted them to liue vprightly, and to keepe in their continuall remembrance what euils had hapned vnto them, for that they had forsaken the way of vertue; and what wonders God had done, and what lawes he had giuen by *Moses*, all which they ought to meditate on, if they desired to be in safetie, and liue happily with their King. But if they should contemne the same, he foretold them, that both themselues and their Kings should be grieuously punished. *Samuel* hauing prophecied these things vnto the Hebrewes, dismissed thē to their owne dwellings, after he had confirmed the kingdome to *Saul* the second time.

An exhortation to the consideration of Gods assistance and benefits bestowed on the Israelites.

CHAP. VII.

The Palestines, assailing the Hebrewes, are ouercome in battell.

BVT when the King had mustered his men, and chosen out three thousand of the choisest souldiers, he appointed two thousand of them for the guard of his Person, and with them went and dwelt at Bethel. The rest he gaue in charge to his sonne *Ionathan*, and sent them into Gaba to attend and guard him there; who, followed by them, valiantly ouercame a garrison of the Philistines neere vnto Gebal. For the Philistines of Gaba hauing gotten the vpper hand ouer the Iewes, had taken their armes from them, and seized and fortified both with men and munition the strongest Cities of their countrey; prohibiting them to beare armes, and in generall from the vse of any yron: by reason of which inhibition, if their husbandmen had at any time neede of any yron worke, as of plough-shares, mattockes, or any such other instrument fit for manuring or tillage of their lands, they were inforced to fetch it, and get it forged amongst the Philistines.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 6. Saul elected two thousand for his owne guard, & one thousand for Ionathans. Saul ouercommeth the Philistines.

Now when the Philistines had gotten some intelligēce that their garrison was after this manner defeated, they were wonderfully mooued, and supposing amongst themselues that the iniurie and outrage was in no sort to be suffered, they armed themselues against the Iewes, and went out embattailed with three hundreth thousand footmen, thirty thousand charriots, and sixe thousand horse, encamping with their whole host neere vnto the Citie of Machmas. Which when *Saul* the King of the Hebrewes vnderstood, he marched toward the Citie of Galgal: and as hee trauailed thorow the countrey, he animated and encouraged the people to recouer their libertie, proclaiming warre against the Philistines; whose forces he so little feared, as he mocked thereat, saying, that they deserued not to be feared for their multitudes, nor any danger which might accrew by their encountry. But when *Sauls* souldiers were certified of the true number of their enemies, they were wholly discomforted, so that some of them hid themselues in dennes and places vnder the earth, othersome fled on the other side of Iordan into the countrey of the Gadites and Rubenites. But *Saul* sent for the Prophet, resoluing to cōsult with him vpon the estate of the war, who gaue him answer, that he should attend in the same place where he was, and that he should prepare beasts for sacrifice, because that within seuen dayes he would come vnto him & sacrifice on the seuenth day: which done, he might encounter the enemie. According to this direction of the Prophet he expected, yet obserued he not intirely all that which *Samuel* had inioyned him. For when he perceiued that he was somewhat slacke in comming, and that his soldiers waxed weary, he tooke the beasts that were prepared for the sacrifice, and offered a burnt offering: but afterwards vnderstanding that *Samuel* was arriued, hee went out to meete him, and doe him honour. *Samuel* told him, that he had done amisse, by reason he had neglected that which was commanded him, presuming before his arriuall (who was sent thither by the conduct and will of God) to offer praiers and sacrifices for the people: in which action of his, he both discouered his rashnes, and disorder in sacrificing. *Saul* excused himselfe, alledging that he had staied during the terme of seuen dayes which were appointed him: vrging further, that necessitie, and the depart of his souldiours, together with the feare of the aduerse army which were in Machmas, and the intelligence hee had receiued that *Samuel* was gone to Galgal, had induced him to offer sacrifice. *Samuel* replyed, saying, Thou hadst done more aduisedly, if thou hadst obeyed, and not contemned God by thine ouerhaste, whose minister and Prophet I am: for by thine obedience thou mightest both haue gotten an assurance and continuance of thy kingdome to thy selfe, and succession to thy posterity. This said, being displeased with that which had hapned, he returned back

The Philistines prepare to inuade the Israelites.

The Israelites dismaid at the report of the army of the Philistines.

Saul sacrificeth contrary to God and the Prophets direction. Samuel accuseth Saul.

to

A to his owne houſe, and *Saul* with ſixe hundred ſouldiers (onely accompanied with his ſonne *Ionathan*) came vnto the City of Gabeon. The greater part of theſe men were diſarmed, by reaſon that the countrey was intirely deſtitute of yron; and workemen that were expert and skilfull in forging and making armour: for the Philiſtines permited them not to haue any, as wee haue declared a little before. Theſe diuiding their army into three battels, inuaded the countrey of the Hebrewes, by ſo many wayes, deſtroying and forraging all things, both in the ſight of King *Saul*, and of his ſonne, who neither could inhibite their incurſions, nor by reaſon of their multitudes make head againſt them. Both he therefore and his Sonne, and *Achias* the high Prieſt, ſate them downe vpon a hillocke, and ſeeing the countrey ſpoyled round about them, they were much diſmaied. But *Sauls* ſonne conſpired and concluded with his Eſquire and Harneſſe-bearer, to enter ſecretly into the enemies campe, and raiſe an vprore and alarum in the ſame; who willingly pro-
B miſing and offering him his ſeruice to aduenture with him in all occaſions and places, with the hazzard of his life: they both of them diſcended from the mountaine, and marched directly towards the enemies campe, who had pitched their tents on a high pointed rocke, which extended it ſelfe in length with three angles, and was each way begirt with a banke, as it were a wall and fortification againſt the incurſion of their enemies. For which cauſe they kept their watch ſomewhat too careleſly, becauſe the place was fortified by nature: ſo that no man might aſcend, or aſſaile them, but with diſaduantage. When as therefore they had gotten neere vnto the campe, *Ionathan* incouraged his commpanion, and animated him to aſſaile the enemy after this manner. If (ſaith he) they eſpie vs, and will vs to aſcend, let vs take this ſummons of theirs for an aſſured to-
C ken of victory: but if they hold their peace, and call vs not, let vs returne backe againe.

As therefore they approached the enemies hoſt, about the beginning and brie of day, the Philiſtines ſaid the one vnto the other: The Hebrewes creepe out of their caues and dens. Then cried they out to *Ionathan*, and his Harneſſe-bearer, ſaying: Come hither, come hither vnto vs, to the end wee may plague you according to your audacious enterprize. *Sauls* ſonne quickely taking hold of theſe their words, and eſteeming them for an ominous and anſſured token of victory, departed with his Eſquire from the place where they were firſt diſcouered, anſwering them that he would ſhortly viſit them. So withdrawing himſelfe on the other ſide of the rocke, which by reaſon of the ſituation thereof, was left vnguarded: ouercomming the difficulty of the place with great labour; at laſt they attained the place where the enemy was, whom they found aſleepe, and
D aſſailing them ſlue twenty of them, and filled the whole army with terror & amazednesſe: ſo that caſting away their weapons they fled amaine: ſome others being ignorant which were either their friends or foes, inuaded one another as enemies. For imagining with themſelues that onely two Hebrewes durſt neuer aſcend and enter their campe, they addreſſed themſelues to their mutuall murther and ſlaughter: ſo that ſome of them were ſlaine, others fled to eſcape the ſword, and fell headlong downe the rockes. But when as the Kings eſpials had told him what confuſion and diſorder was befallen in the campe of the Philiſtines, *Saul* demanded whether any of his company were abſent: and hearing that his ſonne and his Harneſſe-bearer were miſſing, he commanded the high Prieſt, that attired in his pontificall ornaments, hee ſhould prophecy that which ſhould ſucceede: who aſſuring him that hee ſhould obtaine the victory ouer his enemies, he ſallied out
E and aſſaulted the Philiſtines, and ranne vpon them, who were thus confuſed and diſordered, and whetted the one againſt the other. To him there flocked in great multitudes ſuch, as before times were fled into dens and places vnder ground, as ſoone as they heard that the victory inclined on *Sauls* ſide: ſo that gathering together to the number of ten thouſand Hebrewes, hee purſued his ſcattered enemies thorow all the countrey. But afterward, a great inconuenient hapned vnto *Saul*, proceeding from the ioy hee had conceiued by this victory (for commonly ſuch as are bleſſed by ſuch good fortunes, are not maſters of their owne affections and reaſons) or rather proceeding from his ignorance. For intending to ſatiate himſelfe with reuenge for all thoſe iniuries he had receiued from the Philiſtines, hee publiſhed an imprecation or curſe amongſt the Hebrewes, againſt any one whomſoeuer, that intermitting the chaſe and ſlaughter ſhould take
F ſuſtenance before night, purpoſing vntill darke night neither to giue ouer purſuite or ſlaughter. This execration thus publiſhed by *Saul*, it chanced that his ſonne that had not as yet heard of the imprecation of his Father, nor the generall ratification and allowance of the ſame by the people, falling into a certaine groue, belonging to the tribe of Ephraim, wherein were many ſwarmes of Bees, hee by chance light vpon an hony combe, and preſſing the hony thereout, afterwards did eate the ſame. Afterwards hauing intelligence that his Father had vnder a grieuous penalty of execration, forbidden any man to taſte any ſort of meate before ſunne-ſet, he gaue ouer eating further:

The yeere of the world, 2880. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1084.

Hedio and Ruffinus. Galgala. The Paleſtins ſpoyle the countrey of the Hebrewes 1 *King.* 14. Ionathan with his Harneſſe-berrer doe priuily enter the enemies campe.

Ionathan ſlaieth a certaine number in the enemies campe, the reſt inuade one another, and are put to flight.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 7. Saul hearing that there was a tumult in the Paleſtines campe, ſallieth out vpon them.

Sauls edict vnwittingly broken by Ionathan.

The yeere of the world, 2880. before the Natiuitie of Christ. 1804.

ther: yet said hee, that his father had done amisse therein in publishing that prohibition, by reason that if they had receiued sustenance, they might with greater force and forwardnesse pursue the enemy that fled, and ouertake and slaughter them in great number. Killing therefore many thousands of the Palestines partie, about the euening they began to ransacke and spoile the campe of the Philistines, and bore away from thence great spoyles, and a wonderfull number of cattell, part of which were slaine and eaten with the blood, contrary to law. Which when the Scribes had certified and signified to the King, how the people had offended against God, by slaughtering the beasts, and eating the flesh of them, before it was either washt or purified from the blood; *Saul* commanded that a great stone should be rowled into the midst of the place, and commanded the people to kill and sacrifice their beasts vpon the same: and that they should forbeare to eate the flesh with the blood, because it was not agreeable vnto God. All which was performed according as the King had commanded; and *Saul* erected an Altar in that place, on which he offred a burnt sacrifice vnto God. This was the first Altar that he erected. But *Saul* being desirous incontinently to assaile the enemies campe, and sacke all that was therein before the day spring, whilest his men of war diligently followed him, and shewed great forwardnes in the execution of his command: the King asked counsell of the High Priest *Achitob*, whether God would giue him the victorie, and permit those that should enter the enemies campe, to returne from thence with victorie. The High Priest certified him that God returned him no answer: which when he vnderstood; It is not without cause, said he, that God is thus silent, who heretofore was wont to giue a willing answer in that which we ought to doe: but there must needes be some hidden sinne in vs, that breeding an offence in him, procureth him to be silent. But I sweare by the same God, that although mine owne sonne *Ionathan* had committed that sinne; to the end I may appease God, I will with no lesse seuerity execute him, then any one stranger that is neither by alliance nor affinity tied vnto me. Now when the people cried out and encouraged him to the performance of that he had spoken, he presently assembled them in one place, and he standing with his sonne apart, began by casting lots to finde out him that was faulty. Now when the lot fell vpon *Ionathan*, he asked him what he had committed, and what crime in his own conscience he was guilty of? To whom he answered, I know no other thing, but that yesterday being in pursuite of the enemy, and ignorant of thine edict, I tasted of a hony combe: but *Saul* swore that he would slay him, setting more by his oath, then either by kinred, nature, or affection. Hee nothing astonished with his present perill, with a generous and dreadlesse minde, presented himselfe with this reply: O father (said he) I intreat no fauour at thy hands: for I will willingly submit to that death, which may discharge thee of thy vow, the more contentedly because I haue seene so famous a victorie: for I shall die throughly contented to see the insolency of the Palestines ouermastered by the power of the Hebrewes. This valour and courage of the young man mooued the whole multitude to remorse and commiseration: so that they swore all of them that they would not suffer that *Ionathan*, who was the author of so famous a victorie, should be slaine: and therfore rescued they the young man from his displeased father, and made vowes vnto God to the end he might pardon him that fault. *Saul*, after he had slaine about sixe thousand of his enemies, returned with victory to his owne home, and raigned afterwards very happily, and ouercame by force the Ammonites, Philistines, Moabites, Idumeans, Amalechites, and King *Oba* that dwelt neere about him. He had three sonnes, *Ionathan*, *Iosuah*, and *Melchi*, and two daughters, *Merob*, and *Michol*. The Generall of his Army was *Abner* the sonne of his vncle called *Neer*: for *Neer* and *Cis Sauls* father, were brothers and sonnes of *Abiel*. He was very rich both in horse and Chariots, and against whatsoeuer enemy he marched forth, he alwaies returned with victory: so that he reduced the affaires of the Hebrewes to happy estate, and so much increased their power, that they were feared by all those nations that neighboured vpon them. But the chiefest of the youth, that either preuailed in strength, or exceeded in beauty, he chose to be of his guard.

The Hebrews feede on bloody flesh.

Saul trieth by lot, who hath displeased God.

Saul intendeth to kil his owne sonne, being prepared and resolute to die.

The Israelites rescue Ionathan from his displeased father.

Oba or Soba.

Saul alwaies conquerour.

CHAP. VIII.

SAVLS *victorie against the Amalechites.*

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 8. 1. *King.* 15.

BVT *Samuel* comming vnto *Saul*, told him that he was sent vnto him by God, to admonish him how hee had chosen him aboue the rest, and preferred him to the kingdome: and for that cause that it behooued him to be obedient vnto him in all things, because he ruled the people; but God both Kings, Kingdomes, and all things. Thus therefore (said hee)

doth

doth God command thee. Since the Amalechites offered many iniuries vnto the Hebrewes in the desart, whilest in their departure out of Ægypt, they trauelled into that region which they now inhabite; it behooueth thee to punish them by a most iust warre: and hauing ouercome them, that thou vtterly extinguish their memorie, without regard either of sexe or yeeres; and this reuenge shalt thou execute vpon them, in repaiment of those iniuries they in times past offered to our forefathers. Neither shalt thou spare either beast or horse, or flocke, to apply them to thy profit or particular vse: but thou shalt consecrate all vnto God, and according as *Moses* commanded it, deface the name of the Amalechites from off the earth. All these things did *Saul* promise to performe, and supposing obedience consisted in this, not onely in the acting, but also the speedy execution of that which was enioyned him, he presently assembled all his forces together, and mustring his souldiers at Galgal, he found about forty thousand, besides the tribe of *Iuda*, which of it selfe affoorded and allowed thirtie thousand chosen men: with these did *Saul* enter the countrey of the Amalechites, and laid diuers ambushes neere vnto a riuer, not onely to afflict them with open and hostile warre, but also to enclose and surprize them at vnwares, and kill them amidst their high-wayes: He charged them therefore, and put them to flight, and discomfited their whole armie, pursuing them that fled. Which execution of his, hauing that answerable successe (according as God had promised him before) he marched onwards, and besieged the Cities of the Amalechites, and ouercame some of them by batterie, some by mines and countermures raised on the outside: othersome by famine and thirst, and diuers other waies. And in those Cities which he ouercame, he neither spared women nor children, neither supposing their murther to be cruell, neither inhumane: first, for that he executed it vpon his enemie; next, for that he did nothing but according to Gods Commandement, towards whom his disobedience might redound to his vtter ouerthrow. He tooke *Agag* prisoner also, who was the King of the Amalechites, whose beauty and personage seemed vnto him so well proportioned and perfect, that he wondred thereat, and thought him worthy to be kept aliue; and that not by Gods Commandement, but ouercome by his owne affection, vsurping vpon an vngranted priuiledge of mercie to his owne preiudice: For God so hated the Amalechites, that he spared not their infants, who ought in naturall compassion to haue beene more pitied then the rest. But *Saul* kept aliue the king of his enemies, and the author of all the Hebrewes euils, setting more by his beauty then Gods Commandement. This sin of his the people presently imitated: for they spared both horse and other kind of cattell, and made prey of them, notwithstanding that God had charged them to reserue nothing. They carried away with them all other moueables and riches, and onely consumed those things which were of smallest value by fire. This victorie had *Saul* ouer those people that dwell betwixt Pelusium, which is a Citie on the borders of Ægypt, vnto the red sea. But he medled not with the Sichemites, which inhabit in the middest of the Madianites, whom before the battell he had commanded to retire themselues, lest they should partake the calamities of the Amalechites: for in that they were allied vnto them, by reason of *Raguel*, *Moses* father in law; the Hebrewes had cause to procure their safety. *Saul* hauing obtained this victory, and reioycing at his good successe, returned to his own home, as full of content, as if he had pretermitted nothing of that, which God had commanded him by the Prophet *Samuel*, before his war with the Amalechites, but as if he had precisely obserued all that which was enioyned him. But God was sore displeased, both for that the King of the Amalechites was preserued, and for that the people had made prey of their cattell: for both these actions of theirs were expresly against Gods permission. For it was not to be tolerated, no not in a mortall King; that they should neglect and contemne his lawes and decrees, by whose onely meanes they were furthered and fauoured in their victory. For which cause God told the Prophet *Samuel*, that he repented him in that he had chosen *Saul* for their King, considering that he infringed his commandements, and gouerned himselfe according to his owne appetites. When *Samuel* heard these words, he was sore troubled, and besought God all the night long, that he would appease his wrath and displeasure conceiued against *Saul*: but notwithstanding all the importunities, and praiers which the Prophet made for him, God would in no sort be reconciled, because it was inconuenient that the sinnes, which were committed by *Saul*, should bee remitted by *Samuels* submission and intercession. For sinne neuer more augmenteth and increaseth, then when such as are offenced are too remisse in their punishments: for whilest they would be reputed both for good and mercifull, they themselues both vnwares, and vnwittingly, become the authors of sin. When as therefore God had denied the Prophet his request, and it manifestly appeared that no praiers or supplication might appease him; as soone as it was day, *Samuel* repaired to *Saul*, who at

The yeere of the world, 2883. before Christs Natiuitie, 1081.

Samuel by Gods commandement addresseth Saul to make war vpon the Amalechites.

Saul mustring his people, findeth in the tribe of Iuda onely thirtie thousand men

Saul raseth the cities of the Amalechites.

Saul taketh Agag, the King of the Amalechites prisoner, and keepeth him aliue, contrarie to Gods Commandement.

The people contrary to that which God had ordained, driue away the horse and cattell of the Amalechites.

Hedio & Russinus, chap. 9.

God displeased with Sauls disobedience.

Samuel striueth to reconcile Saul vnto God.

Too much indulgence and lenitie confirmeth the wicked in their vngodlinesse.

The yeere of the world, 2883. before Christs Nativitie. 1081.

at that time remained in Galgal. Now as soone as the King perceiued him, he ranne vnto him and embraced him, saying: I giue God thankes for the victorie; and all those things which hee commanded me, I haue performed. But *Samuel* replied and said: How commeth it then to passe, that I heare this bleating of sheepe, and bellowing of beasts thorow the army? *Saul* answered, that the people had reserued that cattell for sacrifice, and that besides them, all the nation of the Amalechites was exterminated according as God had commanded, and that there was not any one remaining, but that he onely had reserued the King, whom he would cause to be presented before him, to the end they might consult together what should be done with him. Hereunto the Prophet answered: that God tooke no pleasure in sacrifices, but such as were good and iust, and such (said he) are they that are according to his will and commandement; since no action may be reputed good, but in respect of the reference it hath to Gods will: for God refuseth not him that sacrificeth not, but him that disobeyeth him. For he willingly accepteth not those sacrifices that are offered vnto him by those that submit not themselues vnto him, and offer not vnto him the true and onely offerings; yea, though they present diuers and many great sacrifices, and bring him sundry Iewels of gold and siluer, but reiecteth such things, and respecteth them not as pledges of pietie, but testimonies of wickednesse: But he taketh pleasure in those onely that obserue that which he hath pronounced and commanded, making choise rather to die, then any waies to infringe the same: not seeking that sacrifices should be offered vnto him; but if they be offered, although of small and no value, yet are they more acceptable vnto him in pouertie and obedience, then all those which the richest hand, or strongest fortune can affoord him any wayes. Know thou therefore (said he) that thou hast incurd Gods displeasure, in that thou hast contemned and neglected his commandements: for how canst thou thinke that he will regard thy sacrifices with a gracious eye, which hee himselfe hath adiudged to vtter perdition and ruine? except thou thinke that to offer such things vnto God, bee in effect no lesse then to seeke out death: Be assured therefore of the losse both of thy kingdome, and power, which hath in such sort transported thee, that thou had contemned God, who bestowed the same vpon thee. But *Saul* confessed that he had sinned and done amisse, in that he had not obeyed the words of the Prophet; yet alleadged he that he was compelled to doe the same, in that he durst not restraine the souldier, who was whet and kindled vpon the prey: but (said he) be fauourable and mercifull vnto me, for hereafter I will take heede lest I fall into the like sinne: and he besought him that he would stay with him so long whilest he might offer a peace offering in his behalfe. But he that foresaw and knew that God would be mooued by no sacrifice, began to depart.

Samuel chideth Saul.

The cõtempt of God wherin it consists.

A pleasing and acceptable sacrifice vnto God.

Samuel telleth Saul of Gods displeasure and the losse of his kingdome.

Saul confesseth his sin, & craueth pardon: which notwithstanding is denied him.

CHAP. IX.

SAMVEL *proclaimed* DAVID *King.*

BVT *Saul* willing to retaine *Samuel*, tooke hold of his garment, and for that the Prophet hastily withdrew himselfe, he tore away a part thereof, by reason that *Samuel* violently withdrew himselfe from him. To whom the Prophet said, that in like sort his kingdome should be rent from him, and that another who was more honest and vpright, should take possession thereof: for God continued in his determination intended against him, because that to change and varie opinion is humane passion and not diuine puissance. *Saul* answered, that he had grieuously sinned, but it was impossible for him to recall that which was done: he notwithstanding besought him, that in the presence of the people he would as yet doe him honour, at such time as he should walke with him, and cast himselfe before the presence of God: which *Samuel* condescended vnto, and went with him to adore God. After this, *Agag* the king of the Amalechites was brought before *Samuel*, who heard him lament and complaine that death was very bitter and tedious; to whom he answered in this manner following. As thou hast caused diuers mothers amongst the Hebrewes to weepe and lament the losse of their children; so shalt thou cause thy mothers sorrow and torment for thy death: which said, he presently commanded that he should be put to death in Galgal: as for himselfe he returned backe againe to the city of Ramath. But the King perceiuing in himself into how many mischiefes he had fallen by his offences committed against God, departed to his chiefe city called Gaba (which name signifieth a hillock) and from that day forwards he neuermore came into the Prophet *Samuels* presence, who was heartily sorry for his fall: But God cõmanded him to giue ouer his care, & that taking with him the sacred oyle he should repaire to the city of Bethleem to *Iesse* the son of *Obed*, & that there he should

Saul striuing to stay Samuel renteth his garment.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 10

The King of the Amalechites is slaine by Samuels command.

1 *King.* 16.

God sendeth Samuel to Bethleem to anoint Dauid King.

ſhould anoint one of his ſons for King according as he had commanded him: and when as the Prophet ſaid that he was afraid, leſt *Saul* getting notice thereof, ſhould either by treaſon or open force ſeeke to ſlay him, being encouraged and aſſured in his attempt, he came to the forenamed towne. In that place was he ſaluted with great concourſe of people, and each of them inquired of him to what intent he repaired thither: who anſwered them that he came to offer ſacrifice vnto God. Now when the oblatiõs were performed, he inuited *Ieſſe* and his ſonnes to banquet with him; and beholding the eldeſt of them to be faire and well proportioned, he coniectured by his ſtature and ſeemelines, that it ſhould be he that was to be elected King; but in this matter he attained not the ſcope of Gods prouidence. For demanding whether he ſhould anoynt that young man, whom in admiration he thought ſo worthy of the kingdome: it was anſwered him, that men ſaw not in ſuch manner as God doth. For thou (ſaid he) beholding the beauty of the young man, ſuppoſeſt him worthy of the kingdome: but I prize not royaltie and gouernment of eſtate, by the beauties of the body, but by the vertues of the ſoule: and him require I that is perfectly furniſhed herewith, and hath his mind beautified with pietie, iuſtice, obedience and fortitude. Vpon theſe words *Samuel* commanded *Ieſſe* to bring all his other ſonnes into his preſence, who preſented him with fiue others, the eldeſt of which was called *Eliab*, the ſecond *Aminidab*, the third *Sala*, the fourth *Nathaneel*, the fift *Rael*, and the ſixt *Aſam*. Now when the Prophet beheld theſe likewiſe no leſſe beautifull men then was the eldeſt, he asked of God which of them hee ſhould chooſe for King; he anſwered him that he ſhould chooſe neither of them: for which cauſe he enquired of *Ieſſe* whether he had any other ſons beſides thē: who told him that he had one which was called *Dauid*, who had the care and cuſtody of his flockes. Him did the Prophet ſodainly command him to ſend for, alledging that it was impoſſible for them to ſit downe to the banket, except he were preſent. Now when *Dauid* was arriued according as his father had commanded him; *Samuel* ſeeing him faire in colour, quicke in eye, and otherwaies anſwerable to his naturall ornaments: This is he (ſaid he in priuate to himſelfe) who is accepted and elected by God to be our King. This ſaid, hee ſat downe at the table, and made the young man ſit aboue him, and both *Ieſſe* his father, and his other brethren. Afterwards taking the cruet of oyle in the preſence of the ſaid *Dauid*, he anointed him, and told him in his eare, how God had choſen him to bee King, and exhorted him to ſtudy iuſtice, and to be obedient to that which ſhould bee commanded him, aſſuring him by that meanes, that his kingdome ſhould be of long continuance, his family and ſtocke ſhould be famous & renowned, and that he ſhould ouercome the Philiſtins, and conquer thoſe nations againſt whom he ſhould fight, & obtaine glorious renowne in his life time, and leaue the ſame to his ſucceſſors as an inheritance. *Samuel* hauing made this exhortation, departed from him, and the Spirit of God abandoned *Saul*, and entred into *Dauid*, ſo as hee began to prophecy, by meanes of a diuine ſpirit wherewith he was ſeized: whereas on the other ſide, *Saul* was tormented with ſtrange paſſions of the euill ſpirit, whereby he fell into ſtrange ſuffocations, and ſtranglings: ſo as his Phyſicians could not inuent any remedy for him, but gaue counſell that ſearch ſhould be made, if a man might bee found that were expert and cunning in ſinging and playing on the harpe, to the end that when the euill ſpirit ſhould aſſault and trouble him, he might ſtand at his head, and both with voyce and inſtrument ſing ſacred hymnes before him. And when as the King had giuen preſent and ſpeedy command, that ſuch a one ſhould bee ſought after, one of thoſe that were aſſiſtant, told him that hee had ſeene in Bethleem a ſonne of *Ieſſes*, a young man of excellent feature, and beſides his other good parts, and bringing vp, very cunning both in ſong and playing on the Harpe: and beſides that, addreſt enough and toward in feates of armes. He therefore ſent meſſengers to *Ieſſe* to command him to withdraw *Dauid* from the folds, and to ſend him vnto him, becauſe that hauing heard report of his beautie and valour, he was deſirous to ſee him. This command of his did *Ieſſe* obey, and ſent his ſonne with preſents vnto *Saul* the King, who greatly reioyced vpon his arriuall, and made him his pentioner, and honoured him diuers wayes. For he was refreſhed by him, and was his onely Phiſician againſt the vexation of euill ſpirits, at ſuch time as they ſeized and poſſeſſed him: for by reciting and ſinging Pſalmes vpon his Harpe, he reſtored the King to his right mind: he therefore requeſted *Ieſſe* that he would ſuffer him to liue with him, and attend vpon him, becauſe hee was ſo much delighted with his preſence: whereunto he condeſcended, permitting him to dwell with the King.

The yeere of the world, 2883. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1081.

God reſpecteth not the beauties of the body, but the perfectiõs of the mind.

Ieſſes ſonnes being goodly in perſonage, were not to be preferred to the ſouerainty.

Samuel anointeth Dauid King.

Gods Spirit forſaking Saul deſcendeth on Dauid, who beginneth to propheeie.

Saul maketh Dauid one of his pentioners or guard.

CHAP. X.

A ſecond expedition of the Paleſtines againſt the Hebrewes.

The yeere of the world, 2883. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1081.

NOT long time after this, the Philiſtines aſſembled themſelues, and gathered together great companies of men of warre, with whom they aſſailed the Iſraelites, and ſubdued all that which is betweene Sucoth and Azeca, where they encamped. *Saul* on the other ſide led foorth his army againſt them, and encamping himſelfe vpon a certen mountaine, he conſtrained the Philiſtines to diſlodge from their firſt campe, and intrench thēſelues vpon another mountaine right ouer againſt that where he pitched his tents. The campes being thus ſeparated the one from the other, there was a valley that extended it ſelfe betweene both the armies: Into this there deſcended a certaine man called *Goliah*, a Gittite, of huge ſtature, beeing foure cubites and a ſpan length in height, hauing his limmes couered with huge and mightie armour: for his curets which he bare on his backe, weighed fiue thouſand ſicles; his helmet and pouldrons were of braſſe, made fit to couer his maſſie mēbers; his ſpeare which he bare in his hand was no light lance, but he bare it on his ſhoulder, & the head thereof weighed 600. ſicles, and after him there followed diuers men bearing armes. Now when he came betwixt both the armies, hee ſtood vp and cried with a loud voice, addreſſing his ſpeech to *Saul* and the Hebrews in theſe tearmes: Hebrewes, what neede you to hazzard the doubtfull fortune of warre? Single me out an aduerſarie, and let vs determine by our two hazzards on whoſe ſide the victory & conqueſt ſhall fall: ſo that whoſeſoeuer ſouldier ſhall be ouercome, let his party be adiudged ſubiect to their ſides who haue the victory: for it were better that ſome one among you, then the whole army ſhould be brought in hazzard. When he had ſpoken thus, he returned back to his owne camp. The next day he came foorth againe and vſed the ſame words, and thus for forty dayes ſpace ceaſed he not to defie the Hebrewes in ſuch like words, and vnder the ſame conditions: ſo that both *Saul* and all his army were diſpleaſed, and kept themſelues alwaies ready and arranged in battell, although the fight was begunne on neither ſide. During the time that *Saul* addreſſed himſelfe to this expedition, he ſent *Dauid* backe againe to *Ieſſe* his father (contenting himſelfe with his other three brothers, who at that time ſerued vnder his royall ſtandard) where hee intended his intermitted care of keeping his flocks: But whilſt the war was rather protracted then performed, whither his father had ſent him to carry victuals to his brothers, and to know how their affaires went in the armie, and whileſt that *Dauid* deuiſed with his brothers, as touching thoſe things which his father had committed to his charge: he heard the Philiſtine blaſpheming and railing vpon the Hebrew army, and was therewith ſo greatly mooued, that turning himſelfe vnto his brothers, he told them that he was ready and addreſſed to fight hand to hand againſt that enemie. But *Eliab* the elder brother reproued him for ſo ſpeaking, telling him that he was more hardy then became his age, and that he knew not what concerned thoſe matters, willing him to returne vnto his father, and intend his flocks. *Dauid* for the reuerence he bare vnto his brother departed from thence, and meeting with certaine ſoldiers, ſaid vnto them, that he had a will to encounter that proud chalenger: which they preſently ſignified vnto *Saul*, who incontinently ſent to ſeek him out. Now when he came before his preſence, he asked him what he intended to doe? O King (ſaid he) let not thy courage be abated, nor thy feare ouermaſter thee. For I am hee that will abate the pride of this enemy, and encounter and enter combate with him: and how great and high ſoeuer he be, how elate and fierce ſoeuer he ſhew himſelfe, I will ſubdue him, and turne his terrour to deriſion: and ſo much the more ſhall the glory, and the honour of thy army be enhaunced, by how much ſo great and expert a man at armes ſhall bee ſubdued by a young man, and an vnexperienced ſouldier. *Saul* amazed at his hardineſſe, and great courage; yet notwithſtanding, ſuſpecting him by reaſon of his yeeres; told him that hee was too feeble, to encounter a man ſo expert in feates of armes: whereunto *Dauid* made this anſwer, That which I promiſe you (my ſoueraigne) is vnder the aſſurance which I haue in God, which heretofore I haue prooued, and the ſuccour which at other times I haue receiued at his hands. For whiles I fed my fathers flocks, I redeemed a lambe that was rauiſhed out of my fold, out of the lions iawes; and catching the wilde beaſt by the taile, that with open mouth aſſaulted and ſought to deuoure me, I beat him to the ground, and ſlue him. Neither with leſſe ſucceſſe inuaded I a Beare that ſet vpon my flocke; and as light doe I ſet by this monſter alſo: who vomiting out his ſlanderous raylings both againſt God, and men, ſhall neither eſcape the diuine arme of iuſtice which he ſo wickedly prouoketh, neither flie from my hands, who am prepared to encounter him.

Hedio & Ruffinus, cap. 11.

1. *King.* 17.

Another expedition of the Paleſtines againſt the Hebrewes.

Goliah a man of prodigious ſtature amongſt the Paleſtines.

Goliah challengeth a ſingle combate at the Hebrewes hands.

Saul ſendeth Dauid backe againe to his father.

Dauid deſireth to fight with Goliah.

Dauid redeemed a lambe from the iawes of a lion and ſlue him.

Dauid killed a Beare.

So

So much preuailed this forward readineſſe in the young man, that the King beſeeching Gods aſſiſtance to ſecond his courage, furniſhed him with a royall armour, a ſword and a helmet, and ſent him forth to the battell. But *Dauid* feeling the weight of his armour, and ſeeming rather to be loaded then defenced with the ſame, ſaid vnto him: Let theſe armes (O King) ſerue to incloſe and defence thy body, who art able to beare them, and ſuffer me I beſeech thee, who am thy ſeruant, to fight according to mine owne fantaſie. He therefore laid vp his armour, and tooke a ſtaffe in his hand, and fiue ſtones which he gathered on the bankes of the torrent, which he put in his ſcrip, his ſling he bore in his right hand: and being thus armed, he marched forward to encounter his enemie. Now when the Barbarian ſaw him thus furniſhed, he ſo much contemned him, that in way of ſcorne he asked him whether he thought him to be a dogge, that hee thus came forth to fight with him, with weapons fit to ſcare dogges? Nay (ſaid *Dauid*) I eſteeme thee worſer then a dog: which ſo much peruerted *Goliahs* patience, that he curſed the name of his god, thundring out threats, that he would caſt out his carkeiſe to be deuoured by the beaſts of the field, and the birds of the aire. But *Dauid* anſwered, Thou commeſt againſt me with thy ſword, thy iauelin, and curets: but contrariwiſe, I march out againſt thee vnder the warrantiſe and protection of God, who ſhall deſtroy thee by my hand, and with thee thy whole army, for this day will I take thy head from thy ſhoulders, and caſt the reſt of thy body to the dogs whom thou reſembleſt, and all men ſhall know that God is the Prince of the Hebrewes, and that our armes and forces are the cares that it pleaſeth him to haue of vs, and that all other furniture of warre is vnprofitable, except it be aſſiſted by God. The waight of the Philiſtines armes hindred him from marching readily: ſo that he marched foote by foote towards *Dauid*, contemning him and truſting that he ſhould kill him eaſily, both for that he was diſarmed, as alſo becauſe he was young, and tender in yeeres.

The yeere of the world, 2883. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1081.

Dauid laying aſide thoſe armes where with he was furniſhed to fight with Goliah, marcheth forward with his ſling againſt the enemy.

Dauid drawing neere his enemie, is contemned.

Dauids talke with Goliah before the combate.

CHAP. XI.

The ſingle combate betwixt DAVID *and* GOLIAH, *and the ſlaughter of the Philiſtines that followed after.*

DAVID ſet forward to make head againſt the enemy, beeing aſſiſted by a companion whom he ſaw not, which was God; drawing therefore one of the ſtones, which he had gathered on the bankes of the torrent, out of his ſcrip, and hauing fitted it to his ſling, he forced it againſt *Goliah*, and gaue him ſuch a ſtroke on the forehead, that hee pierced him to the very braine: ſo that *Goliah* fell downe ſuddenly dead, and he running vpon him as he lay ſprawling on the earth, cut off his head with his owne ſword: for he himſelfe had none. As ſoone as he was ſtrooken downe, diſcomfiture and flight ſeiſed all the Army of the Philiſtines: for ſeeing the moſt eſteemed warriour amongſt them ouerthrowne and ſlaine, they began to ſuſpect the generall iſſue of their warre, and reſolued to retire from thence; ſo they tooke their flight in diſorder and confuſion, ſuppoſing by that meanes to deliuer themſelues out of dangers. But *Saul* and the whole armie of the Hebrewes ſallied out againſt them, with great ſhouts and cries; and in the perſuite made a great ſlaughter of them, and draue them to the borders of Geth and the gates of Aſcalon. In this battell there died on the Philiſtines ſide aboue thirty thouſand, and the reſt that were hurt and wounded, were twice as many. *Saul* returning backe into his campe, pillaged and burnt their tents: but *Dauid* bore *Goliahs* head into his pauillion, and hung his ſword in the Tabernacle, and conſecrated the ſame vnto God. But *Saul* afterward conceiued a priuie hatred againſt *Dauid*, vpon this occaſion which enſueth: For whereas he returned triumphant like a conquerour with an armie, and the women and maidens ſinging and dancing to their cymbals and timbrels, in way of honour came out to meete him: The women ſung, that *Saul* had ſlaine diuers thouſands of the Philiſtines; and the virgins anſwered, that *Dauid* had ſlain diuers ten thouſands. Which when *Saul* vnderſtood, and ſaw that the leſſer teſtimonie of thouſands was referred to him, and that the ten thouſands were attributed to *Dauid*, he ſuppoſed that after ſo glorious a renowne, there wanted nothing for *Dauid*, except to be King. For which cauſe he began to feare and ſuſpect him: ſo that by reaſon of the feare he had of him, he thought that he was too neere his owne perſon, and therefore from being one of the chiefeſt in authoritie about him, which was to bee one of his chiefe Commanders and guard, hee made him Captaine ouer a thouſand, rather reſpecting his owne ſecuritie, then the others honour; to the intent that being often charged by incurſions of the enemie, hee might by ſome diſaſter be depriued of his life. But *Dauid* hauing in all places the aſſiſtance of Almighty God, returned alwaies with

Dauids victory againſt Goliah. The Paleſtins fly and are diſcomfited.

Thirty thouſand of the Paleſtines ſlaine.

1. *King.* 18. Saul priuily hateth Dauid.

Saul from one of his chiefe Nobles, maketh Dauid a tribune, to the end that being often drawne out by the enemy, he might be ſlain

The yeere of the world, 2883. *before the Natiuitie of Christ.* 1081.

with good ſucceſſe and happy iſſue: ſo that for the excellency of his valour, the people intirely loued him: and *Sauls* daughter alſo, that was about that time marriageable, began to bee inamoured with him, and ſo great and apparent was her affection towards *Dauid,* as the certaine notice thereof came vnto her fathers eares, who was ſore diſpleaſed therewith; yet hoping by that meanes the ſooner to intrappe him, he gaue eare thereto with ſome ſhew of allowance, and told them who diſcouered their loues vnto him, that he would willingly giue him his daughter to wife, vnder pretence that the enioying of her might be the meanes of his vtter ouerthrow: For (ſaid he) I am content to giue him my daughter in marriage, vnder that condition, that he bring mee ſixe hundred enemies heads; and he deſirous to get ſo high and famous a reward, and in like ſort to obtaine honor, by an act both ſo dangerous and admirable, will vndertake the execution thereof, and ſhall be ſlaine by the hands of the Philiſtines, and that intention which I haue conceiued againſt him, ſhall ſucceede according to mine owne hearts deſire: for I ſhall bee deliuered of him, in ſending him out of the world, not by my meanes, but by other mens hands. Further, he charged his Courtiers to ſound and ſeeke out *Dauids* reſolution, and how he was affectioned towards marriage: who beganne to deuiſe with him, telling him that the King bare him a moſt intire fauor, and that the people admitted him, and how they ſhould procure him the marriage of the Kings daughter. Whereunto *Dauid* replied: Thinke you it to be a ſmall matter to be ſon in law vnto the King? for my ſelfe I eſteeme otherwiſe, conſidering in eſpeciall mine owne baſe condition, who haue neither reputation nor any honourable quality. When *Sauls* ſeruants had related vnto him what anſwer *Dauid* had made them: Tell him (ſaid he) that I neither want goods nor preſents (for that were to expoſe my daughter to ſale, and not to match her with a husband.) I ſeeke for a ſonne in law that hath valour, and that is adorned with all vertue, ſuch as is manifeſt and apparent in thee: and my deſire is, that for the dower of my daughter, thou giue me neither gold nor ſiluer, nor any other valuable wealth out of thy fathers houſe; but the puniſhment of the Philiſtines, and ſixe hundred of their heads, which ſhall be the moſt deſired and accepted dower thou canſt preſent me with. My daughter alſo requeſted aboue all the dowers, that may accrew vnto her by order of law, to be married to ſuch a man that is ſo ennobled and famous by the ouerthrow of his enemies.

Sauls daughter in loue with Dauid. Saul ſubtilly obiecteth Dauid to ſlaughter, vnder a colourable condition of ſlaughtering the Paleſtines Saul vnder couenant of 600. Philiſtins heads promiſeth Dauid his daughter.

When theſe words were reported vnto *Dauid,* he was very ioyfull, thinking that *Saul* ſpake ſincerely of this affinitie: and without delay, or taking counſell or deliberation, whether the thing were eaſie or impoſſible for him to execute, he incontinently departed with his company to goe and find out the enemy, and execute the condition, vnder which the marriage was promiſed him. For it was God that made all things eaſie and poſſible to *Dauid:* for after he had ſlaine diuers of them, and cut off ſixe hundred of their heads, he returned and preſented them to the King, and in conſideration thereof, required the performance of his marriage.

CHAP. XII.

SAVL *admiring* DAVIDS *fortitude, giueth him his daughter to wife.*

BVT *Saul* that could not flie from his promiſe (for feare leſt it ſhould bee a great diſhonour for him to be found a lyer, or to haue promiſed *Dauid* his daughter vnder colour, either to murther him, or to draw him to the execution of things that were impoſſible) deliuered his daughter *Michol* vnto him. But his intention was not to continue long in that mind. For perceiuing that *Dauid* was gracious in Gods ſight, and in good reputation amongſt the people, he was afraid of him: and being vnable to conceale his feare he had conceiued, to bee depriued of two things of ſuch conſequence, as were his kingdome and life, hee reſolued to kill *Dauid;* giuing commiſſion to his ſonne *Ionathan,* and diuers other of his ſeruants to execute the ſame. But *Ionathan* amazed to ſee this change in his father, who in ſtead of the ſingular good liking he had of *Dauid* in times paſt, ſought to hurt *Dauid,* not in any ſlight ſort, but by indangering his life: and on the other ſide being ſingularly affected towards him, and reſpecting of his vertue, he communicated the ſecret and deliberation of his father with him, counſelling him to haue care of himſelfe, and to flie vpon the next morrow, and that in the meane while he would go and ſalute his father, and as ſoone as the occaſion preſented it ſelfe, hee would ſpeake and conferre with him, to know the cauſe of his conceiued diſpleaſure againſt him, to the intent he might pacifie the ſame: ſuppoſing it to be a matter vnreaſonable, that hee ſhould be depriued of life, to whom the people were ſo much indebted, and who in particular was his eſteemed and vowed friend:

1 *Kings* 19. Saul marrieth Michol to Dauid. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 12. Saul reſolueth to kill Dauid. Ionathã loues Dauid, and ſheweth him his fathers determination, and counſelleth him to haue care of his ſafety, and ſtand on his gard.

A friend: yea in reſpect of his former merits, although he were found guilty of many hainous offences, yet ought he to obtaine a deſerued pardon. I will tell thee afterwards (ſaid he) what my fathers reſolution is. *Dauid* gaue credit to his wholeſome counſell, and retired himſelfe from the preſence of the King.

The yeere of the world, 2883. before Chriſts Nativitie, 1281.

CHAP. XIII.

How the King practiſed to murther DAVID.

THE next day after, *Ionathan* came vnto *Saul*, and finding him merry and well diſpoſed, he began to ſpeake vnto him to this effect, as concerning *Dauid*. In what fault (O Father) either great or ſmall haue you found *Dauid* guilty, that you haue ordained and commanded him to be done to death? who is ſuch a man as for the conſeruation of your own perſon, hath bin very profitable, and beſides that hath preiudiced the eſtate of the Philiſtines, and inhanced the honour of the people of the Hebrews, and hath deliuered them from that diſgrace and mockery, wherewith they haue beene curbed for the ſpace of forty yeers: ſo that he onely hath dared, and oppoſed himſelfe againſt the proud defies of the enemy; and ſince that time hath brought ſo many of the Philiſtines heads as was commanded him, in recompence whereof he hath had my ſiſter to wife: ſo that his death ſhould be a great diſpleaſure vnto vs, not only by reaſon of the vertue wherwith he is endowed, but alſo through occaſion of his alliance with vs in blood and conſanguinitie. For by his death your daughter ſhall partake part of the iniurie, by reaſon that ſhe ſhall ſuffereth incommodity of widdowhood, before ſhe hath taſted the fruits and commodities of marriage. Weight theſe things, and pacifie your diſpleaſure, & do no wrong vnto ſuch a man, who firſt of all hath beene the author of your ſo good and great fortunes, as is the conſeruation of your perſon at ſuch time, as you were poſſeſſed and tormented with euill ſpirits: and hath brought to paſſe that your furies are alayed: and ſecondly, hath reuenged you of your enemies. For it is a thing vnworthy either your maieſtie or the name of a man, to forget good deſerts. With theſe words was *Saul* pacified, ſo that he ſwore vnto his ſonne that he would not iniure *Dauid:* for his iuſt perſwaſions and arguments were more ſtronger, then the choler and feare of the King. *Ionathan* ſent to ſeeke out *Dauid*, and told him theſe good and happy tidings from his father, and brought him vnto him, where he liued and remained in ſort as he did beforetime.

Ionathan reckoneth vp vnto his father the good deſerts of Dauid praying him to pacifie his diſpleaſure conceiued againſt him.

Ionathan certifieth Dauid how he hath pacified his father.

CHAP. XIIII.

How hardly DAVID *eſcaped the ambuſhes that were often laid for him by the King; yet hauing him twice at aduantage and in his power, would not murther him.*

ABOVT the ſame time, whileſt the Philiſtines led forth their armie anew againſt the Hebrewes, *Saul* ſent out *Dauid* againſt them accompanied with his forces, who encountring them, ſlew a great number of them, and returned vnto the King with a great victory. But *Saul* entertained him not, both as he deſerued, and the happy exploit atchieued by him did merit; but deſpited and enuied his good actions and honourable deſerts, as if *Dauids* happy ſucceſſe had bin *Sauls* diſaduantage and preiudice. But as ſuch time as the euill ſpirit returned anew and both ſeized and vexed him, he lodged him in his own chamber where he lay, and hauing at that time a iauelin in his hand, he commanded him to play on his harp and to ſing hymnes. Now whileſt *Dauid* executed that his commandement, *Saul* ſtretching out his arme, threw his dart at him: but *Dauid* forſeeing it, auoided the ſtroke, and fled into his owne houſe, where he ſoiourned all the day long. Now when the night was come, the King ſent out certaine of his ſeruants to watch his houſe for feare leſt he ſhould eſcape, to the end that the next day being drawne and appearing in iudgement, he might be condemned and put to death. But *Michol, Dauids* wife, and *Sauls* daughter, hauing intelligence of her fathers intention, ran vnto her husband, telling him in how great perill both he and ſhee were, who without his preſence neither could nor would liue any longer. Beware (ſaid he) leſt the ſunne finde thee in this place, for he ſhall no more behold thee here hereafter. Flie therefore whileſt the preſent night offereth thee opportunitie, which God doth lengthen for thy ſafetie ſake: for be aſſured that if thou be ſurprized in this place, my father will make thee die a miſerable death. This ſaid, ſhee let him downe by a window, and ſo ſaued him; and incontinently after, ſhee prepared his bed, and trimmed it as if he lay ſicke therein,

Dauid hath a great victory againſt the Paleſtines.

Saul darteth his Iauelin at Dauid.

The yeere of the world, 2883. before Christs Nativitie. 1081.

Michol perswadeth the Kings seruãts that Dauid is sicke.

therein, and vnder the couering thereof shee laid the liuer of a new slaughtered Kid: and when her father had sent the next morning to apprehend *Dauid*, shee answered that he had beene sicke all the night long: then discouering the bed that was couered, shee gaue them to vnderstand that *Dauid* was laid therein, making them touch the couerlet vnder which the liuer stirred, and made them beleeue that the liuer that lay there was *Dauid*, who panted and breathed very hardly. Which being signified vnto *Saul*, hee commanded that he should be brought vnto him in that estate wherein he was, because hee was resolued to put him to death. But when *Sauls* messengers were arriued and returned thither, and had discouered the bed, they perceiued *Michols* subtiltie, and went and certified the King thereof: who reprooued her very grieuously for that shee had saued his aduersarie, and deceiued her father. But she defended her selfe with words full of good apparance, saying, that *Dauid* had threatned to kill her; and how for that cause, and by the impulsion of feare, shee was drawne and induced to aide and saue him. For which cause shee ought to be pardoned, since by constraint and not offset purpose shee had furthered his escape. For (said shee) I thinke that you seeke not so greedily after the death of your enemie, as to preferre the same before the safety and security of your daughter. On these perswasions *Saul* pardoned his daughter.

Michol excuseth her selfe for deliuering Dauid.

Dauid expresseth to Samuel how the King was affected towards him.

Dauid deliuered from this perill came vnto the Prophet *Samuel* to *Ramatha*, & told him what ambushes the King had laid for him, and how hardly hee had escaped death by the stroke of his Iauelin; whereas in all things that concerned *Saul*, hee had alwaies shewed himselfe obedient: againe how hee had neuer ceased to warre vpon his enemies, and had by Gods assistance beene fortunate in all things, which was the cause that *Saul* was so displeased with him. The Prophet, informed of *Sauls* iniustice, forsooke the Citie of Ramath, and led *Dauid* to a certaine place called Galbaath where he remained with him. But as soone as *Saul* was informed that *Dauid* was retired and accompanied with the Prophet, he sent out certaine souldiers to lay hands on him, and bring him vnto him: who repairing to *Samuel*, and finding the congregation of the Prophets, were seized with the Spirit of God and began to prophecie. Which when *Saul* vnderstood, hee sent out others, who had the like encounter with the first. For which cause he sent out others, and seeing the third company prophecy likewise, he was in the end so much despited, that hee came thither in his owne person. And when he drew neere the place before that *Samuel* saw him, hee made him prophecie; so that *Saul* comming towards him, was seized by aboundance of the spirit: so that he was rauished out of himselfe, and hauing despoyled himselfe of his raiment, hee lay prostrate all the day and the night long in the presence both of *Samuel* and *Dauid*. *Dauid* departed from thence, and went vnto *Ionathan*, to whom he complained of those ambushes which his father had laid to intrap him, in telling him that notwithstanding he had neuer committed either iniurie or fault against his father, yet did he earnestly pursue him to put him to death. *Ionathan* perswaded him that he should neither rashly suspect these things, nor be ouer-credulous in those reports which perhaps might be brought vnto him, but that he should trust him onely; who was assured that his father intended no euill against him: For if he had, he would haue told him, who is neuer wont to act any thing without his counsell. But *Dauid* sware vnto him that it was so, and besought him that he would beleeue his vnfained assertions, whereby he might the more easily procure his securitie, lest contemning his words, and supposing them to be fained and friuolous, he should by his death be ascertained of the sight and truth thereof: For he assured him that his father for that cause did not communicate his counsailes with him, because hee was assured of the loue and friendship that was betweene them. *Ionathan* sore aggrieued, that *Dauid* was so perswaded, and *Sauls* intention was such, asked him what hee desired at his hands, or wherein hee might shew him friendship? *Dauid* said vnto him, I know that thou wilt further me in what thou maist, and refuse mee in nothing. Now to morrow is the first day of the moneth, in which I was accustomed to dine at the Kings table, & if thou thinkest good, I will depart out of the Citie into the field, where I will lie hidden: if he aske for me, thou shalt say I am gone into the countrey of Bethleem where my tribe solemnizeth a feast; thou shalt certifie him also that thou hast giuen me leaue. And if he say God speed him, which is an ordinary wish that frieds vse to such as go a iourney, know that he hath no hidden rancor, nor secret malice conceiued against me; but if he answer otherwise, it shal be an assured testimony that he complotteth some mischiefe against me, & this shalt thou ascertaine me of, as both becommeth my present calamity, & our mutuall friendship, which by vowed oath thou being my Lord, hast plighted with me who am thy seruant: And if thou thinke me vnworthy of this fauour and iniurious towards thy father, without expecting the sentence of his iustice, kill me now at this present with thine owne sword. These his last words so grieuously

Saul sent armed souldiers to apprehend Dauid, who began to prophecie, and he himselfe likewise comming thither prophecieth. 1. *King.* 10.

Dauid complaineth vnto Ionathan of his fathers iniuries. Ionathan excuseth his father.

Dauid desired Ionathan to sound his father how he was affected towards him.

A grieuously strooke *Ionathan* to the heart, that hee promised him to accomplish his request, assuring him to certifie him if hee any wayes could perceiue that his father was ill affected towards him; and to the intent he might the better be beleeued, he caused him to walke foorth with him into the cleere and open ayre, and there sware vnto him that hee would not pretermit any thing that might tend to the conseruation of *Dauid*. For (said he) that God that filleth and moderateth all things in this wide spred Vniuerse, and who, before I speake, knoweth my mind: he, I say, shall beare witnesse of that accord which shall be ratified betweene thee and me, that I will not cease to sound my father, till such time as I know and haue conceiued his intention, and that, I haue entred into his secrets to know what sickenesse his soule is seized with; and that when as I shall apprehend the same, I will not conceale it from thee, but giue thee notice thereof, be it that he be
B appeased or displeased against thee. The same God knoweth how incessantly I beseech him to be assistant vnto thee, as also he is at this present: and that hee abandon thee neuer, but make thee Lord ouer thine enemies, yea though it were my father, or my selfe. Onely remember mee in this point, that after my death (if I chance to die before thee) thou take care of my children, and be as fauorable towards them, as I am affected to thee-ward at this present. After he had sworn this oath, he dismissed *Dauid*; willing him to conceale himselfe in a certaine place of the Plaine, where he ordinarily exercised himselfe: For that as soone as he vnderstood his fathers minde, he would returne thither with his Page, and if (saith hee) hauing shot three shafts at the marke, I shall command my Page to gather them, and bring them backe againe to mee, for that they are
C right before him, know thou that thou art to expect no euill from my father: but if thou heare me speake to the contrary, thinke thou that my father is incensed and mis-affected towards thee; yet howsoeuer it happen, I will doe my best, that nothing shall befall thee otherwayes then wee expect and wish. Be thou therefore mindfull of these things at such time as thou shalt obtaine thy happy dayes, and be thou fauourable vnto my children. *Dauid* being confirmed by *Ionathans* promises, retired himselfe to the appointed place. The next day after, which was the solemnity of the new moone, after the King was purified according to the custome, he sate downe to take his repast: Now when his sonne *Ionathan* was set on his right side, and *Abner* the Generall of his Army on the left, *Saul* perceiued *Dauids* place was voide, and spake not a word, supposing that he was absent from that company, by reason hee was not purified since he had the company of his wife: but seeing the second day of the new moone that he was absent likewise, he asked his sonne
D *Ionathan*, why *Iesses* sonne both the day before, and at that instant, was not present at that feast? who answered him, that he was gone into his countrey (prosecuting the story, according as it had beene concluded betweene them) alleadging that his Tribe celebrated a feast, and that he had permitted him to assist the same. Further (said he) he inuited me to the banquet, and if it stand with your pleasure, I will assist the feast, for you know how entirely I loue the man. At this time knew *Ionathan* the displeasure his father had conceiued against *Dauid*, and perceiued most apparantly how hainously he was affected: for *Saul* could not conceale his choller, but began to raile vpon his sonne, calling him Rebell and his enemy, and companion and confederate with *Dauid*, telling him that he shewed reuerence neither to him, nor to his mother, since he was so minded: and that he would not beleeue, but that as long as *Dauid* liued, their royall estate should be alwayes in continuall disturbance: Hee commanded him therefore to bring him before him, to the end that he might doe iustice vpon him. *Ionathan* replyed, What euill hath *Dauid* committed, for which hee should be punished? Hereupon *Saul* not onely expressed his choller in words and disgraces, but taking hold of a Iauelin, he assaulted him and would haue slaine him: but he missed his purpose, by reason he was retained by his friends. At that time did *Ionathan* cleerely discouer the hatred that *Saul* bare towards *Dauid*, and how instantly and seriously he sought his ruine, since welny for *Dauids* sake he had slaine his owne and eldest sonne. Then did *Ionathan* withdraw himselfe from the banquet, seeing with how little profit hee had pleaded, and so much was hee grieued that hee ceased not to weepe, and the rather since welny his father had vnkindly slaine him: And seeing that *Dauid* was adiudged to die, hee passed all the night long without sleepe, and about the day spring hee departed out of the City to the appointed field, making a shew that hee walked out to take his exercise; but indeed, it was to discouer vnto his friend the intent which his father had, according as it was couenanted betweene them. After that *Ionathan* had done that which he had promised, and sent backe his Page into the City, he came vnto *Dauid*, both to see and speake with him in priuate: who as soone as he perceiued him, cast himselfe prostrate at *Ionathans* feete, calling him the conseruer and maintainer of his life. But *Ionathan* lifted him vp from the earth, so that both of them embracing one another, and intermixing their mutuall kisses for a long time,

The yeere of the world, 2883. before Christs Natiuitie, 1081.

Ionathan confirmeth his friendship towards Dauid with an oath.

Ionathan giueth Dauid certen signes whereby he should know whether his father were displeased with him.

Saul questioneth about Dauids absence.

Ionathan by his answer asaieth to know his fathers minde.

Saul discouereth his hainous hate a gainst Dauid.

Ionathan excusing Dauid to his father, is almost slain with a Iauelin by him.

Ionathan flieth from the banquet.

Ionathan and Dauid meet in the field. Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 13. 1 *King.* 21.

The yeere of the world, 2883. before the Natiuitie of Christ. 1081.

lamented their yeeres with warme teares, and their vnfortunate friendſhip with bitter ſighes: they bewailed likewiſe their future ſeparation, no leſſe grieuous vnto them, then death it ſelfe. Finally, ſcarcely giuing any truce to their aboundant teares, and exhorting one another to haue in perpetuall remembrance their plighted faiths and promiſes, they departed one from the other.

Dauid commeth to Naban or Nob to Achimelech the high Prieſt.

Dauid flying from the King, and the war which he made againſt him, retyred himſelfe to the city of Nob to *Achimelech* the Prieſt: who ſeeing *Dauid* come alone vnto him without either friend or ſeruant, was amazed; and deſired to know the cauſe why he thus wandred without any attendance. *Dauid* told him that the King had ſent him about ſome ſecret execution, which might not be communicated vnto him, although he were deſirous to know it: and as touching my ſeruants (ſaid he) I haue commanded them to attend mee in this place. He further required him, that he would giue him ſuch things as were neceſſary for his voyage that he had to make, wherein he might performe the part of a friend, in ſuccouring him at ſuch time as he had neede of him.

Dauid receiuing Goliahs ſword, flieth to Geth to Achis king of the Paleſtins.

Which when he had condeſcended vnto, he requeſted him to giue him ſome armes, either ſword or iauelin (now in this place was there preſent one of *Sauls* ſeruants that was called *Doeg* a Syrian by nation, and the paſtor of the Kings mulets.) The Prieſt anſwered him, that he had no ſuch thing by him, except it were *Goliahs* ſword, which he himſelfe had hanged in the Tabernacle and dedicated vnto God, at ſuch time as he ſlew the Philiſtine. *Dauid* hauing gotten it, fled out of the countrey of the Hebrewes, and went vnto Geth, a countrey of the Philiſtines, wherein *Achis* was King. There being knowne by the Kings ſeruants, he was diſcouered and noted to bee that *Dauid*, that had ſlaine many thouſand Philiſtines. *Dauid* fearing to bee put to death by him, and ſuſpecting leſt hee ſhould fall into the ſame danger which hee had eſcaped by flying from *Saul*, counterfeited himſelfe to bee fooliſh and mad: ſo that the ſome frothed and iſſued out of his mouth; and counterfeited in all things ſo cunningly, that hee made the King of Geth beleeue moſt ſtedfaſtly that he was beſotted and frenzie in his ſickeneſſe. For which cauſe the King was wroth with his ſeruants, in that they had brought him a mad man, and commanded them with all expedition that might be, to driue him out of his countrey. Hauing in this ſort eſcaped out of the countrey of the Geths, he tranſported himſelfe into the tribe of *Iuda*, and being in the caue of *Adullam*, he ſent vnto his brothers to let them vnderſtand that he was there, who came vnto him with all their linage: and diuers others that either were in neede or ſtood in feare of *Saul*, reſorted vnto him, ſaying, that they were ready to performe whatſoeuer he ſhould command them: all which amounted to the number of foure hundreth or thereabouts. *Dauid* therefore being thus aſſured, by reaſon of the ſuccors and forces that came vnto him, diſlodged from thence & went to the King of the Moabites, beſeeching him that hee would bee pleaſed to entertaine his father and mother in that countrey, vntill ſuch time as hee vnderſtood what ſhould bee the iſſue or end of his affaires. The King vouchſafed him this fauour, and did them great honour all the time they were in his countrey. And as touching *Dauid*, he hauing receiued inſtructions by the commandement of the Prophet to abandon the deſart, and to ſoiourne in the tribe of *Iuda*: he obeyed him; ſo that comming to Saron, he made his abode in that place. But when *Saul* had vnderſtood that *Dauid* had beene ſeene with a number of men, hee fell into an extraordinary feare and trouble of minde: for knowing both the vnderſtanding and courage of the man, hee thought inwardly with himſelfe that hee would attempt no action that was not great, and ſuch a one as might not onely endanger his Kingdome, or at leaſtwiſe breed him much difficulty and labour. For which cauſe, aſſembling his friends and Captaines, and thoſe of his tribe in Gaba, where hee kept his royall Court, there ſitting in a place called Aror, where all his honourable and ciuill Magiſtrates, with the reſt of his Captaines and ſouldiers enuironed him round about, hee ſpake vnto them after this manner: Beloued friends, I know that you can beare witneſſe of my bounty, and how I haue aduanced ſome of you to honours, ſigniories and poſſeſſions, and haue preferred you to the chiefeſt dignities and prerogatiues amongſt the people. Now would I know of you whether you hope or expect from the ſonne of *Ieſſe* greater bounty and larger benefits, then I haue beſtowed vpon you: I know that all of you are confederated with him, and that my ſonne *Ionathan* likewiſe is of the ſame faction, and hath perſwaded you to follow and fauour him. For I am not ignorant both of the oathes and couenants that are paſt twixt him and *Dauid*, and am well aſſured that hee is both a counceller and aſſiſter vnto him in whatſoeuer hee vndertaketh againſt me: yet are none of you touched with theſe cares; but intending your owne quiet, you expect the euent of theſe matters.

Dauid counterfeits madnes, to eſcape the fury of Achis. *1 King. 22.*

Dauid repairing to the Moabits, cõmitteth his father & mother to his protection.

Dauid commeth to Sarõ. Saul feareth Dauid.

Sauls oration to his captaines, friends and eſtates, againſt Dauid.

When the King had ſpoken thus, there were none of the aſſiſtants that replyed: onely *Doeg* the

A the Syrian maſter of the Kings mulets, aroſe and ſaid: That he had ſeene *Dauid* in the Citie of Nob, who reſorted to the high Prieſt *Achimelech*, to aske counſel of him as touching his affaires; that there he had receiued thoſe things that were needfull to furniſh him in his voyage, and *Goliahs* ſword likewiſe; and how he was ſafely conducted towards the place whither he pretended to goe. Hereupon *Saul* ſent for the high Prieſt and all his kinred, and ſpake thus vnto him, What wrong or diſpleaſure haue I done thee, that thou haſt entertained the ſonne of *Ieſſe*? and haſt deliuered him victuals and armes; to him, I ſay, that ſeeketh but the meanes to poſſeſſe himſelfe of my kingdome? What anſwer haſt thou made him as touching thoſe demands he preſented thee, in regard of his future fortunes? for thou haſt not beene ignorant that he fled from me, and what hatred he beares againſt both me and my family. The high Prieſt denied none of theſe B things, but freely confeſſed that he had deliuered him ſuch things as were reported, but not with an intent to gratifie *Dauid*, but the King: for I entertained him (ſaid he) not as thine enemy, but as thy faithfull miniſter and tribune; nay which is more, as thy ſonne in law, and ſuch a one as was tyed vnto thee by neere alliance. For who would haue thought, that he, who was intituled to ſo much honour by thee, ſhould be thine enemy: nay rather, who would not eſteeme him for thy fauourite and neereſt friend? And whereas he asked counſell of me as touching Gods will, this is not the firſt time I haue anſwered him, but oft and many other times haue I aduiſed him. And whereas he ſaid, that he was ſent by thee about ſome haſtie and ſecret buſineſſe, ſhould I haue refuſed him thoſe ſupplies which he required at my hands, I might haue bin iudged rather to haue done iniurie to thy maieſtie then to him. For which cauſe thou art not to ſuſpect or thinke euill C of me; or if thou haſt receiued any aduertiſement, that *Dauid* at this time intendeth ſome trouble and innouation againſt thee, oughteſt thou to think that by reaſon of the courteſie I haue ſhewed him, that I either fauour him or maintaine him againſt thee? for what I beſtowed, I imployed as on thy friend, thy ſonne in law and thy tribune; and whatſoeuer courteſie he receiued frō me, it was done vnto thee. Notwithſtanding all theſe iuſt allegations, yet could *Saul* be no waies induced to beleeue them: but contrariwiſe, his vehement feare made him ſuſpect the true iuſtifications of *Achimelech*: ſo that he commanded certaine armed men that were about him, that they ſhould put both him and all his family to the ſword. But when they held it no leſſe then ſacriledge, to violate by violent death ſuch as were men conſecrated vnto God: *Saul* commanded *Doeg* the Syrian to perpetrate the ſlaughter, who ioyning to himſelfe certaine other ſacrilegious D and impious men, he murthered *Achimelech* and all his race, who were in number three hundreth, thirtie and fiue men. He further ſent to Nob the citie of the Prieſts, and put all of them vnto the ſword, neither ſparing woman nor childe, nor hauing reſpect vnto any other age, but conſumed the whole Citie with fire, onely one ſonne of *Achimelech* eſcaped, who was called *Abiathar*. All which befortuned according as God had foretold the high Prieſt *Eli*, ſaying, that by reaſon of the tranſgreſſion of his two ſonnes, his poſteritie ſhould be extinguiſhed.

The yeere of the world, 2883. before Chriſts birth, 1081.

Doeg telleth Saul how he ſaw Dauid in Noba with Achimelech.

Saul reprooueth Achimelech for furniſhing Dauid with victuals and armes.

Achimelechs Apologie to Sauls accuſation of treaſon.

The vniuſt ſlaughter of Achimelech with his whole family.

Noba the citie of the Prieſts is burnt, and all the inhabitants ſlaine.

Sup. li. 5. ca. 11. 1. King. 2. & 3.

This cruell and malicious act perpetrated by King *Saul* (in extinguiſhing all the race of the ſacerdotall order, without compaſſion either of Infants, or reuerence of old age: this deſtruction of his of that Citie, which God had choſen to bee the countrey and common nurſe of the Prieſts and Prophets, and which he elected to be a receptacle and refuge of all that ſort of men) E manifeſtly expreſſeth and declareth vnto all men, how depraued and corrupt the minds of men are: For ſo long as they are humble, and limited by a baſe and priuate eſtate, becauſe they neither dare nor can haue libertie to giue ſcope to their vnbridled natures: they ſeeme to be good and iuſt men; and make ſhew of a wonderfull ſtudie of iuſtice, accompanying the ſame with pietie, and are perſwaded that God is preſent in all our actions: finally, that he beholdeth all our cogitations. But no ſooner haue they attained to power and empire, laying aſide their former and reformed manners, and taking vpon them as it were in a Stage-play, both a new habit and another perſonage, but they are deuoured in all audaciouſneſſe and inſolencie, and contempt of both diuine and humane lawes. And when as to ouercome their enuie, they had moſt neede of pietie and iuſtice; and when as not onely all their actions, but alſo their wils are expoſed to all F mens eyes: then moſt of all, as if either God diſſembled, or feared their power, they exerciſe their tyrannies vpon their ſubiects; and whatſoeuer they decree, either through vaine feare, hatred or vnreaſonable fauour, that ſuppoſe they both to be ratified by men, and allowed by God: being altogether depriued of either reſpect or reaſon of thoſe things that are to come. For whatſoeuer they be that ſpend their many and vnexhauſted labours in their ſeruice, thoſe doe they firſt preferre: and afterwards when they haue loaden them with the burthen of dignities, they through enuie not onely depriue of thoſe dignities; but through ſlander alſo doe oftētimes

A manifeſt exemplification of that prouerbe, Honours change manners.

Note diligently.

The yeere of the world, 2883. before Christs Natiuitie, 1081.

oppresse them, not considering how deseruedly they oppresse, but onely giuing credit without G proofe to rash and scandalous detractions, executing and satiating their rage, not on those they ought to punish, but those that may most easily be depressed and ouerthrowne. The manifest example hereof appeareth vnto vs in *Saul* the sonne of *Cis*: who after the gouernment of the nobility was extinct, and the supreme magistracie of Iudges was disannulled, beeing the first created King of the Hebrewes, onely for that hee suspected *Achimelech*, he slew three hundreth Priests and Prophets, and after he had slaine them, destroyed their citie with fire; and as much as in him lay, depriued the high Temple of God, not only of Priests, but sacred ministers; & after so hideous a slaughter, neither spared their countrey nor any of their offspring to be left aliue. But *Abiathar Achimelechs* sonne, who onely escaped with life amidst all his slaughtered family, flying vnto *Dauid*, declared vnto him both the ouerthrow of his family and the death of his father. *Dauid* H answered him, that hee expected no lesse then that which hapned, at such time as hee espied *Doeg* there, who as his minde gaue him, would not faile to reprooue and scandall *Achimelech* to *Saul*: yet tooke he it on him that the misfortune hapned vnto his friend by his meanes: he therefore praied him to remaine with him, because he could not be concealed or secured in any place better then with himselfe.

Abiathar escaping from Sauls hands, telleth Dauid of the slaughter of Achimelech his father, and of the Priests.

About the same time, *Dauid* vnderstanding that the Philistines made a road into the countrey of Cilla, and preied the same, determined to assault them, if after the Prophet had asked counsell of God, hee should bee by the oracle animated to the performance thereof: which accordingly falling out, hee sallied out accompanied by his friends, and set vpon the Philistines, and made a great slaughter of them, and recouered a very rich prey, and gaue conuoy to the Cillans, till I such time as they had safely gathered in and housed all their corne and fruite. The rumour of this his exploite was presently brought vnto *Saul*: for this noble act and happy execution was not onely not shut within the limits of the place wherein it was performed, but the renowne thereof was dispersed euery where both in other mens eares as also in the Kings, and both the action and the author thereof were highly commended. *Saul* was very ioyfull to heare that *Dauid* was in Cilla, and said thus: God hath deliuered him into my hands, by inforcing him to shut vp himself within a citie inclosed with wals, gates, and barres: whereupon he sodainly gaue commandement that all the people should march against Cilla, and besiege the same, and surprize or kill *Dauid*.

Dauid defendeth Cilla against the incursiõs of the Palestines. 1. *King.* 23.

Saul seeketh to besiege Dauid in Cilla.

But *Dauid* hauing intelligence hereof, and aduertised by God, that if hee staied among the K Cillans, they would deliuer him into the hands of *Saul*, hee tooke with him his foure hundreth men, and retired himselfe from the Citie into the desart, and encamped on a defenced hill called Engaddi: so that the King being aduertised that he was fled from the Cillans, ceased to issue out in armes against him. From thence *Dauid* departed to a certaine place of the Ziphians, where *Ionathan Sauls* sonne met with him, and after hee had embraced him, hee exhorted him to bee of good cheere, and to conceiue an assured hope of future good fortune, and not to giue place to his present miseries, by reason that he should obtaine the kingdome, and should haue the whole power of the Hebrewes subiected vnto him; but that such things were not wont to happen, except they were accompanied with great trauailes: and after they had once more renued the oath of mutuall and lasting amitie and faith betweene them, during all the time of their L liues, calling God to witnesse with imprecations against him, that should contradict or in any sort change those conuentions; *Ionathan* left *Dauid* somewhat eased in heart, and disburdened of his conceiued feare, and that done, returned to his owne home. But the Ziphians intending to gratifie *Saul*, told him that *Dauid* was amongst them, and promised him to deliuer him prisoner into his hands, if so be hee would issue out against him: insomuch as if hee would seize all the streights of the countrey, it should bee impossible for him to flie into any other place. The King praised their forwardnesse, and promised them to requite their loyalty, and to remunerate them shortly for this their good affection, and withall sent out certaine men to seeke out *Dauid* and to beake ouer the forrest, promising them that shortly hee would follow after them. Thus did the Gouernours & Princes of the Ziphians offer thẽselues vnto the King to search out M and apprehend him, expressing their affection therein, not onely in outward shew, but also with their whole power labouring what they might, that surprising him, they might deliuer him to the Kings hands. But their iniust desire had as infortunate successe: who beeing to incurre no perill by concealing him from pursuite, promised to betray into the Kings hands through adulation & auarice, a man that was both vertuous, and wrongfully persecuted to death by his enemies. For *Dauid* beeing made priuie to their malice, and ascertained of the Kings approach, leauing those

Dauid admonished by God, flieth from his danger.

Dauid came with his army to Cæna or Ziphia, where Ionathan commeth vnto him, comforteth him, and renueth his couenant.

The Ziphians certifie Saul of Dauids abode in their countrey.

Dauid hearing of the Kings coming, flieth to saue himselfe.

A thoſe narrow ſtraights wherin they then incamped, eſcaped to a certaine rock which is ſituate in the deſarts of Simon: Neither deſiſted *Saul* to purſue him; for knowing by the way that he had ouercome the ſtraights, he came to the other ſide of the rock, & *Dauid* had ſurely both bin taken and circumuented, had not the King been reuoked by fearfull tidings, which aſſured him that the Paleſtines had forcibly entred and ſpoiled his kingdome. For he thought it more conuenient to reuenge himſelfe on thoſe his hoſtile and ſworne enemies, and to giue ſuccour to his country and people, being ready to be ſpoiled and waſted, then vnder deſire to lay hands on a priuate enemie, to betray both his country & ſubiects to their ſwords; and thus was *Dauid* ſaued beyond all expectation, and retired himſelfe to the ſtraights of Engaddi. But after that *Saul* had repulſed the Paleſtines, certaine newes was brought him that *Dauid* dwelt in the ſtraights of Engaddi: where-
B upon, preſently taking with him three thouſand of the choiſeſt men in all his army, hee led them ſpeedily to the forenamed place, and being not far from thence, he perceiued neere vnto the high way, a deepe, hollow, large, long and open caue, whereas *Dauid* with his foure hundred men might be hidden, and deſcended himſelfe alone into the caue to disburthen the neceſſities of nature. This was preſently diſcouered by one of *Dauids* followers, who told him that GOD had preſented him a fit opportunity to reuenge him on his enemy, and counſelled him to cut off *Sauls* head, and to diſcharge himſelfe thereby of much trouble and torment; who ariſing and finding him out, onely cut off the lap of the veſture wherewith *Saul* was attired, & preſently thereupon repented himſelfe, ſaying, that it were a wicked deed in him to kill his Lord, whom God by elec-
C tion had raiſed to the eſtate of Maieſty and Empire. For (ſaid he) although he be vniuſt toward me, yet ought I not to be iniurious towards him.

But when *Saul* was iſſued out of the caue, *Dauid* went out after, & cried with a loud voice, beſeeching *Saul* that he would giue him audience: who turning back vnto him, he caſt himſelfe proſtrate before his feet, and humbled him on his face according to the cuſtome, and ſpake after this manner; How vnworthy is it for thee, O King, that opening thy eares to ſcandalous backbiters, and giuing truſt and credit to vaine and looſe men, thou ſuſpecteſt thy moſt tried friends, whom thou rather oughteſt to iudge by their ſincere and vpright actions? for words may be either falſe or true, but the mind may bee diſcouered by none more apparant arguments then by mens actions: as at this preſent thou maiſt iudge, whether thou haſt raſhly beleeued them, that make mee guilty before thy Maieſtie of that crime, that was neuer yet ſo much as thought vpon, and haue ſo
D much exaſperated thee againſt me, that day & night thou thinkeſt on nothing more then my deſtruction: Seeſt thou not now how vaine thy opinion is, whereby they perſwade thee, that I am an enemy of thy houſe, and earneſtly deſirous of thy death? Or with what eies thinkeſt thou doth God behold thy cruelty, who requireſt his death, who hauing occaſion and opportunity offered him to be reuenged on thee, ſpareth thy life, whoſe life were it in thy hands, were aſſuredly loſt? for as eaſily might I haue cut off thy head, as this lap of thy garment (and therewithall, in confirmation of his words, he ſhewed it him) yet did I forbeare this iuſt reuenge: yet contrariwiſe art not thou afraid to exerciſe thy vniuſt tyrannies againſt me. But God ſhal beare witnes hereof, & ſhal approue which of vs both are of more peaceable behauiors. *Saul* amazed to ſee how ſtrangely his life had bin preſerued, and rauiſhed to conſider the naturall mildneſſe and moderation in
E *Dauid*, began to weep, & *Dauid* wept alſo: but *Saul* ſaid that he had greater cauſe to lament then he. For, ſaid he, by thy meanes haue I receiued many benefits, and thou at my hands haſt been repaied with infinite iniuries. This day haſt thou teſtified that thou retaineſt the ancient iuſtice of thy progenitors, who commanded that their enemies ſhould be diſmiſſed with life, at ſuch time as they were ſurprized in the deſart: now am I thorowly perſwaded that God hath reſerued the kingdom for thee, & that the Empire of all the Hebrews attendeth thee. Aſſure thou me therfore by an oth, that thou wilt not exterminate my race, neither remēber thee of thoſe iniuries I haue done vnto thee, but that ſparing my poſterity, thou warrantize and keep them vnder thy protecti-
on. *Dauid* ſware vnto him according as hee had required, and ſuffered him to returne into his Realme, and both he and his companies retired themſelues to the ſtraights of Maſpha. About the
F ſame time died *Samuel* the Prophet, a man who by his merit was in great eſtimation amongſt the Hebrews, the famous teſtimony of whoſe vertue, and the peoples obſeruation towards him, was expreſſed in this, in that they celebrated his funerall, and ſet out his ſepulcher with great pompe: and when they had performed his rites, they buried him in *Ramath* his Countrey, and lamented him many daies, not after the manner of a common or forraine miſery, but as if each one of them had in particular a preiudice and loſſe to lament for. For, he was a man that was naturally framed to all iuſtice and goodneſſe, and for theſe his vertues moſt acceptable vnto God. Hee

gouerned

The yeere of the world, 2883. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1081.

Saul purſueth Dauid, and hauing circūuented him, had takē him, had not he receiued newes that reuoked him.

Dauid cut off the lappe of Sauls garmēt.

Dauid vpbraideth Saul for his ſubtilties to ſeeke his death who was innocent.

" " " " " " " " " "

Saul acknowledgeth his malice & Dauids innocency, and requeſteth him that when he hath obtained the kingdome, he would be fauourable to his family.

Samuels death and buriall. 1. *King.* 25.

The yeere of the world, 2883. before the Natiuitie of Christ. 1081.

gouerned the people after the death of *Eli* the high Prieſt, firſt in his owne perſon, for the ſpace of twelue yeeres, and afterwards during the raigne of *Saul* eighteene yeeres, whoſe death hapned (as I ſaid) about this time. But in thoſe places where *Dauid* at that time remained, there was a certaine Ziphian in a towne called Emma, a man very rich, and Lord of much cattell. For he had a troupe of three thouſand ſheepe, & a heard of a thouſand Goats. On theſe did *Dauid* cõmand his people to commit no waſte; neither through deſire, nor neceſſity, nor hope of concealemẽt, they ſhould doe him any hurt. Charging them moreouer, that they ſhould offer no wrong vnto any man, becauſe that to violate and take another mans goods, was both vnlawfull and wicked, and contrary to Gods commandement. He inſtructed them in this ſort, imagining with himſelfe, that he ſhould gratifie a good man, and ſuch a one as deſerued to be in like ſort fauoured: but *Nabal* (for ſuch was his name) was a rude and curriſh perſon, leading his life in hunting. Yet had he a wife that was good, wiſe and faire.

Nabals flocks ſpared by Dauid.

To this *Nabal* did *Dauid* ſend tenne of his ſeruants about the time of his ſheepe-ſhearing, both to ſalute him, as alſo to wiſh him all good, and to beſeech God, that for diuers yeeres he would grant him grace to doe the like. Meane while he requeſted him, that hee would impart vnto him ſomewhat of that which was in his power, when as his ſheepheards could informe him, that hauing long time remained in the deſart, wee haue, ſaid they, beene ſo farre off from doing your flocks any harme, as we haue rather ſeemed to be their ſheepheards and keepers: they promiſed him likewiſe, that whatſoeuer courteſie he ſhould ſhew vnto *Dauid*, he ſhould beſtow it on a mindfull & thankfull perſonage. Thus ſpake the meſſengers vnto *Nabal*: but hee anſwered them very diſcourteouſly, and rudely, demanding of them what that *Dauid* was? and beeing informed that he was the ſonne of *Ieſſe*: Now, (ſaid he) theſe fugitiues and ſlaues forſaking their Maſters, liue proudly and inſolently.

Dauids embaſſage to Nabal to require reliefe, and his curriſh anſwer.

Dauid, hearing of this report, was grieuouſly diſpleaſed, and commanded foure hundred of his men to take vp their weapons and follow him, commanding two hundred to keepe the baggage (for at that time he had ſixe hundreth) and in this equipage marched hee forward againſt *Nabal*, ſwearing, that that very night he would vtterly exterminate & root out all his race, and ranſacke all his riches. Neither was he only diſpleaſed for that *Nabal* was ingratefull towards them, without reſpect of that humanity which they had ſhewed towards him, & his; but alſo, for that without any cauſe of iniury offered, he had iniured and outraged him in words.

Dauid ſallieth out againſt Nabal with 400. armed men.

In the meane while, certaine ſheepheards that attended *Nabals* cattell, told their Miſtreſſe their Maſters wife, that *Dauid* hauing ſent vnto her husband to require ſome ſmall courteſie, had not onely obtained nothing, but alſo receiued inſupportable iniuries, whereas till that day he had ſuffered his flocks to be vntouched: telling her that that inſolency of their Lord, might breede them all much woe and miſery. Which when *Abigal* heard (for ſo was the woman called) ſhe loded diuers Aſſes with all ſorts of preſents (without making any motion to her husband, who was ſo drunke that he was inſenſible) and went towards *Dauid*. As therefore ſhe deſcended the ſtraights of the mountaine, *Dauid* encountred her, marching towards *Nabal*, accompanied with foure hundred men. As ſoone as *Abigal* perceiued him, ſhe leaped from her Steed, and falling vpon her face, ſhe proſtrated her ſelfe before him, beſeeching him to forget *Nabals* words, knowing that *Nabals* nature was anſwerable to his name. For in the Hebrew tongue *Nabal* ſignifieth folly: ſhe excuſed her ſelfe likewiſe, ſaying, that ſhe ſaw none of them that were ſent vnto her husband. For which cauſe ſhe ſaid, I beſeech thee grant me pardon, and giue God thanks, that by my means he hath hindered you from polluting your hands in innocent blood: for if thou remaine pure and innocent from bloudſhed, he ſhall exact a puniſhment at their hands that haue hurt thee. For thoſe misfortunes that attend on *Nabal*, ſhall fall on the heads of thine enemies: onely be thou fauourable vnto me in accepting theſe my humble preſents, and for my ſake remit that wrath which thou haſt iuſtly conceiued againſt my husband: for clemency and humanity becommeth him whom the Fates haue deſtinated a kingdome. *Dauid* accepting her preſents, gaue her an anſwer after this manner: Woman, ſaid he, GOD of his goodneſſe hath this day brought thee hither, otherwiſe, thou haddeſt not liued, or ſeene the next morning. For I haue ſworne, that this night I would ouerthrow thy houſe, and leaue none aliue of that vngratefull mans family, who hath ſo contumeliouſly abuſed both me and mine: but now God hath put thee in mind wiſely to preuent and pacifie my wrath.

Abigal Nabals wife appeaſeth Dauid with preſents.

Nabal ſignifieth a foole.

As touching *Nabal*, although at this preſent hee bee exempted by thy meanes from puniſhment, yet ſhall hee not eſcape, but he ſhall loſe his life: for his manners vpon another occaſion ſhall be the cauſe of his ruine. This ſaid, he diſmiſſed *Abigal*: who returning to her houſe, and finding

Dauids prophecy of Nabal.

A ding her husband amidſt his other companions, loden and ouerwhelmed in wine; told him nothing at that time of that which had hapned: but the next day when he was ſober, certifying him thereof, he loſt all his forces, and his body became mortified through the griefe he conceiued at her words, ſo that ſome tenne daies after and no more, he departed out of this life. Which when *Dauid* vnderſtood, he ſaid that he was deſeruedly puniſhed by God, becauſe that his owne wickedneſſe was the cauſe of his puniſhment, and that he was afflicted, and yet his hands who receiued the iniurie were vndiſtained with blood: and by this example he learnt, that no wicked man can eſcape Gods iudgement, and that all humane affaires are not raſhly diſpoſed, as if neglected by God, but that the good are rewarded with goodneſſe, and the wicked puniſhed accor-
B ding to their wickedneſſe. He afterwards ſent meſſengers to his wife, and cauſed her to come vnto him, to the intent he might marrie her, and take her to his wife. Shee anſwered the meſſengers, that ſhe thought her ſelfe vnworthie to lie at his feete: notwithſtanding ſhe repaired vnto him with all her furniture and meanes whatſoeuer, and was married to *Dauid*, hauing obtained that degree of honour, both in that ſhe was modeſt and iuſt, as alſo for that ſhe was beautifull. Now *Dauid* had a wife before her, whom he had married out of the Citie of Abeſar.

As touching *Michol* the daughter of *Saul*, and other-whiles his wife, *Saul* gaue her to wife at Liſſa to the ſonne of *Phalti* of the Citie of Gethla. After this, certaine Ziphians comming vnto *Saul*, told him that *Dauid* was returned againe into their countrey, and that if it pleaſed him to aſſiſt them, they might eaſily apprehend him. Whereupon *Saul* iſſued with three thouſand
C armed men, and being ſurprized by night, he incamped in a certaine place called Siceleg.

When *Dauid* was certified that *Saul* was iſſued forth againſt him, he ſent out certaine Spies, whom he gaue in charge to bring him intelligence into what place at that time *Saul* was retired; who aſcertaining him that he was at Siceleg; he watched all that night without the knowledge of any of his followers, and went into *Sauls* campe, attended onely by *Abiſai* his ſiſter *Saruias* ſonne, and *Achimelech* the Chittite.

Now whilſt *Saul* was aſleep, & both his Generall *Abner* with all his ſouldiers wholly deuoured in drowſineſſe, *Dauid* entred into the Kings campe: and although he knew the Kings pauilion, by reaſon of his Iauelin that ſtood at the doore therof, yet ſlew he him not, neither permitted he *Abiſai*, who was both willing and addreſſed to execute the ſlaughter, to performe it. But this he ſaid, that although the King were euill, yet notwithſtanding it were a ſtrange and vndecent thing
D for him, to ſlay him who was Gods elected: for that it was Gods right to take reuenge on him, who had giuen the kingdome: and thus reſtrained he the others vnbridled furie. Yet to the intent he might certifie the King, that hauing the opportunitie to ſlay him, he had ſpared his life; he bare away with him his Iauelin, and the pitcher of water that ſtood by *Saul* whilſt he ſlept, without the witting or knowledge of any of the campe: ſo much were they deuoured and ouerhaled with ſleepe. He therefore departed thence in all aſſurance, hauing executed all that which either the time or his courage would permit him to doe. But after he had paſſed the riuer, and had attained the top of a mountaine, from whence he might be eaſily heard, he cried out to *Sauls* ſouldiers, and their Generall *Abner* ſo ſtrongly, that he awaked them from their ſleep; and call-
E ling vpon *Abner* as well as the commõ ſort of ſouldiers, the Generall asked who it was that called him? to whom *Dauid* anſwered, It is I, the ſonne of *Ieſſe*, your fugitiue: but, ſaid he, How commeth it to paſſe, that thou who art ſo great, and in chiefeſt authoritie about the King, haſt ſo ſmall reſpect and guard of his perſon? Thy ſleepe is more pleaſant vnto thee then thy watch for his conſeruation. Aſſuredly this act of thine deſerueth a capitall puniſhment, becauſe thou neither haſt diſcouered me, nor any others before we entred the campe, or approched the King. Seeke for the Kings Iauelin & his pitcher of water, and thou ſhalt perceiue in what great danger he hath beene euen in the midſt of you, without any notice or diſcouery of yours.

Saul perceiuing that it was *Dauids* voice, and conceiued how that being in his hands (whom he had ſurprized in the depth of ſleep, through the negligẽce of his guard) he had not ſlaine him, but pardoned him his life, although it iuſtly lay in his power to take his head frõ him: he ſaid,
F that he gaue him thankes, and acknowledged his life from him, exhorting him to be aſſured, & without ſuſpect of any euill to returne home vnto his houſe, becauſe he was perſwaded, that he loued not himſelfe ſo much, as he was intirely affected by *Dauid*; notwithſtanding that he had purſued him, and for a long time paſt had chaſed him like a fugitiue, conſtraining him alſo by diuers afflictions and great torments of ſpirit, to be abandoned from his deareſt parents & friends: yea from *Dauid* himſelf, who might haue preſerued him, and who had giuen him diuers demonſtrations of his good will towards him, and by whom he had beene oftentimes preſerued; whom notwith-

The yeere of the world, 2889. before Chriſts Nativitie, 1075.

Nabal conceiueth ſo much ſorrow and feare for his immodeſty againſt Dauid, that he dieth Apoplectique.

An example of Gods prouidence, that no ſinne can eſcape vnpuniſhed.

Dauid marrieth Abigal Nabals wife.

Saul marrieth his daughter Michol to another husbãd. *1. King. 26.*

The Ziphians once more labour to betray Dauid in their countrey.

Dauid once more attẽded by two, entering into Sauls campe, ſtole away his dart and his pitcher of water.

Dauid vpbraideth Abner King Sauls General, for ſuffering his Kings Iauelin and pitcher of water to be taken from him.

Saul praiſeth Dauid, and willeth him to be of good courage, and exhorteth him to returne to his owne houſe.

The yeere of the world, 2889. before the Natiuitie of Christ. 1075.

notwithstanding he ceased not to pursue vnto the death, who contrariwise desired nothing more then his life. Hereupon *Dauid* willed him to send some one of his seruants to bring backe his Iauelin and pitcher of water: protesting that God should be Iudge of both their natures, manners and actions, who knew that that day also hee had spared his enemie, whom if he had so thought good, he might haue extinguished.

Saul hauing this second time escaped from *Dauids* hands, returned to his royall house. But *Dauid*, fearing lest if he soiourned in that place, he should be intrapped by *Saul*, thought good to retire himselfe into the countrey of the Philistines, and soiourne there. So that accompanied with sixe hundred men which he had with him, he transported himselfe to *Achis* King of Geth, one of their fiue Cities; who receiued him with all his people, & gaue him a place to dwell in: so that he aboad in Geth, hauing with him his two wiues, *Achimaas* and *Abigal*. Which when *Saul* vnderstood, he made no more account to send or sally out against him, because that two seuerall times he had bin in danger of his life, at such time as he pursued him to intrap him. *Dauid* held it not conuenient to remaine in the Citie of Geth, and therefore requested the King of the Philistines, that sith he had courteously entertained him, it might please him likewise to do him the fauour to assigne him a certaine place in his countrey, where he might make his habitation, because he feared to be chargeable to him, if so be he remained in the citie. *Achis* assigned to him a village called Siceleg, which *Dauid* after he obtained the kingdome, loued and honoured, holding that for his owne demaine, as his owne children and heires did after him. But hereof will we speake in another place. The time that *Dauid* liued amongst the Philistines and in the towne of Siceleg, were foure moneths and twentie daies; during which time, by seuerall and secret excursions against the bordering Sarrites and Amalechites, he spoiled their countrey and returned backe againe with a great bootie of oxen and camels: yet brought he thence no bondmen, lest *Achis* by their meanes should haue intelligence of his enterprize. He sent likewise a part of the prey vnto the King, & when he demanded from whom he had taken the same, he answered that he had taken it from the Iewes that dwelt Southward and in the Plaine, perswading him that he had done no losse: so that *Achis* conceiued an opinion, that since *Dauid* warred against his owne nation all the time of his aboad with him, he would be a faithfull seruant vnto him. About the same time, the Philistines hauing determined to lead forth their armie against the Israelites, sent out to their allies, requiring them to assist them in that warre, and to make their *Rendeuous* at Renga, to the intent that being there assembled, they might dislodge and assaile the Israelites. Amongst their other auxiliarie companies, *Achis* had requested *Dauid* to assist him, with his sixe hundred souldiers: which he promised him willingly to performe, telling him that the opportunitie was now come wherein he might requite his courtesie, and the hospitalitie he had shewed him. *Achis* promised him that after the victorie, when as all things had succeeded according as he desired, he would preferre *Dauid* to the guard of his person; thinking by the promise of this honour and trust, he might augment *Dauids* forwardnesse and affection towards him.

Dauid declareth his innocency to Saul. 1. *King.* 27.
Saul desisteth to persecute Dauid.
Dauid with sixe hundred men and his two wiues went into Palestine to Achis King of Citta.
Dauid requireth a certain place at the Kings hands to make his habitation in.
The King giueth him Siceleg.
Dauid spoiled the Sarrites & Amalechites, and giueth part of the prey to the King, perswading him that he tooke it from the Iewes that inhabited the South plaine.

CHAP. XV.

The Philistines renew their warre against the Hebrewes, and obtaine the victorie: and SAVL *with his sonnes, are slaine in the battell.*

The yeere of the world, 2890. before Christs Natiuitie, 1074.

BVT *Saul* about this time had banished all Diuiners and Inchanters, and in generall, all such as were tellers of fortunes, reseruing none within his countrey, but the Prophets. When as therfore he vnderstood that the Palestines were already vp in armes, and strongly encamped neere to the Citie of Sonna, situate in the Plaine, he marched forward and made head against them with all his forces. And as soone as he drew neere to the mountaine of Gelboa, he incāped right ouer against the enemie. Now when his armie discouered their great forces, they were much discomforted, and no sooner beheld it but were amazed. Being therfore sore troubled herewith, he sought counsell at Gods hands as touching the euent of the battell: and seeing he returned him no answer, his heart more & more failed him, in that he manifestly perceiued what sinister successe would betide him, if God should not assist him in the conflict. He therefore commanded that they should search him out some Pythonissa or cunning enchantresse, who inuocated & raised the spirits of the dead, to the end that by her means he might know if his wars should haue that successe which he pretended (for the Diuiners which gaue answer by the belly, which the Greekes call Engastrimythes, declare their aduentures to those that aske them.) And when

Saul banisheth all diuiners and enchanters out of his kingdome.
Saul hearing the Philistines made head against him, asked counsel of God.

when as by the report of a certaine familiar friend of his, he was aduertiſed that there was ſuch a one at Endor, vnwitting to his whole armie, and laying aſide his royall habites, and attended onely by two, whom he eſteemed for his moſt faithfull ſeruants, he repaired to Endor to this woman, requiring her to diuine and raiſe vp the ſpirit of him whom he ſhould name. The woman denied, and ſaid, that ſhee ought not to contradict the Kings edict, who had driuen out of his Realme all ſuch ſort of Soothſayers, telling him that hee did not well, that hauing receiued no wrong at her hands, he ſhould thus ſound her, and ſeeke to bring her in lapſe of the Kings lawes, and cauſe her to be puniſhed. But *Saul* ſwore vnto her, that no man ſhould know thereof, and that he would not diſcouer her diuination to others: briefely, that ſhee ſhould incurre no danger thereby.

The yeere of the world, 2890. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1074.

Saul repaireth to Endor to aske counſell of a Sorcereſſe.

After then, that by his oathes and proteſtations he had perſwaded her, that ſhe ſhould haue no cauſe to feare, he commanded her to raiſe the ſpirit of *Samuel*. Shee not knowing what *Samuel* was, called him from hell, and he ſuddenly appeared. But when ſhe perceiued that it was an honourable man, and of diuine ſemblance, ſhe was ſore troubled; and being wholly diſcomforted with this viſion, ſhe turned and ſaid vnto the King: Art not thou *Saul*? for *Samuel* had certified her no leſſe. *Saul* confeſſed that it was he, and asked her for what cauſe ſhe ſeemed to be ſo much troubled? Shee anſwered, that ſhee ſaw a man aſcend that reſembled God. *Saul* commanded her to declare vnto him his ſhape, habit, and age: and ſhe gaue him to vnderſtand that he was a reuerend old man, attired in the veſtment of an high Prieſt. By theſe markes *Saul* knew that it was *Samuel*: whereupon, proſtrating himſelfe on the earth, he adored and ſaluted him. The ſpirit of *Samuel* asked him for what cauſe he had troubled and raiſed him? To whom he complained and lamented that he was inforced thereunto by neceſſity: for that a grieuous hoſt of his enemies were at hand, and that void of counſell, he was forſaken by God, hauing from him no prediction, either by prophecie or dreame: for which cauſe, ſaid he, I made my recourſe vnto thee, who haſt alwayes had care both of mee and my fortunes. But *Samuel* foreſeeing that the Kings death was hard at hand, anſwered him that it was in vaine for him to queſtion with him, as touching thoſe things that ſhould happen, ſince thou knoweſt that thou art forſaken by God. Know therefore, ſaid he, that *Dauid* ſhall poſſeſſe the Kingdome, and that it is he that ſhall eſtabliſh the eſtate by armes: but as concerning thy ſelfe, thou ſhalt loſe both thy Kingdome and thy life, becauſe thou haſt diſobeyed God in thy warre againſt the Amalechites, and haſt not obſerued his commandements, according as I foretold thee at ſuch time as I was aliue. Know therefore, that thy people and hoſt ſhall be diſconfited by the enemy, and that both thou and thy ſonnes ſhall be to morrow ſlaine in the battell, and be with mee. When *Saul* vnderſtood theſe things, he became ſpeechleſſe, through the ſorrow wherewith he was ſeized, and fell downe on the pauement, either for that his forces failed him through ſudden griefe, or for his want of meat; becauſe that neither that night, nor the day before, he had vouchafed his body any refection or ſuſtenance.

Saul commandeth the witch to raiſe Samuels ghoſt.

Saul complaineth him of his miſeries to Samuel, and asketh his aduice.

Semuels ghoſt certifieth Saul of the euent of his battell againſt the Philiſtines.

Saul through ſudden ſorrow fell in a ſwoune.

At length, hardly recouering himſelfe out of his ſwoune, the woman importuned him to receiue ſome ſuſtenance, beſeeching him to doe her that fauour in recompence of her vnexpected diuination; which though interdicted, ſhe had aduentured to performe for his ſake (before ſhee were aſcertained that it was he that had forbidden them) in conſideration whereof, ſhe prayed him, that ſitting downe at the table, hee would refreſh himſelfe with ſome ſuſtenance, to the end he might be the more able to returne vnto his army. And although he reſiſted and vtterly refuſed to eate, in that he had no appetite, and was vtterly deſperate; yet ſo effectually importuned ſhee, that finally ſhe perſwaded him to receiue ſome little nouriſhment. And whereas ſhe had but one calfe which ſhe bred vp in her houſe with ſome particular care (for ſhe was but a poore woman, and had no other riches) yet ſpared ſhe not to kill it, and dreſſe the fleſh for *Saul* and his ſeruants. Thus refected, *Saul* returned back againe into his campe. The courteſie of this woman deſerueth to be praiſed: for, although ſhe knew that the king had prohibited her art, whereby both ſhe and her family ſufficiently maintained themſelues: and although before that time ſhe had neuer ſeene *Saul*; yet ſo it is, that without remembring her that it was he by whom her art had bin condemned, ſhee entertained him not as a ſtranger, or like the man ſhee had neuer ſeene before; but had compaſſion on him and comforted him, exhorting him to eate, although he refuſed it, and preſented him willingly and heartily with that little which ſhe had in her pouerty. All which ſhe did not vnder hope of recompence, or expected preferment (knowing well that *Saul* ſhould ſhortly loſe his life) nor according to the ordinary courſe of men, that naturally honour thoſe that haue beſtowed ſome dignity vpon them, and become ſeruiceable to thoſe from whom they pretend to draw ſome profit hereafter. She therefore ought to be imitated, and in her appeareth an excellent

The Enchantreſſe intreateth him to refreſh himſelfe, and take ſome refection.

An example of courteſie & liberality in the Enchantreſſe.

The yeere of the world, 2890. before Christs Nativitie. 1074.

excellent example of bounty, approouing that there is nothing more worthy praiſe, then to relieue thoſe that are in neceſſitie; neither any thing more becomming men, or whereby we may obtaine Gods fauour and graces, better then by it. Thus much ſufficeth at this preſent, in reſpect of this woman. But now me thinketh I ſhall doe well if I inſert in this place, and in theſe my writings, an other example both profitable to people and Nations, and in eſpeciall an incitation to Noblemen, and ſuch as are borne vnto glory, to follow vertue; which alſo ſhal expreſſe what honour is, and exemplifie how a man may eternize his memory, which ought to engender in the hearts of Kings of Nations, and of Gouernours of Common-weales, a ſingular deſire and affection to addict themſelues to noble actions, and to encourage them to entertaine dangers, yea death it ſelfe; and teach them to endure all difficulties whatſoeuer, for their Countries cauſe. To which intent, the hiſtory of *Saul* the King of the Hebrewes yeeldeth me matter moſt accident to this purpoſe. For, although he knew that which ſhould befall him, and that his death was at hand (according as it had beene foretold him) yet reſolued he not to auoid the ſame; neither ſo loued hee his life, that for the conſeruation thereof, he would deliuer vp his people into the hands of their enemies, nor diſhonour his Royall dignity: but himſelfe, with his children and all his houſehold, expoſed themſelues to danger; thinking it more honourable to die with them in fighting for his ſubiects, and farre more expedient that his children ſhould die like valiant men, then to leaue them aliue in incertitude of eſtate whereinto they might fall, ſuppoſing that he ſhould haue ſufficient ſucceſſours of his race, if he left behind him a perpetuall memory & praiſe both of him and his. For which cauſe (in my opinion) he was both iuſt, ſtrong, and prudent, and if any one either is or hath bin like vnto him, I ſuppoſe that it becommeth all men to giue teſtimony of ſuch a mans vertue. For I thinke that the Hiſtorians and ancient Writers, haue not worthily entituled them with the ſtile of valiant men, who attaining ſome worthy actions, attempted warre vnder aſſured hope of victorie and ſafety, but they only that imitate *Saul* may deſeruedly be called iuſt, praiſe-worthy, couragious, hardie, and contemcers of all dangers. For what great thing is there in vndertaking the common hazzard of war, and toſſed twixt hope and feare, to vſe Fortunes fauour if ſhe fawne vpon vs? But contrariwiſe, I account it an aſſured ſigne of a valiant man, when as without conceit or hope of any goodneſſe, and knowing his death at hand, and aſſured in his conflict, he is not affraid nor diſmaid with ſuch apprehenſions, but ſeeketh out with an inuincible courage is moſt aſſured hazzard.

Ioſephus praiſeth Saul for a worthy and valiant King, in that foreknowing his danger and death, he expoſed himſelf to aſſured perill.

This is the praiſe of our *Saul*, who is an example to all true louers of glory, that if they haue regard to leaue an honeſt memory to their poſterity, they ſhould vpon the like opportunity propoſe the ſame reſolution to themſelues: but in eſpeciall Kings, who, by reaſon of the excellency of their degree, ought not onely forbeare to be euill, but alſo ſtriue to be excellently vertuous. I could likewiſe ſay more of this generous argument of *Sauls* valour, but leſt I ſhould ſeeme too affectionate, I will returne to our former purpoſe. *1 King. 29.*

After that the Philiſtines were thus encamped (according as hath been afore-ſpoken) and had numbred their forces according to their Nations, Kingdomes, & Gouernours, King *Achis* iſſued in the rereward with his particular company, whom *Dauid* followed, accompanied with his ſixe hundred ſouldiers: whom when the Chiefetaines of the Philiſtines beheld, they asked the King whence thoſe Hebrewes came, and what their Leaders name was? Who anſwered them that it was *Dauid*, who fled from *Saul* his maſter, and how he had entertained him being fled from him: againe, how *Dauid*, in recompence of the good he had receiued at his hand, and to reuenge him on *Saul*, was ready to fight for them againſt him. But the Chiefetaines blamed him, becauſe he had choſen an enemy for his aſſociate, counſelling him to diſmiſſe him, for feare leſt he ſhould ſecretly performe ſome ſtrange ſtratageme againſt his confederates, becauſe (ſaid they) he hath a fit opportunity to reconcile himſelfe to his Maſter. They therefore willed him to ſend *Dauid* backe with his ſixe hundred ſouldiers, vnto the place which hee had giuen him to inhabite, becauſe it was the ſame *Dauid* of whom the damſels made ſongs, ſinging in praiſe of him, that hee had ſlain many thouſand Philiſtines. When the king of Geth vnderſtood theſe things, he thought their counſell to be laudable: for which cauſe, calling *Dauid* vnto him, he ſaid vnto him; I proteſt vnto thee (ſaid he) that I beare a moſt ſingular affection and good liking towards thee: and for that cauſe I haue called thee out to aſſiſt vs in this battell; but our Captaines allow not of my reſolution; for which cauſe, retire thy ſelfe to the place which I haue giuen thee, without conceiuing any euill ſuſpicion of me. There ſhalt thou be in gariſon, to foreſtall the enemy from foraging our countrey: and in ſo doing, thou ſhalt partly aſſiſt in the warre. Hereupon, *Dauid* departed vnto Siceleg, according ae the King had commanded him.

Achis leadeth out Dauid with him againſt the Hebrewes, and is reprooued by the chieftains of the Paleſtines for ſo doing.

Achis diſmiſſeth Dauid.

But

The yeere of the world, 2890. before the Natiuitie of Christ. 1074.

A But during the time that *Dauid* was in campe, and attended on the Philistines warre, the Amalechites arose and tooke Siceleg by force, and burned the City: and after they had gathered a great bootie both in that place, and in other villages of the Philistines countrey, they retired backe againe. Now when *Dauid* arriued at Siceleg, & found it wholly and ruinately spoiled, and seeing likewise that his two wiues, & the wiues of his companions were prisoners together with their children: he presently rent his rayment, and began to weepe and lament with his companions; yea so much was he afflicted, that he had scarce any teares left him to bemone himselfe: beside this, his cõpanions amated with the captiuity of their wiues and children, were ready to stone him to death; accusing him that he was the cause of all that which had hapned. But when B as his griefe was after a manner aslaked, and hee somewhat returned to himselfe, he lifted vp his heart vnto God, and commanded the high Priest *Abiathar* to put on the Ephod, and aske counsaile of God; and that done, to declare vnto him wherby by his assistance he might ouertake the Amalechites, if so be he should pursue them; and whether he should recouer his wiues and children that they had led away, and reuenge him of his enemies. As soone as the high Priest had certified him that he might pursue them, hee sallied out with sixe hundreth soldiers, and pursued the enemy: and drawing neere vnto the riuer, he found a certen straggler an Ægyptian by nation, wholly discomforted and feeble thorow want and famine wherewith he was pressed, hauing for three daies space wandered in the desart without any sustenance; whom after he had refreshed with meate and drinke, and recomforted, he asked him to whom he belonged, and what he was. C The Ægyptian told him his nation; & how he had beene left in that place by his master, because that through his weaknes it was impossible for him to follow them. Hee confessed likewise, that his master was one of the number of those that had burned and sacked, not onely other quarters of Iudæa, but Siceleg also. *Dauid* taking this man for his guide ouertooke them, finding some of them lying on the earth; others banquetting and following drunkennes, and almost senseless by ouerdrinking: so recouering both his bootie and pillage, hee sodainly set vpon them, and made a great slaughter. For they being naked, and suspecting no such inconuenient, and wholly addicted to frolicke drinking and feasting, were all of them easily defeated: diuers likewise amongst them were slaine as they sate at their meat; others likewise were slaughtered whilest they carrousèd the one vnto the other; and some of them perished being loaden with sleepe, and gor- D ged with wine.

The Amalechites in Dauids absence spoile and burne Siceleg, & carry away the prey.

Dauid taketh counsell of God, whether he will assist him to recouer his wiues and goods out of the hands of the Amalechites.

Dauid guided by an Ægyptian slaue, ouertaketh the Amalechites.

Dauid assaileth the Amalechites, and makes a great slaughter of them, and recouereth the whole prey.

They likewise that were compleatly armed, intending to make resistance, were as easily slaine, as they that lay naked vpon the earth: Thus *Dauids* men abode with him from the first houre of the morning till the euening, doing nought else but kill and murther, so that only foure hundreth of the Amalechites escaped, who likewise fled being mounted on their Dromedaries. So recouered he all that which the enemy had ransackt, and amõgst other things he released both his own wiues and those of his companions. Whereupon they returned to the place where they had left the other two hundreth, which might not follow them, because they were appointed to guard the baggage: To these, the aboue said foure hundreth would not grant a part of the booty and profit, because they had not (as they said) followed the enemie with them, but shewed them- E selues slacke in the pursuite; alledging that they ought to content thẽselues with the recouery of their wiues. But *Dauid* said, that the sentence which was pronounced by them, was both euill & vniust: for since God had granted them the grace to defeate their enemies, all of them merited to haue part in the profit, which ought equally to be diuided amongst them, both amongst those that had fought, and amongst those likewise that staied behind to guard the baggage. And from that day forward this ordinance hath beene held firmely amongst them, that they that keepe the baggage, should haue equall part and portion of the prey with those that should goe out to the battell. But when *Dauid* was returned to Siceleg, he sent vnto all his familiars and friends of the tribe of *Iuda*, a seuerall part of the spoile: In this manner was Siceleg sacked and burned, and thus were the Amalechites discomfited. But the Philistines assailed, and fought a bloody battell with *Saul* and his followers, wherein the Philistines had the vpper hand, and slew a great num- F ber of their enemies. *Saul* King of Israel with his sonnes fought therein very valiantly, and with stout hearts, seeing that all their honour consisted in that onely point to die nobly, & to hazzard themselues against all camisadoes of their enemies. For since the Philistines bent all their forces against them, they saw no meanes of recouerie, so that incompassed by them, they died in the middest of them, and yet before their death, slewe a great number of the Philistines. There were there present *Sauls* three sonnes; *Ionathan*, *Aminadab* and *Melchi*: who being defeated, all the Hebrew armie turned their backes: so that beeing instantly pursued by the enemy, there

Dauid compromitteth the debate betwixt those that pursued the chace, and those that kept the baggage touching the pillage. 1. *Reg.* 31.

Saul and his sons seeing their armie ouercome by the Philistins, are desperately dismaid and slaine.

The yeere of the world, 2890. before Christs Nativitie. 1074.

there fell a great disorder, slaughter and confusion amongst them. *Saul* fled also, although hee had about him a strong squadron of men. And although the Philistines marshalled foorth against him a multitude of archers, that shot many darts and arrowes at him; yet were they all but a very few repulsed: and although he had fought very brauely, hauing receiued on him diuers wounds, yet being vnable to support the paine and griefe of his wounds, and trauailed with shortnesse of breath, he commanded his Esquier to draw his sword, and to thrust it thorow his body before he should be surprized aliue by his enemies: which his Esquier refused to doe, not daring to lay hands vpon his Master. For which cause *Saul* drew his owne sword, and settled the point to his brest and cast himselfe thereon: but vnable to force it home enough, nor make it by goaring himselfe thereon to pierce quite thorow him, he looked backe and perceiued a yong man hard beside him, of whom he demanded what he was: and hearing that he was an Amalechite, hee requested him, that since himselfe was vnable to pierce himselfe with his own hands, that he would leane vpon him, and make the sword passe thorow him, & bring him to that death which he so earnestly desired: which he did, and hauing taken from him the gold which he had about his armes, and the Royal Crowne likewise, he fled away. The Esquier seeing *Saul* dead, so dainly slew himselfe: Not one of all the Kings Guard escaped, but all of them were slaine neere vnto the mountaine Gelboa. When they that inhabited the valley on the other side of Iordan & in the Plaine, had intelligence that *Saul* and his sonnes were dead, and with them a great number of their Nation was slaine, they abandoned their Cities and fled to others that were more defenced. The Philistines finding these Cities destitute of inhabitants, encamped therein. The next day whilest the Philistines spoyled the dead, they found the bodies of *Saul* and his sons, which they spoyled and beheaded; sending their heads round about the countrey, to make it knowne that their enemies were defeated. They offered vp their armes also in the temple of Astaroth; and as for their bodies they hung them on the wals of the Citie of Bethsan, at this day called Scythopolis. When they of Iabes a City of Galaad vnderstood how the Philistines had thus cut off the heads of *Saul* and his sonnes, they were sore mooued, and thought it became them not to be so careless of them, but that they should be rescued. For which cause the most valiant and hardy amongst them (for that Citie bringeth vp men both valiant in heart and strong in body) departed and marched all night long, so as they attained Bethsan, and approching neere the wals, took downe the body of *Saul* and his sonnes, and carried them vnto *Iabes*, without any resistance of the enemie, in that they durst not attempt the rescue. These Iabesians lamented ouer their dead bodies, and made publike lamentations, and buried them in the faireſt place of their countrey, which place is called Arar. They mourned after this maner weeping, both men, and women and children, and beating their brests, and lamenting the King and his sonnes, and tasting neither meate nor drinke. This was the end of *Saul*, according as *Samuel* had foretold him, because hee had disobeyed God in his warre against the Amalechites, and for that he had slaine the race of *Achimelech*, and *Achimelech* himselfe also, and destroyed the City of the Priests. He raigned during the life of *Samuel*, for the space of eighteene yeeres, and twenty two yeeres after his death. Thus finished *Saul* his life.

Saul striueth to kil himself: and being vnable vseth the assistance of a yong Amalechite.

The Hebrews that inhabite the valley beyond Iordan, leauing their townes, flie to defeced cities.

The Palestins hung vp the bodies of Saul and his sonnes.

The citizens of Iabes, rescue the bodies of Saul and his sons, and both bury and lament them.

THE

THE SEVENTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES: WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the seuenth Booke.

1 Dauid *is created King of one tribe in Hebron: ouer the rest*, Sauls *sonne obtaineth the soueraigntie.*
2 Isboseth *is slaine by the treacherie of his domesticall seruants, and the whole kingdome commeth vnto* Dauid.
3 Dauid *hauing surprized the Citie and cittadell of Ierusalem, driueth the Chanaanites from thence, and causeth the Iewes to inhabit the same.*
4 Dauid *assailed by the Philistines, obtaineth a famous victorie against them neere vnto Ierusalem.*
5 Dauid *ouercomming the neighbouring nations, imposeth tributes on them.*
6 *They of Damasco are ouercome by* Dauid.
7 *How* Dauid *ouercame the Mesopotamians.*
8 *How through the intestine warres of his family,* Dauid *was expulsed out of his kingdome by his sonne.*
9 Absolon *marching out with his armie against his father, is ouerthrowne.*
10 *The happie estate of* Dauid *restored againe into his kingdome.*
11 Dauid *in his life time, anointeth and createth his sonne* Salomon *King.*
12 *The death of* Dauid, *and how much he left his sonne towards the building of the Temple.*

CHAP. I.

DAVID *is created King of one Tribe in Hebron: ouer the rest,* SAVLS *sonne obtaineth the soueraigntie.*

THIS battell was fought on the same day that *Dauid* returned conquerour to Siceleg, after he had subdued the Amalechites. But some three daies after his returne, he that slew *Saul* and had escaped from the battell, hauing his garment rent, and ashes cast vpon his head, came and cast himselfe prostrate before *Dauid*: and being demanded from whence he came, he answered, From the battell of the Israelites; and certified *Dauid* of the vnhappy issue thereof: telling him how diuers thousands of the Hebrewes were slaine, and how *Saul* himselfe and his sonnes were done to death in the conflict. He likewise gaue him to vnderstand, how he himselfe retreated amongst the Hebrewes, and was present at the flight of the King: confessing likewise that he was the author of his death, vnder purpose to redeeme him from the hands of his enemies: For (said he) *Saul* hauing cast himselfe vpon the point of his sword, was so weake, by reason of the agonie of his wounds, that he could not dispatch himselfe. Furthermore, he produced the testimonies of his death; the gold about his armes, and the royall Crowne which he tooke and brought from him being dead. *Dauid* perceiuing no cause whereby he should suspect his death, whereof he had most euident and infallible testimonies, rent his garments, and spent the day in weeping and lamenting with his companions. And the more was he ouerpressed with sorrow, by reason of the losse of his most deare friend *Ionathan*, whom he acknowledged to be the author and conseruer of his life: And so vertuous and affectionate shewed he himselfe towards *Saul*, that although he had oftentimes beene in danger to haue been slaine by him, yet was he sore aggrieued at his death: and not that alone, but he likewise executed him that slew him; telling him, that he himselfe had accused himselfe for slaying the King, declaring thereby that he was the sonne of an Amalechite, and commanded that he should be put to death. He composed likewise lamentations and Epitaphs in praise of *Saul* and *Ionathan*, which are as yet extant at this present time wherein I liue. After that he had thus honoured the King, and performed his lamentation and obsequies, he asked counsell of God by the meanes of the Prophet, what Citie of the tribe of *Iuda* he would giue him to inhabit in? who answered him that

The yeere of the world, 2891. before christs Natiuitie, 1073.

2. King. 1. An Amalechite certifieth Dauid of Sauls death, and in testimonie thereof presenteth his bracelets and Crowne.

Dauid lamenteth Saul and Ionathans death.

Dauid commandeth the Amalechite to be slaine that killed Saul.

The yeere of the world, 2801. *before Christs birth,* 1073.

Dauid by Gods commandement commeth and dwelleth at Hebron, and is declared King of the tribe of Iuda.

Dauid praiseth the Iabesines for burying Saul and his sons.

Abner the son of Ner crowneth Isboseth Sauls sonne.

Abner leadeth out his army against the tribe of Iuda.

Ioab with all Dauids armie issueth out to meet him.

Twelue souldiers fight, & kill one another, and Abners side are ouerthrowne.

Azael Ioabs brother pursueth Abner.

Abner in his flight killeth Azael.

that he would giue him Hebron. For which cause he forsooke Siceleg, and came and dwelt in Hebron, and brought thither his wife and souldiers. All the people of the aforesaid tribe resorted thither vnto him, and proclaimed him King: where vnderstanding how the Iabesins had buried *Saul* and his sonnes, he sent Embassadors vnto them, both to praise and approoue their actions, promising them that both he allowed their act, and would remunerate their deuoire which they had extended toward the dead: giuing thē likewise to vnderstand, that the tribe of *Iuda* had chosen him for their King. But *Abner* the son of *Ner* General of *Sauls* army, a man of execution, and of a noble disposition, vnderstanding that *Saul* and *Ionathan* and his two other brothers were dead, came into the campe, and bringing with him the onely sonne of *Saul* that was left, whose name was *Isboseth*, he passed on the other side of Iordan, and proclaimed him King of all the people except the tribe of *Iuda*. He appointed likewise for his royall seate and place of residence, a certaine countrey called in Hebrew Machare, that is to say, the campe. From thence went he with an elected band of souldiers, with a resolution to fight against those of the tribe of *Iuda*, in that he was displeased with them, because they had made choise of *Dauid* for their King. Against him marched out *Ioab* the sonne of *Suri* and of *Saruia Dauids* sister, Generall of his armie, to encounter him, accompanied with his brothers *Abisai* and *Azael*, & all *Dauids* souldiers: and arriuing neere a certaine fountaine of Gabaa, he arranged his armie in that place to enter battell. And when as *Abner* said vnto him, that he desired to make triall whether part had the better souldiers, it was accorded betweene them, that twelue of either side should be chosen out to determine the challenge: who marching out into a certaine place betwixt both the hosts, and hauing darted their Iauelins the one against the other, came at last to the sword; where mutually assailing, hewing and butchering one another both in their heads, sides and bowels, they all of them at last fell down dead, as if the plot had bin determined between them. Which done, the two armies ioyned in like sort, & after a cruel battell *Abner* with his followers were discomfited: who speedily flying were incessantly pursued by *Ioab*, who in his owne person insisted and exhorted his other soldiers to pursue them hastily, without suffering any of them to escape. But amongst the rest, *Ioabs* brothers were hot vpon the chase, and the yongest of them called *Azael*, gaue especiall testimonie of his forwardnes, through that swiftnesse in running wherewith he was endowed; for he ranne not onely more swift then other men, but outstripped horses also in their race. Whilest thus he pursued *Abner* with great vehemencie and headlong course, without turning either on the one side or on the other; *Abner* turned backe vpon him, and intending to dignifie him for his forces; he first couenanted with him for one souldiers armour, and another time seeing that he could not be perswaded to stay, he prayed him to arrest himselfe and pursue him no further, for feare left being inforced to kill him, he should be depriued of the courage to behold his brother *Ioab*. But perceiuing that he made no account of his words, in that *Azael* instantly insisted to pursue him; *Abner* flying and turning himselfe backe, strooke him with a Iauelin which he had in his hand, in such sort as he presently died. But they that pursued *Abner*, likewise arriuing in the place where *Azaels* body vnaduenturously fell dead, staied round about him, and surceased to pursue the enemy any further. But *Ioab* and his brother *Abisai* outstripping the body with swift running, and conceiuing a more mortall hatred against *Abner*, for that he had in this sort slaine their brother; they pursued him vntill sun-set, with admirable swiftnesse, and incredible alacritie vnto a place called Dumaton: There mounting vpon a hillocke, hee saw *Abner* with the tribe of *Beniamin* flying from him; who began to cry out vnto him and say, that men of the same tribe should not be so whetted and incensed the one against the other: That their brother *Azael* was in the fault, because that although he had exhorted him to cease from running after him, yet could he not perswade him, and that for the same cause he had both strooken and slaine him. *Ioab* wisely digesting these his sayings, and accepting of them as of wholesome and friendly aduertisements and counsels, he commanded the trumpet to sound retreat, and surceased to pursue them any more, and incamped for that night in the same place: during which time, *Abner* trauelled without ceasing, and hauing past ouer Iordan, returned to his campe to *Isboseth Sauls* sonne. The next day *Ioab* suruaied the dead, and caused them to be buried. Those that were found dead on *Abners* side, were about three hundreth and sixtie men; and on *Dauids* side nineteene, ouer and besides *Azael*, whose body *Ioab* and *Abisai* tooke with them, and carried it vnto Bethleem, and after they had interred it in the tombe of their ancestors, they repaired to Hebron vnto *Dauid*. From that time forward there arose a ciuill warre amongst the Hebrewes, that endured a long time, in which *Dauids* followers had alwaies the vpper hand, and neuer aduẽtured the hazzard of the field without returning with some aduantage,

Ioab & Abisai pursued Abner till sunne-set.

Ioab sounding a retreat restraineth his soldiers.

How many on each side died in the battell.

2. *King.* 3. The beginning of ciuill war amongst the Hebrews.

aduantage; whereas the ſonne of *Saul* and his partakers had almoſt euery day the worſe. *Dauid* at that time had ſixe ſonnes by ſo many wiues, the eldeſt of them was called *Ammon* the ſonne of *Achimaas*, the ſecond was *Daniel* the ſonne of *Abigal*, the third was called *Abſolon* the ſonne of *Machama* the daughter of *Ptolomey* King of Geſſur; the fourth was *Adonias* the ſonne of his wife called *Aggite*: the fift and the ſixt were called *Gertheſſa* and *Gala*. But after this ciuill warre was begunne, and that the Kings on both ſides had oftentimes encountred and fought together; *Abner* Generall of the armie of King *Sauls* ſonne, a prudent man, and one that was beloued by the people, endeauoured all that in him lay, that the whole countrey might be commanded by *Iſboſeth*, and in effect they all ſubmitted vnto him for a certaine time: but when as it afterwards fell out that *Abner* was charged and accuſed to haue kept company with *Riſpa Sauls* concubine, the daughter of *Sibath*, and that *Iſboſeth* likewiſe had reproued him for the ſame cauſe, he conceiued a great griefe & deſpite, ſuppoſing that he had great iniurie done vnto him, conſidering how carefull he had beene, and was, of the Kings eſtate: for which cauſe he threatned him to eſtabliſh the kingdome to *Dauid*, and to make him know, that it was neither his vertue nor prudence that made him ſoueraigne ouer the tribes on that ſide Iordan, but that his faith and warlike conduct was the cauſe thereof. For which cauſe he ſent vnto Hebron to *Dauid*, requiring him by an oath to accept of him as his confederate and friend, promiſing him to perſwade the people to forſake *Sauls* ſonne, and to proclaime him King of the whole region: *Dauid* ſware vnto him, according as he had required, and was very glad of that embaſſage that *Abner* had ſent vnto him, and the rather for that vnder aſſured teſtimony of their accords, hee had preſerued *Michol Dauids* wife (whom hee had purchaſed with the price of diuers great dangers, and with ſixe hundreth heads of the Philiſtines preſented to his father *Saul*, to the end he might enioy her) which *Michol Abner* had ſent him backe, hauing taken her from *Phalti*, who had ſince that time eſpouſed her: whereunto *Iſboſeth* alſo was aſſiſtant, to whom *Dauid* had written that it was reaſon that hee ſhould recouer his wife. *Abner* therefore aſſembled all the elders and Gouernours of the people, and told them that at ſuch time as heretofore they were ready to forſake *Iſboſeth*, and to ſubmit themſelues to *Dauid*, he had diſſwaded them from that intent; but at this preſent if they had the will, he would cõdeſcend vnto them, becauſe he was aſſured that God had choſen *Dauid* by the mouth of *Samuel* the Prophet) to bee King ouer all the Hebrewes; and had foretold that hee ſhould puniſh the Philiſtines, and ſhould ouercome them, and bring them vnder his ſubiection. Which when the elders and Gouernours vnderſtood, & were aſſured likewiſe that *Abner* would ſubſcribe to their reſolution as touching the eſtate, they all of them determined to ſubmit themſelues to *Dauid*. *Abner* ſeeing them thus reſolued, did afterwards aſſemble al the tribe of *Beniamin* (out of which the archers of *Iſboſeths* guard were choſen) and told them the like, and perceiuing that they contradicted him no waies, but ſubmitted themſelues vnto his pleaſure, he gathered about twentie of his familiar friends, and reſorted vnto *Dauid* to receiue in his own perſon *Dauids* oath: both for that each man in his own affaires repoſeth greateſt confidence in himſelfe, as alſo to giue him intelligence what ſpeech he had held with the elders and the whole tribe. *Dauid* receiued and entertained him very kindly, and magnificently and ſumptuouſly feaſted him at his table for many daies, praying him that he would depart, and returne & bring the people with him, to the end that in their preſence & ſight, he might deliuer him vp the gouernment. When *Dauid* had diſmiſſed *Abner*; ſome little time after his departure, *Ioab* the Generall of *Dauids* armie came to Hebron, and knowing that *Abner* had bin with *Dauid*, and that but ſome little time before he was departed from him, with accords & promiſes made vnto him that he ſhould be Gouernour; he fearing leſt that if *Dauid* ſhould place him in honour and dignitie, and ſhould make *Abner* (who was a man otherwaies exerciſed in affaires, and politique to preuent occaſions) as it were his companion in the kingdome, that the ſaid *Ioab* ſhould be degraded and depriued of his office; he tooke vpon him a curſed and froward reſolution. For firſt of all he laboured to detract and make him odious in the Kings eare, counſelling him to ſtand on his guard, & not to giue eare vnto *Abners* promiſes, who vnder colour and ſubtilty ſought to eſtabliſh the kingdome vnto *Sauls* ſonne: alledging that he came vnto him vnder colour and cautele, intending then to leaue him, when his hopes were ſatisfied and affaires diſpoſed: But perceiuing that theſe his ſubtilties tooke little effect with *Dauid*, and conſidering with himſelfe likewiſe that he mooued him in no ſort, he attempted a more perilous exploit then the former. For reſoluing with himſelfe to kill *Abner*, he ſent out certaine men after him, whom he gaue in commiſſion that as ſoone as they ſhould ouertake him, they ſhould vrge their interparlee in the name of *Dauid*, alledging that they had ſomething to communicate with him as touching the eſtate, which he had forgot to certifie him of.

The yeere of the world, 3891. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 1073.

Dauid had ſixe ſonnes borne in Hebron.

Abner bridled and gouerned the multitude, ſo that a long time they were ſubiect to Isboſeth.

Abner ſendeth Embaſſadors to Dauid in Hebron, to make a couenant with him.

Dauid requireth his wife Michol at Abners hands.

Abner cõſulteth with the elders and Gouernours of the armie to reuolt to Dauid.

The elders Captaines perſwaded by Abner follow Dauid.

The Beniamites accord with Abner, he reſorteth to Dauid and certifieth him thereof.

Abner being kindly entertained by Dauid, is friendly diſmiſſed.

The yeere of the world, 2899. before Christs Natiuitie, 1065.

When *Abner* had heard the words of these messengers (who ouertooke him in a place called Besira, some twentie furlongs off of Hebron) he strooke out of the way without suspicion of his future disaster, and *Ioab* going before him, embraced him with great loue, and like an affectionate friend (for such as enterprize any wicked action, do often and subtilly dissemble & make shew of honestie, to the end to expel out of the innocents mind all iealousie or euill suspicion) where singling him from his other companie, and making shew to informe him of certaine secrets, and hauing drawne him into a by-way besides the wall, accompanied only with his brother *Abisai*, he drew his rapier and thrust it into his short ribbes: Of which wound *Abner* died, surprized by the treason of *Ioab*; who pretended and coloured that act of his, with the reuenge and death of his brother *Azael*, whom *Abner* had slaine vpon the chase in the first warre at Hebron; but in truth it was but the suspicion of his greatnesse and honour, fearing lest he should be depriued, and *Abner* inseated by obtaining the next degree of honour vnto *Dauid*. Hereby may a man conceiue how many and how mighty things men attempt and hazzard for their auarice and ambition sake, and to the end they may not be inferiour vnto any others in those matters. For when as they desire to attaine riches and honours, they atchieue it by ten thousand mischiefes; and at such time as they feare to be dispossest, they striue to continue their estates by meanes more pernicious, because they thinke it to be the lesse sinne, and that the calamitie is lesse actiue, rather not to haue obtained to any greatnesse and power: then after the possession thereof, to fall into disgrace. Thence it commeth, that all of them intend and practise many hazzards and difficult encountries, through the feare they haue to lose their degree. But it sufficeth to haue briefly touched this point. *Dauid* hauing notice of the murther of *Abner*, conceiued a great griefe in his heart, and called all his assistants to witnesse, lifting vp his hands vnto God, and protesting that he was no partaker of the murther, and that *Abner* had beene slaine without his commandement or will. He likewise vttered most grieuous curses against the murtherer, his house and accomplices, by which he wished them to be subiect to the fatal penaltie of murther: for he greatly suspected lest he should be held in suspicion to be a party in that which had hapned vnto *Abner*, contrarie to his faith, oath and promise, which he had past vnto him. Moreouer, he commanded that all the people should weepe and lament for him, and that the funerals of his body should be honored according to the accustomed fashion, in renting of garments and putting on sackcloth: and that the same should be done, the coffin being carried before, which both he and the chiefest Gouernours of the Israelites followed, beating on their brests, and shedding teares, and testifying the loue which they bare vnto him during his life, and their displeasure to see him dead, who had bin murthered contrary to their will and intention. He was entombed in Hebron with great magnificence, and Epitaphs composed in his praise by *Dauid* himselfe, who setting himselfe on the tombe first of all lamented, and gaue others cause of lamentation. And so much was hee cõfused at the death of this *Abner*, that he swore to forbeare all kind of meat vntill the sunne-set, notwithstanding all the instances of his friends, who vrged him to take refection: which act of his purchased him much good will & loue amongst the people. For they that loued *Abner*, were very glad to be witnesses of that honour which he did him in his death, & that faith which hee maintained in honouring him, euery way according to the custome, as if he had been his kinsmã or friend, and not embasing him with a vile and contemptible tombe, as if he had beene his enemie. And in generall, all of them were so glad of the courtesie, sweetnesse & royall nature of King *Dauid*, that they esteemed in like case, that he would haue the like estimate of them, as they saw him haue of deceased *Abner*. And by this meanes *Dauid* happily maintained his credit, and increased the peoples good opinion of him, escaping thereby the suspition and conceit that hee might in some sort haue beene accessarie to his death. He protested also vnto the people, that he conceiued no small griefe at the losse of so good a man, declaring thereby that it was no small staine vnto the state of the Hebrewes to bee depriued of him, who had the meanes to maintaine their peace by his good aduice, and to ratifie the same by his executions and warlike valour: But God (said he) who hath care of all things, shall not suffer him to die vnreuenged: And hee it is that shall beare mee witnesse, that it lieth not in my power to punish *Ioab* and *Abisai*, who haue greater credit in the armie then my selfe; yet shall they not escape Gods iustice for this fault. Thus ended the life of *Abner*.

Men inclined to ambition and auarice dare al things.

Dauid with the whole people bewaile Abner, and honour his funerals.

Dauid saluteth his honour, and auoideth the suspicion of Abners death.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

ISBOSETH is slaine through the treason of his friends and followers: the whole kingdome descendeth to DAVID.

The yeere of the world, 2899. before the Nativitie of Christ, 1065.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 2.

WHEN *Isboseth*, *Sauls* sonne, had notice of *Abners* death, he was sore displeased, not only for that he perceiued himselfe to be depriued of his neere kinsman, but also of so great a personage as had settled the crowne on his head. Neither did he himselfe long time remaine aliue after him: but by the sons of *Ieremon*, *Banaoth* and *Thannus*, he was traiterously done to death. These two being Beniamites, & of the chiefest nobilitie amongst thē, made their reckoning that they would make away *Isboseth*, and thereby obtaine great recompence at *Dauids* hands; supposing that such an act of theirs, would get them the chiefest place and dignity in the army, or some other credit. For which cause, finding *Isboseth* alone in his house about mid-day, laid on his bed and asleepe, and vnassisted by any of his guard, and perceiuing likewise that the Porter was fast, who through his trauell and other businesse (by reason of the extreme heate) was laid downe to rest: they entred into his lodging whereas *Isboseth* was asleepe, and slew him: and hauing cut off his head, they trauelled all the night and day long, as if they fled from those whom they had offended, and sought their rescues from them, who would succour and assure thē from perill. And when they came to Hebron, they presented *Dauid* with *Isbosethis* head, offering themselues as his most dutifull liegemen to do him seruice, who had deliuered him of an enemy, and made away an aduersary against his royaltie. But *Dauid* allowed not their act in such sort as they hoped, but spake thus vnto them; O cursed men, said he (on whom I intend presently to execute iustice) haue you not heard how I punished him that murthered *Saul*, and brought his royall crowne vnto me? Yea, although he slew him vpon his owne instant request, and to the intent the enemy should not surprize him aliue? Were you of that opinion that I was changed, & that I am not the same that I was, but that I take delight to be partaker with you in your mischiefes, or that I will countenance thē, as if these acts of yours (who are murtherers of your master) were laudable in you? in you, I say, who haue slaine a good man on his bed, that iniured no man, but was your benefactor, and who had both cherished and honoured you: nay, rather assure your selues, that you shal be punished in his behalfe, & shall yeeld me satisfaction by the losse of your liues, becausse you haue thought that *Isbosethis* death would work my contentment: for, you could not in any sort dishonor me more, then by conceiuing such an opinion of me. Which said, he adiudged them to die by the most cruell torments that might bee imagined: and with all the honour that he might, he caused *Isbosethis* head to be interred in *Abners* tombe.

Isbosethis head is brought to Dauid.

Dauids sharp inuectiue against the murtherers of Isboseth, and their punishment.

These murtherers beeing thus done to death, all the chiefest of the people repaired to *Dauid* vnto Hebron (both they that commanded ouer thousands, and such also as were Gouernours) & submitted themselues vnto him, reckoning vp the good affection they had borne him, both during *Sauls* life-time, as also the honour which they had neuer discontinued to beare him, since the first time that he was Coronell ouer a thousand, especially for that he had beene chosen by God through the mediation of the Prophet *Samuel*, to be their King, and his children after him; declaring vnto him, that God had giuen him the countrey of the Hebrewes, to defend the same, and discomfit the Philistines. *Dauid* accepted their promptitude and affection, exhorting them to persist, assuring them that they should neuer repent themselues of their obedience: and after he had banquetted and entertained them, he sent them to assemble the people.

2. *King.* 5. The nobles of the Hebrews repaire to Dauid to Hebron & declare him King.

Dauid entertained the nobles kindly.

Of the tribe of *Iuda*, there came together about sixe thousand eight hundred men of war, bearing for their armes a buckler and a iauelin, who before that time had followed *Sauls* sonnes, and besides whom the tribe of *Iuda* had assigned the kingdome to *Dauid*. Of the tribe of *Simeon*, 7. thousand, and a hundred or somewhat more: of that of *Leui* 4700. whose chiefetaine was *Iodam*, with whō was *Sadoc* the high Priest, accōpanied with 20. & two Gouernours of the same linage. Of the tribe of *Beniamin* 4000. men of war: for this tribe were as yet of opiniō that some of the heires of *Saul* should raigne. Of that of *Ephraim* 20800. both strong and stout men. Of that of *Manasses*, almost the halfe as many, namely 8000. Of that of *Issachar* 200. who were skilfull in diuinatiō, & 20000. men of war. Of that of *Zabulon* 20000. chosen fighting men: for only this entire tribe was wholly at *Dauids* cōmād, who were armed in like maner as they of Gad were. Of the tribe of *Nepthali* there were 1000. chiefetains, famous for their valour, & armed with shield & iauelin, attēded by an infinite nūber of their tribe. Of the tribe of *Dan* there were 27000. chosen men. Of that of *Aser* 40000. Of the two tribes on the other side of Iordan, & of the half tribe

The armed soldiers that came to Dauid.

of

The yeere of the world, 2899. before Christs birth, 1065.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 3.

of *Manasses* sixe score thousand armed men, with buckler, iauelin, murrion and sword: The rest of the other tribes also wore swords. All this multitude was assembled together in Hebron before *Dauid*, with great prouision of victuals and wine, sufficient to sustaine them all, who all of them with one consent, appointed *Dauid* to bee their King. Now when the people had mustred, and banquetted for three dayes space in Hebron, *Dauid* dislodged from thence with his whole host, and repaired to Ierusalem. But the Iebusites, who at that time inhabited the city, and were of the race of the Chananites, shutting vp their gates against his comming, and placing on their wals as many as were blind and lame, or maimed in any other sort, in contempt of him, scoffingly iested, and said, that these were sufficient to keepe out the enemy: so much trusted they to their fortifications. Wherwith *Dauid* being sore displeased, began to besiege Ierusalem, and vsing all diligence and industry to surprize the same, he incontinently expressed how strong he was, checking thereby other mens pride, who perhaps would haue done the like vnto him, and afterwards tooke the lower Towne. And for that the higher Towne was as yet vnsurprized, the King resolued to encourage his men of warre to shew themselues valiant, promising them honours and recompence; proclaiming that hee would make him Generall ouer all the people, that should first of all scale, ascend, and seize the wall. Whilest thus they inforced themselues to mount, without refusing any trauell (through the desire they had to obtaine the gouernment that was promised) *Ioab*, the sonne of *Saruia*, was the forwardest among the rest; and hauing got vpon the wall, cried vnto the King, requiring him to grant him the generall gouernment.

The siege of Ierusalem vndertaken by Dauid.

Dauid surprizeth the lower Towne.

Dauid getteth the vpper Towne.

The valour of Dauids souldiers, & in especiall of Ioab.

Chap. III.

David, *hauing taken Ierusalem by force, casteth out all the Chanaanites from thence, and deliuereth the Citie to bee inhabited by the Iewes.*

Dauid expelleth the Iebusites out of the towne & city of Ierusalem.

After therefore he had cast out the Iebusites from the higher City, and repaired Ierusalem, he called it the city of *Dauid*, and remained therin all the time of his raigne: so that the whole time that he ruled in Hebron, ouer the sole tribe of Iuda, was 7. yeeres and sixe moneths. But after hee had established Ierusalem for his royall city, his fortunes daily more and more increased, because God both furthered, and bettered them. *Hiram* also, King of Tyre, sent vnto him, and made a league of amity with him: he presented him likewise with presents of Cedar wood, and workemen and Masons, to build him a royall house in Ierusalem. Now, when the King had seized the higher city, he annexed the rocke thereunto, and made one body of twaine; and hauing walled it in, he gaue the gouernment therof to *Ioab*. This King was the first that droue the Iebusites out of Ierusalem, and called the same by his name. For, from the time of *Abraham* our forefather, it was called Solyma: neither want there some that inferre, that *Homer* vnder that name intended Ierusalem. For, in the Hebrew tongue, Solyma is as much to say, as Security. All the time from the exploite of warre made by *Iosuah* against the Chanaanites, and since the diuision of the Country (during all which time the Israelites could not driue the Chanaanites out of Ierusalem) vntill such time as *Dauid* tooke the same by force, were fiue hundred and fifteene yeeres. But in this place, I will not forget one *Orphan*, a rich man amongst the Iebusites; who, for that he was well affected toward the Hebrewes, was not put to death in the surprizall which *Dauid* made of Ierusalem: but (as I will shortly declare) was graced and greatly honoured by the King. *Dauid* espoused other wiues besides those which he had; besides many other concubines: by them he had eleuen sonnes, whose names are these which follow, *Amnas, Emma, Ebamatha, Salomon, Iebar, Eliel, Phalna, Ennapha, Ienaah, Eliphal*: besides these, he had a daughter called *Thamar*. Nine of these were begotten of noble mothers, but the two last (which were named by vs) were the sons of concubines. But *Thamar* was *Absalons* sister by the same father and mother.

The league of friendship betweene Hiram and Dauid.

How Ierusalem was called Solyma, & what mention Homer made thereof.

The yeeres since Iosuahs conquest to this time 515.

Orphan a Iebusite, friend to Dauid.

2 *King.* 24.

Dauids sons borne in Ierusalem.

Chap. IIII.

David *assailed by the Palestines, obtaineth a famous victory against them, neere vnto Ierusalem.*

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 4.

Now, when the Palestins knew that the Hebrewes had created *Dauid* King, they led forth their army against him towards Ierusalem, where, encamping themselues in the valley of the Giants (which is a place not farre off from the City) they in that place expected the encounter. But the King of the Hebrewes, who was wont to doe nothing inconsiderately, without

out Gods aduice, commanded the high Prieſt to prophecie and foretell, what ſucceſſe and euent the warre ſhould haue; who after he had informed him that God ſmileth on, and fauoureth their attempts, he preſently drew out his army againſt the enemy: and ſtriking the battell, he ſuddenly aſſailed the enemies on their backs, and partly ſlew them, and partly put them to flight. But let no man ſuſpect, that the army of the Paleſtines was either ſmall in number, or weake in courage, which at that time aſſailed the Hebrewes, in that hee coniectureth in his minde, that they were eaſily ouercome; without their attempting or performing any noble or memorable action. For he is to know, that all Syria, Phenicia, (and all other warlike Nations beyond them) bare armes with them, and were confederates in this warre: which was the onely cauſe, that notwithſtanding they were ſo many times ouercome, and had loſt diuers thouſands of men, that they deſiſted not to aſſaile the Hebrewes with more great force: and that which is more, hauing beene defeated in the battels before recited, yet forbare they not to aſſaile *Dauid* anew with thrice as much power as before, and to incampe in the ſame place. For which cauſe, *Dauid* tooke counſell of God once more, what the iſſue of this battell ſhould bee: and the high Prieſt told him, that hee ſhould encampe in the forreſt called Teares, becauſe it was not far off from the enemies campe, and that he ſhould not depart from thence, neither attempt them in battell, before the trees did ſhake without any agitation or breath of winde. Wherupon, as ſoone as the trees ſhook, and the time which God had appointed was come; without any delay, he iſſued out, to enioy a prepared and manifeſt victory. For the ſquadrons of the enemy were diſarraied, and incontinently betook them to flight, and were ſwiftly followed and ſlaughtered, vntill the City of Gerar (which is a frontire-towne of their countrey) and their campe was thorowly ranſacked, wherein there were found great riches; and amongſt all other things, their gods were beaten to pieces.

The yeere of the world, 2899. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt. 1065.

The Paleſtins mouing war againſt Dauid, are partly ſlain or put to flight.

The Paleſtins inuaded the Hebrewes with a mighty army gathered out of ſundry nations.

The Paleſtins flight. 2 *King* 6.

The battell being brought to this end, it ſeemed good vnto *Dauid* (by the counſell of the Elders and Coronels ouer thouſands) that all the flowre of their youth ſhould be aſſembled from all the parts of the country, euery one according to his tribe. Secondly, that the Prieſts & Leuites ſhould repaire to Cariathiarim, and bring from thence the Arke of God, and conuey it to Ieruſalem; to the end that when it ſhould be there, the ſeruice of God might thereafter bee celebrated in that place, and other ſacrifices and honours, agreeable to the diuine Maieſty, might be performed. And had the ſame bin done during the life of *Saul*, no inconuenience had fallen vpon them. When as all the people were aſſembled (according as it was decreed by him) the King came forth to transferre the Arke; which the Prieſts carrying out of *Aminidabs* houſe, they laid it vpon a new Waine, which (together with oxen) their brothers and children drew.

Dauids commands as touching the tranſportation of the Arke.

The King marched formoſt, and after him all his people, praiſing God, and tuning all ſorts of melody then vſuall in that country, with diuerſity of ſounds of inſtruments, of Dances, & Shalms, Trumpets & Clarions: and in this manner conducted he the Arke into Ieruſalem. But when they were come to the threſhing floore of Chidon (which is a certaine place ſo called) *Oza* died, thorow the wrath of God: for the Oxen ſtumbling that drew the charriot, and the Arke ſomewhat ſhaken, he ſtretched out his hand with intent to ſuſtaine the ſame; and becauſe he was no Prieſt, God ſtrooke him till he died. The King and the people were ſore aggrieued at the death of *Oza*, and the place where he died, is called to this day, *Ozas*-Striking. *Dauid*, fearing leſt if hee ſhould retire the Arke with him into the City, the like happe ſhould attend him that had befallen *Oza*, (who was in that ſort done to death, for that he had onely thus ſtretched out his hand) he placed it not with him in his owne houſe within the city, but commanded that it ſhould bee left in the poſſeſſion of one called *Obed*, by deſcent a Leuite, and in behauiour, a man good and vertuous: where it remained for three moneths ſpace, during which time, his houſe was bleſſed with all worldly goods and goodnes. The King being aſcertained what aduantages had befallen *Obed*, (who of a poore and needy man, was ſuddenly become very rich, ſo that all men had their eyes fixed on him, and they that heard ſpeake of his houſe, enuied him) he aſſured himſelfe that no inconuenience would befall him; for which cauſe he retired the Arke into his owne houſe, which was carried by the Prieſts, and ſeuen quires of ſinging men, diſpoſed by the King, went before the ſame. The King himſelfe likewiſe touched, and played vpon the Harp, ſo that *Michol*, *Dauids* wife and *Sauls* daughter, ſeeing him entertaining himſelfe after that manner, mocked at him. The Arke then being thus carried, was placed in a Tabernacle erected and dreſſed by *Dauid*, who offered moſt magnificent ſacrifices of all ſorts, and forgot not the ſacrifices for proſperities: hee feaſted all the people likewiſe, both men, women and children, diſtributing vnto euery one a cake, a morſell of roſted meate, a cake fried in the pan, and a portion of the ſacrifice: and after hee had thus feaſted the people, he diſmiſſed them, and retreated himſelfe into his owne houſe. But *Michol* his

Oza ſtretching out his hand to ſtay the Arke, is ſuddenly ſtrooken dead.

Dauid placeth the Arke in Obed Edoms houſe, who proſpereth therethrough in all felicity.

The Arke tranſported into Dauids houſe, and placed in a tabernacle.

Dauid is mocked by his wife Michol.

The yeere of the world, 2900. before Christs Nativitie. 1004.

his wife (and daughter to King *Saul*) drawing neere vnto him vpon his returne, besought God for him, that it might please him in all other things she might expresse vnto her husband all that, which became her intire and vnequald loue towards him: but in this shee blamed him, because that being so great and mighty a King as he was, he had dishonoured himselfe in dancing, despoiling himselfe, and discouering partly that which became him not, doing all this in company of his seruants and handmaides. To whom *Dauid* answered, that he was not ashamed in performing a thing so acceptable vnto God as that was, who had honoured him more then her father, and placed him aboue all others, assuring her that he would play and dance oftentimes after that sort, without care whether his demeanour pleased either her or her chambermaids. This *Michol* (of whom we entreat) had no children by *Dauid*, but being married againe to another (to whom her father had betrothed her after he had rauished her from *Dauid*) she bare fiue sonnes, of whom we will speake in their place. The King perceiuing how by Gods assistance his affaires prospered daily more and more, thought that it should be a hainous offence in him, if he should dwell in houses made of Cedar, high and well builded, and neglecting the Arke, suffer it to remaine vnder a pauilion: for which cause he conceiued a desire to build a Temple vnto God, according as *Moses* had foretold: and to this intent consulted he with the Prophet *Nathan*, who willed him to performe all that which he was minded to accomplish, assuring him that God would be each way assistant vnto him: for which cause he was very heartily affected towards the building of the Temple. But the same night God appeared vnto *Nathan*, commanding him to certifie *Dauid*, that hee accepted his will, and that his affection was agreeable vnto him (considering in especiall that no one before him had a thought to performe the like:) yet notwithstanding (although his deliberation were such) he permitted him not to finish the same, by reason he had followed many warres, and had embrewed his hands in the blood of many of his enemies. But after his decease (which shall happen after hee hath liued a long and prosperous life) his sonne called *Salomon* (to whom hee shall leaue the Kingdome after his death) shall cause a Temple to bee built vnto him, promising him to assist and fauour the sayd *Salomon* (euen as the father doth his sonne) and that he would continue the Royalty in his heires and their successours: And that if they shall happen to offend him, hee will onely punish them with sickenesse and sterilitie. *Dauid* vnderstanding these words which were deliuered him by the Prophet, was very ioyfull, by reason that the Royalty was firmly assured to his heires, and for that his house should bee famous and renowned; and presenting himselfe before the Arke, he prostrated himselfe and adored, and gaue God thanks for all the benefits he had bestowed on him; for that from a poore and humble sheepheard, he had raised him to so great a height of maiesty and glory, and for that he had promised to haue care of his posterity as erst he had had of the Hebrewes and their liberty. This said, after he had sung hymnes vnto God, he departed.

1 King. 7. Dauid decreeth to build a Temple vnto God.

God certifieth Dauid by Nathan, that Salomon should build the Temple.

Dauid giueth God thankes for the blessings which were promised him by Nathan.

CHAP. V.

DAVID *ouercomming the neighbouring nations, imposeth tributes on them.*

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 5. Dauid warreth against the Palestines and taketh a great part of the inheritance from them.

NOT long time after this, *Dauid* thought it requisite to make warre vpon the Philistines, partly, to the intent he might auoid the suspition of sloth and idlenesse, and partly, that hauing (according as God had foretold) discomfited his enemies, hee might leaue a peaceable Kingdome to his posteritie after him. He therefore assembled his army anew, commanding them to be in a readines to march forward to the warre: when as therefore he supposed that the army was addressed, hee departed out of Ierusalem, and made a road vpon the Philistines, whom he ouercame in battell, and took a great part of the country from them, by meanes whereof he enlarged the Frontires of the Hebrewes, and translated the warre, and led forth his forces against the Moabites: whose army being diuided into two parts, was by him defeated and ouerthrowne, and the rest were taken prisoners, and tributes were imposed on them, which they were bound to satisfie euery yeere. Afterwards he led out his host against *Adarezer* sonne of *Ara*, King of Sophona: and waging battell with him neere vnto the riuer of Euphrates, he slew about twenty thousand of his footmen, and some fiue thousand of his horse: he tooke also almost a thousand of his charriots; the greater part whereof was wholly consumed, and one hundred of them onely reserued to his owne vse.

2 King. 8. A great slaughter of the Moabites.

Dauid ouercommeth the King of Sophona.

CHAP. VI.

They of Damaſco are ouercome by DAVID.

The yeere of the world, 2904. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1064.

ADAD King of Damaſco and of Syria, vnderſtanding that *Dauid* had made warre on *Adarezer* (who was both his friend and confederate) iſſued forth with great forces to be aſſiſtant vnto him, and to deliuer him from his enemies according as he expected. But entring field, and waging battell with *Dauid* neere vnto the riuer of Euphrates, he was ouercome and loſt a great number of his ſouldiers: for in that battell there were ſlaine on his ſide by the Hebrew enemie, to the number of twentie thouſand, and the reſt fled. Of this King, *Nicholas* the Hiſtoriographer maketh mention in the fourth book of his hiſtories, in theſe words. Sithence and long time after, a certaine man of that countrey called *Adad* gouerned in Damaſco, and ouer the reſt of Syria (except Phœnicia) who making warre againſt *Dauid* King of Iudæa, and hauing oftentimes fought with him, in his laſt encountrie (wherein he was ouercome neere vnto the flood Euphrates) he ſhewed himſelfe more reſolute then all other Kings in force and valour. Moreouer he ſpeaketh of his heires, how after his death, they ſucceeded him both in royaltie and name, the one after the other, and ſaith thus: He being deceaſed, his ſonnes raigned for ten generations after him, each of them receiuing from their father, the ſame name and the ſame kingdome, after the manner of the Ptolomies of Ægypt. The third of theſe being more mighty then the reſt, and deſirous to reuenge himſelfe in warre of theſe iniuries, which were offered vnto his grandfather, led forth his army againſt the Iewes, and deſtroyed the countrey called at this day Samaria. Wherein he varied not any waies from the truth: for he of whom he ſpeaketh, is that *Adad*, that made warre in Samaria, during the reigne of *Achab* King of Iſrael, of whom we will ſpeake hereafter in his place. But when *Dauid* had led forth his campe againſt Damaſco, and againſt the reſt of the countrey of Syria, he reduced them all vnder his obeiſance, placing garriſons amidſt their countrey, and impoſing tribute vpon them, which they ſhould pay vnto him. He dedicated alſo to God in the Citie of Ieruſalem, the golden quiuers & armors which *Adads* guard were wont to weare; which afterward *Syſſac* King of Ægypt took at ſuch time as he warred againſt *Roboham* his Nephew, and carried away great riches out of the temple of Ieruſalem, as it ſhall be declared hereafter, when as we ſhall come to intreat of that matter. This King of the Hebrewes being inſpired by God (who made him proſperous in all his wars) encamped before the goodlieſt Cities *Adarezer* had, that is to ſay, Betthea and Machon, which he beſieged, tooke, and ſpoyled: where there was found great ſtore of gold and ſiluer and of braſſe, which was of more eſtimation then gold, whereof *Salomon* made that great veſſell called the Sea, and other faire lauers, at ſuch time as he adorned and furniſhed the temple of God. When the King of Amath vnderſtood of all that which had hapned to *Adarezer*, and how his power and forces were deſtroyed, he grew affraid of his owne eſtate, and reſolued with himſelfe to make a league & confederacy with *Dauid*, before he might come out againſt him: and to that intent he ſent his ſonne *Adoram* vnto him, to teſtifie and expreſſe that contentment he had receiued, for that he had defeated *Adarezer* his enemie, and to contract with him amitie and confederation. He ſent him preſents alſo, namely, veſſels of antique worke of gold, of ſiluer, and of braſſe: whereupon *Dauid* made a league with *Thani* (for ſo was the King of Amath called) and receiued the preſents that were ſent vnto him; and afterwards diſmiſſed his ſonne with conuenient honour, both for the one and the other: and conſecrated that to God which he had ſent him (together with the gold and ſiluer, which he had taken from other Cities and nations that were ſubiect vnto him.) For God did not only ſo farre fauour him, as to make him victorious and happy in his own wars; but hauing alſo ſent *Abiſai Ioabs* brother the Lieutenant of his army againſt the Idumæans, he likewiſe granted him victorie: for *Abiſai* ſlew in the battell about eighteene thouſand of them, and filled all Idumæa with garriſons, challenging a tribute throughout the countrey by the pole. This King loued iuſtice of his own nature, and exerciſed iudgement according to veritie. He had for his Lieutenant generall in all his armies *Ioab*, and appointed *Ioſaphat* the ſon of *Achilles* chiefe ouer the Regiſters. After *Abiathar*, he eſtabliſhed *Sadoc* of the houſe of *Phinees* for high Prieſt, who was his friend. *Siſa* was his Secretarie: *Banaia* the ſonne of *Ioiada* was Captaine ouer his guard, and all the elders were ordinarily about him to guard and attend him. Hee remembring himſelfe alſo of the conuentions and oathes that were paſt twixt him and *Ionathan* the ſonne of *Saul*, and of the amitie and affection that had beene between them (for beſides all other graces which he had, he moſt freſhly retained them in memorie, from whom in times paſt

Adad King of Damaſco and Syria, is ouercome by Dauid in battell.

Nicholaus the Hiſtoriographer maketh mention of King Adads warre with Dauid.

Of another King of Syria that ſpoyled Samaria. 3. *King.* 20.

Dauid impoſeth tribute on the Syrians whom he ſubdued. 2. *King.* 8.

Ieruſalem ſpoiled by Syſſac King of Ægypt.

3. *King.* 14.

The prey that was made in the warre. 2. *King.* 8.

The King of the Amathens requireth a league at Dauids hands.

Dauid compelled the Idumæans to pay tribute by the pole.

The diſtribution of offices. 2. *King.* 9.

he

The yeere of the world, 2900. before Christs birth, 1064.

he had receiued any friendſhip. He cauſed a ſearch to be made, if any one of the houſe and family of *Ionathan* were left aliue, to the intent he might remunerate the friendſhip which he had receiued at *Ionathans* hands. Whereupon a certaine man was brought vnto him (who was enfranchiſed by *Saul*) that might enforme him what one of his race was aliue: who asked him if he could name him any of *Ionathans* ſons then liuing, whō he might make partaker of thoſe courteous fauors and graces, which in times paſt he had receiued by *Ionathan*. Who anſwered him, that he had one ſonne remaining, whoſe name was *Mephiboſeth*, who was lame of his legs; for that at ſuch time as the newes came that both his father and grandfather were ſlaine in the battell, his nurſe fearefully ſnatching vp the child and flying, ſuffred him vnfortunately to fal frō her ſhoulders, and ſo hurt him. When as then he was aduertiſed where, and with whom he was brought vp, he ſent vnto the citie of Labath to *Machir*, with whom *Mephiboſeth* was kept, and commanded him to be brought vnto him. Now when he came to *Dauids* preſence, he caſt himſelfe proſtrate on his face to do him reuerence: but the King exhorted him to be of good courage, and to hope hereafter for better fortune, and gaue him his fathers houſe with all the poſſeſſions that were purchaſed by *Saul* his grandfather, appointing him to ſit and feed with him at his owne table; yea to eate of his royall prouiſion, not letting one day ſlip wherein he accompanied him not at meales. The yong man did him reuerence, humbly thanking him for the gracious words, and royall offers he had made vnto him. At that time *Dauid* called for *Siba*, & certified him how he had giuen *Mephiboſeth* his fathers houſe and all *Sauls* purchaſes, commanding him to manure and husband his poſſeſſions, and to haue care of all things, & to returne the reuenue to Ieruſalem, for that *Mephiboſeth* was euery day to take his refection at his table, charging both him and his 15. ſonnes, and 20. ſeruāts, tō doe him ſeruice. After the King had thus diſpoſed of him, *Siba* did him reuerence, and after he had proteſted to performe whatſoeuer he had giuen him in charge, he departed, and *Ionathans* ſonne remained in Ieruſalem, where he liued at the Kings table, and was entertained and tended as carefully, as if he had beene his owne ſonne: he had a ſonne alſo called *Micha*. Theſe were the honors that thoſe children which ſuruiued after *Ionathan* and *Sauls* death, receiued at *Dauids* hands. About the ſame day died *Naas* King of the Ammonites, who during his life-time was *Dauids* friend, and his ſonne ſucceeded him in his kingdome, to whom *Dauid* ſent Embaſſadors to comfort him, exhorting him to digeſt his fathers death with patience, aſſuring him that he would expreſſe no leſſe loue towards him, then he did vnto his father. But the Gouernours of the Ammonites entertained this embaſſage very contumelioufly, and not according as *Dauid* had kindly intended it, & murmured againſt their King, telling him that they were but ſpies ſent by *Dauid* to ſeeke into his forces, and diſcouer the ſtrength of his countrey, vnder a pretext of humanitie, counſelling him to ſtand vpon his guard, and not to giue eare to his proteſtation, leſt being deceiued, he ſhould fall into ſome remedileſſe inconuenient.

Naas King of the Ammonites, ſuppoſing that his Gouernors ſpake nothing but truth, outraged the Embaſſadors that were ſent vnto him with great iniuries: for cauſing the halfe of their beards to be ſhauen cloſe by the chin, and cutting away the halfe of their veſtments, he ſent them backe againe, returning their anſwers not in words, but in deeds. Which when *Dauid* ſaw, he was grieuouſly diſpleaſed, and made it knowne that he would not ſuffer that mockerie and iniurie ſo eaſily to be digeſted, but that he would make war on the Ammonites, and reuenge thoſe indignities that were offered to his Embaſſadors. The friends and Gouernours of *Naas* cōſidering how they had violated and broken the peace, and how for that occaſion they deſerued to be puniſhed; prepared for that warre, and ſent 1000. talents to *Syrus* King of Meſopotamia, requiring him that he would be their confederate in that warre, and receiue their pay: they requeſted the like of *Subas*: theſe Kings had 20000. footmen in camp. They hired alſo with their mony the King of the coūtry called *Michas*, & the fourth called *Iſtob*, which two had with them 12000. ſouldiers.

Dauid giueth Mephiboſeth his father Ionathās houſe and Sauls inheritance.

Dauid committeth the diſpoſing of Mephiboſeths lands to Siba, and commandeth him to make the returne of his reuenues in Ieruſalem.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 6.

2. *King.* 10.

Dauid ſendeth Embaſſadors to comfort the ſonne of the King of the Ammonites, who are baſely abuſed.

Dauid is ſore diſpleaſed with the iniurie offered to his Embaſſadors intending reuenge.

The Ammonites hire their confederates, and prepare for the warre againſt Dauid.

CHAP. VII.

How DAVID *ouercame the Meſopotamians.*

Dauid ſendeth out Ioab with the choiſeſt flower of his armie againſt the Ammonites.

BVT *Dauid* was nothing amated, neither with the confederacie, nor force of the Ammonites; but truſting in God, reſolued that the cauſe of his warre was iuſt: for which cauſe hee continued in reuenge of thoſe outrages which he had receiued by them. Hauing therefore muſtered vnder *Ioab* the flower of his whole army, he commanded him to depart and make warre vpon them: who came and incamped himſelfe before their chiefeſt City called Aramath; which when the enemies perceiued, they iſſued forth and arranged themſelues in battell

(not

not altogether, but in two ſeuerall parts.) For their confederates and allies were incamped apart in the Plaine, and the Ammonites ſtood in battell array neere vnto their City gate, to make head againſt the Hebrewes. *Ioab* perceiuing this, vſed this ſtratageme to counteruaile their complot: for he choſe out the ableſt and ſtouteſt of his men to ſerue vnder him againſt *Syrus*, and the other Kings confederates with him, and gaue the reſt to his brother *Abiſai*, commanding him to oppoſe himſelfe againſt the Ammonites whileſt he charged the reſt: willing him, that if he perceiued that the Syrians were ſtronger then he was, and did put him to the worſt, to diſplace his Squadron, and to ſuccour him; promiſing to doe the like, if hee perceiued him to be ouerpreſſed by the Ammonites; When as therefore he had exhorted his brother to behaue himſelfe valiantly and vertuouſly, and to take heede leſt he ſhould light on ſome diſhonour, he ſent him before to charge the Ammonites; and he on the other ſide aſſailed the Syrians, who valiantly reſiſted him for a little ſpace: yet notwithſtanding *Ioab* ſlew many of them, and finally conſtrained them to turne their backes. Which when the Ammonites perceiued (who were afraid of *Abiſai* and his people) they retreated likewiſe, and (conforming themſelues according to the example of their allies) they tooke their flight into the City. By which meane *Ioab* hauing obtained the vpper hand ouer his enemies, returned in triumph, and with victory vnto the King to Ieruſalem.

The yeere of the world, 2910. before Chriſts Nativitie. 1054.

Ioab and Abiſaies armies.

Ioabs victory.

Yet were not the Ammonites wholly weakned by this loſſe: for although they had by their lamentable experience a certaine knowledge that the Hebrewes were ſtronger then themſelues, yet would they by no meanes liſten after peace. They therefore ſent vnto *Chalama* King of the Syrians on the other ſide of Euphrates, whoſe confederacie they attained by bribes and huge ſums of money. This King had one, who was called *Sabecus*, for his Lieutenant-Generall, and vnder him fourſcore thouſand footmen, and ten thouſand horſemen. *Dauid* vnderſtanding that the Ammonites drew to head, and intended anew to beare armes againſt him, hee ſurceaſed to proſecute the war againſt them by his Lieutenants, and himſelfe in perſon with all his forces paſſed ouer the riuer of Iordan, and went out againſt them; and at laſt meeting and fighting with them, ouercame them, killing welny forty thouſand of their footmen, and ſeuen thouſand of their horſemen: hee hurt *Sabecus* alſo, *Chalamas* Lieutenant, who likewiſe died of that wound. The iſſue of this combate being thus, the Meſopotamians yeelded themſelues vnto *Dauid*, and gaue him many great and magnificent preſents. He therefore, by reaſon of the winter retired himſelfe for that time to Ieruſalem, but incontinently vpon the Spring time he ſent out his Lieutenant *Ioab* once more to make warre vpon the Ammonites: who ouerrunning their countrey, vtterly ſpoyled it, and ſhut them vp in Aramath their principall city, which he ouercame and entred. About this time it ſo fell out, that *Dauid* (notwithſtanding he were a iuſt man, and one that feared God, and an exact obſeruer of all the lawes and ordinances of his forefathers) fell, and offended God moſt grieuouſly. For as he walked on the top of his royall Palace, from the time of mid-day vntill the euening (for betwixt theſe times he vſed accuſtomably to walke) he perceiued a woman of incomparable beauty, and ſurpaſſing perfections, whoſe name was *Bethſabe*, who in her houſe bathed her ſelfe in a cleere and pleaſant fountaine: and being deuoured and rauiſhed with her beauty, hee could not refraine his concupiſcence, but ſending for her, tooke the ſpoile of her beautie and chaſtity: and by that meanes got her with childe. Which when ſhe perceiued, ſhe ſent vnto the King, beſeeching him to bethinke himſelfe of ſome meanes whereby her ſhame might be concealed, and her life (which was in hazzard by the law for her adultery) might be preſerued. Who thereupon ſent for *Vrias* (*Bethſabes* husband and one of *Ioabs* ſouldiers, who at that time was at the ſiege of *Aramath*) and queſtioned with him vpon his ariuall, as touching the eſtate of the ſiege and of the army: who anſwering him that all things were ſalne out according as he could wiſh; *Dauid* tooke a portion of his owne ſupper and gaue it him, willing him to repaire vnto his owne houſe, and repoſe himſelfe with his wife. But *Vrias* did nothing leſſe, but ſlept among his fellow ſouldiers neere vnto the perſon of the King. Which when *Dauid* vnderſtood, he asked him wherefore he repaired not to his owne houſe, according to the cuſtome of husbands that had beene long time abſent vpon a long voyage, and why he entertained not his wife from whom he had beene ſequeſtred ſo many daies? *Vrias* replied, that it became him not either to repoſe or take pleaſure with his wife, whilſt his companions and Generall lay vpon the bare ground in the enemies country. Which ſaid, *Dauid* commanded him to ſoiourne there all the day long, to the end that on the next morrow, he might ſend him backe againe to *Ioab*. That night the King inuited him to ſupper, and although hee were made drunke through the abundance of wine hee receiued (which the King had purpoſely cauſed to be giuen him (yet notwithſtanding hee ſlept at the Kings gate without

The Syrians with the Ammonites aſſemble themſelues againſt Dauid.

The Meſopotamians ſubmit themſelues to Dauid.

Aramath beſieged. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 7. 2 *King.* 11.

Dauids adultery.

Bethſabe certifieth the King that ſhe is with child. Dauid ſendeth for Vrias and willeth him to repaire home vnto his wife, which he doth not.

The yeere of the world, 2910. before Christs birth, 1054.

any desire to repaire home vnto his wife. Herewith the King was much despited, so that he wrote G vnto *Ioab*, commanding him to punish *Vrias*, because he had offended him: and to the end that this intent of his should not be discouered, he suggested him both in the meanes and manner of the prosecution of his death, enioyning him to place him in the ranke of greatest danger, and in face of the enemy, to the intent, that in the fight his person might be endangered, abandoned and left alone, whilest they that fought next vnto him, retyred when they saw him charged. When as he had thus written and sealed vp the letter with his owne seale, hee deliuered it to *Vrias* to beare vnto *Ioab*: who receiuing the same, and conceiuing the Kings pleasure, placed *Vrias* in that quarter where he knew the enemies would fight most desperately, appointing him out certaine of his best souldiers to second him, with purpose, that he would come and succour them with all his H power, to the end he might breake thorow the wall and enter the City.

Dauid writeth vnto Ioab to punish Vrias.

Ioab setteth Vrias in a dangerous place to encounter with the enemie.

Vrias (who was a noble souldier, and for his valour had gotten great honour by the King, and reputation amongst all those of his tribe, and tooke delight to be imployed in hazzardous attempts, and refused no danger) valiantly accepted the execution: But *Ioab* gaue priuate intelligence to those that were ranked next vnto him, that when they should see the enemy sally out with greatest furie, they should abandon *Vrias*. When as therefore the Hebrewes drew neere vnto the City, the Ammonites feared lest the enemy should speedily scale and enter the Citie on that side where *Vrias* was ranked: for which cause they picked out a squadron of the most resolute men amongst them, and setting open their gates, suddenly with swift course, force and violence, they cast themselues vpon their enemies. They that were neere *Vrias* seeing them I draw neere, retyred backe againe, according as *Ioab* had before-hand commanded them: but *Vrias* being ashamed to fly, or forsake his ranke, expected the enemy, and valiantly encountring him, hee slue diuers of them; but at last being inclosed and shut in the middest of them, hee was slaine, and with him some others of his companions perished in the conflict. This done, *Ioab* sent messengers vnto the King to certifie him, that not enduring the delay of the siege, and assailing and scaling the walles, hee was compelled to returne backe into his campe, with losse of some men, and repulse from the Citie; yet had he commanded the messengers, that if they perceiued the King to bee displeased with the newes, they should giue him to vnderstand that *Vrias* was dead.

Vrias with some others is slaine, and the King is certified thereof.

Dauid is displeased with the newes of his ouerthrow.

The King hearing this discourse (according as *Ioabs* messengers had deliuered it) made a shew K to be displeased, saying, that it was a fault in him that he had so neerely approched the wall, alledging that he might haue done farre better, to haue taken the Towne by Myne or engine: vrging in way of example, the act of *Abimelech Gedeons* sonne, who intending to surprize by force a tower that was within the Citie of Tebez, was strooken with a stone that was cast at him by an old woman: whereupon he that was a valiant man, for entring an action ouer-rash and dangerous, shamefully dyed. In remembrance of whose disaster, they ought to haue beene more warie,
" and not to haue approched the wall of the enemy so neerely. For it is a very good point in
" warre, to haue in memory both fatall and fortunate successes, to the end that when a man is in
" the like dangers, hee may follow the one, and flie the other. Whilest hee thus rebuked them, the
messenger certified him of *Vrias* death, which did somewhat appease him: So that he commanded them to tell *Ioab*, that it was but an humane accident, and that such was the nature of warre, that sometime the one side had the better, and sometime the other: to conclude, that he should prouide for the siege, and take care lest hereafter they should receiue any further losse; counselling him by trenches and engines to ruinate the wall, and commanding that all those that were in the Towne, should bee put to the sword. The messenger thus dismissed, reported all these things vnto *Ioab*, according to the Kings commandement. But *Vrias* wife, hauing notice of the death of her husband, wept and mourned for him diuers dayes: and when the dule and lamentation were finished and performed to the dead; the King espoused her incontinent, and she bare him a man-child: yet God beheld not this marriage with a fauourable eye, but was wroth with *Dauid*, and appearing to the Prophet *Nathan* in a dreame, hee blamed the King very sore. M Now *Nathan*, who was a wise and experienced man, knew well that when Kings are displeased, they suffered themselues rather to bee ouercome by passion, then by reason: for which cause hee determined to conceale the menaces and threatnings that God had made, for that time; and discoursed of other profitable matters with *Dauid* after this māner, requiring the King that it would
" please him to censure and deliuer his opinion in the same. Two men (said he) dwelt in one and the
" same City: the one of them was rich, hauing many troupes of great and small cattell; the other
" that was poore, had but one only sheepe, which he nourished with his children, sharing him out a

Dauid is appeased, hearing of Vrias death.

Dauid marrieth Bethsabe, who beareth him a sonne.

2 King. 12.

part

A part of that whereon hee fed, and louing her as tenderly as a man would doe his onely daughter. It hapned that this rich man had a ſtranger that repaired to his houſe, for whoſe entertainement he would not ſuffer any one of his owne beaſts to be ſlain, but ſent a violent meſſenger, who took away the poore mans ſheepe, and cauſed it to bee dreſſed to entertaine his gueſt. This report of *Nathans* diſpleaſed the King very ſore, inſomuch as he ſwore vnto him, that hee that had beene ſo bold to commit ſuch an act, was a wicked man, and that reaſon required that he ſhould reſtore him fourefold, and that after hee ſhould bee put to death. Whereunto *Nathan* replyed, ſaying, that it was hee that deſerued this puniſhment, who had giuen ſentence againſt himſelfe, in that he had preſumed to commit ſo grieuous a ſinne. Moreouer, hee certified him of Gods diſpleaſure, who notwithſtanding hee had made him King ouer all the Hebrewes, and Lord ouer all the nati-
B ons round about, which were diuers and great; and who beſides theſe things had warranted him from the hands of *Saul*, and had giuen him wiues, whom hee had eſpouſed iuſtly and lawfully, was ſo deſpiſed & diſhonoured by him, that he had eſpouſed and kept by him another mans wife, and cauſed her husband to bee ſlaine, and betrayed him vnto his enemie. For which ſinnes of his, hee pronounced that hee ſhould be puniſhed by God, and his wiues ſhould be violated by one of his owne ſonnes, who ſhould likewiſe lay a ſnare for him: ſo that hee ſhould ſuffer a mani- feſt plague for the ſinne hee had committed in ſecret. Moreouer (ſaid he) the ſonne which thou ſhalt haue by her, ſhall ſhortly die.

The yeere of the world, 2910. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt, 1054.

Nathan prophecieth of Dauids puniſhment, and ſharpely rebuketh him: he is condemned by his owne mouth, and repenteth himſelfe.

After the King had receiued this meſſage, he was ſore troubled; & being confuſed, he powred
C forth teares and ſighed for ſorrow, confeſſing that he had done wickedly: for vndoubtedly before this time he had alwaies feared God, and had neuer in his life offended him, but in that act with *Vrias* wife, whereupon after his ſubmiſſion, God was appeaſed and tooke compaſſion of him, promiſing him to continue both his life and kingdome, and that he would be no more diſpleaſed with him, if ſo be that he repented him of the ſinne he had committed. After that *Nathan* had declared theſe things vnto *Dauid*, he departed vnto his owne houſe. But God inflicted a grieuous ſickneſſe on the infant that was borne by *Bethſabe*: for which cauſe the King was ſore aggrieued, and for ſeuen daies ſpace would take no refection; notwithſtanding that he was earneſtly inſtanted thereunto by his houſhold ſeruants. He put on likewiſe a mourning habit, and laid himſelfe on the ground vpon a ſacke: beſeeching him that it would pleaſe him to grant him the childs life,
D towards whoſe mother he bare ſo exceeding loue and affection. But when the infant was deceaſed about the ſeuenth day of his ſickneſſe, his ſeruants durſt not certifie him thereof, ſuppoſing that if it ſhould come vnto his eare, he would the more obſtinately abſtaine from eating, and the care of his perſon ſhould bee in danger by reaſon of his diſordinate griefe for his childe, to procure and haſten his own death, conſidering he had ſo vehemently bin afflicted and tormented for his onely ſickneſſe. But the King perceiuing by their lookes that his ſeruants were troubled, and that they concealed ſome fatall harme, and gathering thereby that his ſonne was dead: he called vnto him one of his officers, who certifying him of the truth, hee aroſe and waſhed himſelfe,
E and put on a white garment, and preſented himſelfe before the tabernacle of God, and commanded his dinner to be made ready. Whereat his friends and ſeruants were very ſore amazed, and wondred why he hauing done none of theſe things during the childs ſicknes, ſhould now after his death doe all theſe things at once; they beſought him therefore that it might be lawfull for thē to demand the cauſe of theſe his proceedings. To whō he anſwered, that he would teach and diſcouer that vnto them, of which they were ignorant. Vnderſtand you not (ſaid hee) that while the child was aliue, and I had hope of his recouery, I omitted no means whereby I might mooue God vnto mercy? but now after that he is dead, it were in vaine for me to ſpend my ſelfe with vnneceſſary griefe. Which when they heard, they praiſed the wiſedome and conſideration of the King. After this he knew *Bethſabe* his wife, who became with child, & was brought a-bed of a ſonne, who (by *Nathans* direction) was called *Salomon*. Meane while *Ioab* preſſed the Ammonites with a ſore ſiege, and cut off their water and other commodities and things neceſſarie; ſo that they were welny famiſhed for want of victuall and prouiſion: for they drew their water from a lit tle ſpring in ſuch ſort, that they feared leſt if they ſhould vſe it to their owne contentment, it would bee ſodainely drie. He therefore wrote vnto the King, and certified him of the eſtate of the City, and exhorted him to come in perſon, and be preſent at the ſurprizall thereof, to the intent that the victory might be fained by his name.

Dauid confeſſeth his ſinne, and obtaineth pardon at Godshands.

Dauid faſteth ſeuē daies, lamenting, and mourning for his ſonne.

Dauid being certified that the child was dead, ariſeth, and waſhing taketh ſuſtenance.

Dauid yeeldeth a reaſon why during the childs life he faſted, and why being dead he tooke refection.

Salomon was borne by Bethſabe.

Ioab by letters ſolliciteth the King to come to the ſurprizall of Rabatha.

The King vnderſtanding that which *Ioab* had written, allowed of his readines, good-will, and faith, & taking with him all the forces which he had, he came to the taking in of Rabatha, which being by him forcibly ſurprized and giuen in pillage vnto his ſouldiers, he retained for himſelfe

Dauid ſurprizing Rabatha by force, giueth it for a prey to his ſouldiers.

The yeere of the world, 2910. before Christs birth, 1054.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 8. 2 *King.* 13.

The yeere of the world, 2912. before Christs Natinitie. 1052.

the crowne of the King of the Ammonites waighing a talent of gold, in the midst wherof was enchased a Sardonyx of great valew, which *Dauid* wore vpon his head. He found likewise in that citie diuers spoyles of great price: but as touching the inhabitants, he put them to the sword, and did the like in all the Cities of the Ammonites which he tooke by force. But after that the King was returned vnto Ierusalem, there fell a grieuous accident in his family vpon this occasion. He had a daughter at that time which was a virgin, faire and beautifull, and surpassed all other women in admirable perfections, whose name was *Thamar*, borne by the same mother that *Absalon* was. Of her, *Amnon* the eldest sonne of *Dauid* became enamoured: and for that he could not enioy her at his pleasure (by reason of her virginitie, and the hand that was had ouer her) he grew so melancholy that his body dryed vp, and his colour changed through the very griefe that consumed him. A certaine cousin and friend of his called *Ionathan* (a man of great reach and quicke vnderstanding) perceiuing this his passion, and noting euery day how *Amnons* beautie and strength decayed and wasted, came vnto him and asked him the cause thereof, alleadging that that indisposition of his seemed to proceed from some amorous affection. Which when *Amnon* confessed, and how he was growne passionate through the loue hee bare vnto his sister by the fathers side, *Ionathan* suggested him both the meanes and inuention to compasse his desires: for he perswaded him to counterfeit himselfe to be sicke, and that if his father came to visit him, hee should desire him to send his sister to minister vnto him, by which meanes he should easily and speedily be deliuered of his sickenesse. This counsell of his was plausible in *Amnons* eares, who presently counterfaited sickenesse; and laid him downe on his bed (according as *Ionathan* had aduised him:) and when *Dauid* was come to visit him, he required him to send his sister vnto him, which he did. She being arriued, he praied her, that with her owne hands she would temper, and fry some fritters for him, because they would the more content him, if they were of her owne making: for which cause she in her brothers presence tempered the flowre, and made certaine cakes and fried them in the frying pan, and presented them vnto him: but he tasted them not, but commanded all his seruants to retire themselues out of his lodging, because hee intended to take his rest without noise or trouble. As soone as this commandement of his was performed, hee prayed his sister to bring the meate into his most retired and priuie chamber: whereunto the damsell condescended: whereupon he sodainly surprized her and began to perswade her, to grant him her company. But the virgin exclaiming, said vnto him: Forbeare, my brother, forbeare to offer me violence: for it is a hainous sinne to perpetrate so foule a fact. Giue ouer this thy most hatefull concupiscence, which will breed nought else but disgrace & infamy to our whole family; or if thou hast not the power to resist the same, require me at my fathers hands, and extort not mine honour from mee by force. But hee inraged with loue, neglected all these sayings, and wholly poisoned with the sting of disordinate passiõ, rauished and violated her, notwithstanding all her resist. And as soone as hee had aslaked his lustfull desire, a certaine hatred entred into his heart, which extorted from his mouth many iniurious words against *Thamar*: so that hee commanded her to arise and depart. Shee answered, that this second outrage was more hainous then the former; for that hauing violated her, hee would not suffer her to remaine there vntill night time, but thrust her out incontinently by day time, & during the light, to the end she might meet with such as might testifie her dishonour: Notwithstanding all these iust reasons of hers, he commanded his seruant to driue her out of the doores. Shee strangely aggrieued at the outrage and violence that had beene offered her, tore her garment (which was such as the noble and princely virgins were wont to weare) and strewed ashes on her head, running thorow the Citie with cries and lamentations, wherein shee expressed what wrong had beene done vnto her. With her thus distracted, her brother *Absalon* met, enquiring of her what euill hap had befallen her. To whom she reported all the iniurie which her brother *Amnon* had done her: whereupon he exhorted her to pacifie her selfe, and to suffer moderately whatsoeuer had befallen her; and not to suppose herselfe to bee indignified by an act of her brother. Whereupon shee condescended, forbearing her exclaimes, and surceasing to publish the iniuries shee had receiued in the eares of the people. And thus remained shee a long time with her brother *Absalon* in the quality of a widdow.

Ionathan counselled Amnon how he might enioy his loue.

Amnon perswadeth his sister to submit to his lust. Amnon notwithstanding his sisters resist, violateth her.

Absalon comforteth his sister Thamar.

Absalon inuited his father and brethren to his sheepshearing, and commandeth his seruants to kill Amnon, being ouercharged with wine & sleep.

Dauid hauing intelligence of that which had hapned, was sore displeased, notwithstanding hee loued *Amnon* very entirely, who was his eldest sonne, and would not disquiet him: but *Absalon* hated him extremely, expecting (without any word speaking) for some fit opportunity, wherein he might reuenge himselfe on the rauisher. Now when as two yeeres were expired since his sister was both derided and deflowred, it chanced that *Absalon* intending a sheep-shearing in Belsephon, a Citie of the tribe of *Ephraim*, inuited his father and brethren to come and banquet with him.

him. But when the King refuſed to goe, for feare leſt he might be chargeable vnto him: *Abſalon* inſiſted and perſwaded him to ſend his brothers thither, which he granted. Hereupon *Abſalon* commanded his ſeruants, that when they ſhould ſee *Amnon* charged with wine and ſleepe, they ſhould ſuddenly (vpon a ſigne giuen by him vnto them) kill him without feare or regard of any perſon.

The yeere of the world, 2912. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt, 1052.

CHAP. VIII.

How through the Domeſticall diſcord of his family, DAVID *was baniſhed by his ſonne out of his kingdome.*

AFTER that *Abſalons* ſeruants had thus executed his commandement, a trouble and feare ſeized all the reſt of his brethren, inſomuch as they ſuſpected their owne perſons: for which cauſe mounting themſelues on horſe-backe, they poſted all in haſte towards their father. But a certaine man out-ſtripping them in the way, reported vnto *Dauid* that *Abſalon* had ſlaine all his ſonnes. Who ſurprized with a bitter and mortall feare, in ſuppoſing that ſuch a number of his children ſhould be ſlaine, and that by their own brother, neither inquired the cauſe or any thing els which might be ſifted out in ſo grieuous an inconuenient that had hapned, but gaue himſelfe ouer to extreme and ſtrange diſcomforts, and renting his garments, laid him downe on the earth, bewailing all his children, both theſe that were ſlaine, as him alſo that had ſlaine them.

Dauid is certified that all his ſonnes are ſlaine by Abſalon.

But *Ionathan* the ſonne of *Sama* his brother, exhorted him to moderate and bridle his paſſion, telling him that he could not be perſwaded that the reſt of his children were ſlaine, in that he could conceiue no probable cauſe of coniecture. But as touching *Amnon* there needed no queſtion, for that it was very like that *Abſalon* (by reaſon of the iniury which was offered vnto his ſiſter *Thamar*) would hazzard himſelfe to kill him. Meane-while a great trample of horſes, and a confuſed troupe of men brake off their diſcourſe. Theſe were the Kings ſonnes, who returned in poaſt from the banquet: Againſt theſe the father iſſued out, accompanying their dolefull teares with a heauy and ſorrowfull countenance: and ſeeing (beyond all hope) how they, whom a little before he ſuppoſed to be loſt, returned in ſafetie, they were all of them on euery ſide giuen ouer to teares and lamentations; the brothers bewailed their mangled brother, the king his murthered ſonne. But *Abſalon* fled vnto Geſſur (vnto his grandfather on the mothers ſide, and Lord of that place) and ſoiourned with him three whole yeeres: at the end whereof *Dauid* determined to ſend for his ſonne *Abſalon*, not to the intent to puniſh him, but to retire him vnto him (by reaſon that the indignation he had conceiued againſt him, was at that time aſlaked) *Ioab* alſo furthered this his reſolution by all meanes that were to him poſſible: For he cauſed a certaine old woman attired in mourning habit, to preſent her ſelfe before *Dauid*, who ſaid vnto him, that betwixt her two ſons that liued in the countrey, there hapned ſuch a difference, that falling to handy-ſtrokes, they were ſo whet the one againſt the other, that not induring to be parted, the one of them in ſuch ſort wounded the other, that he died; and for that the kinſmen were ſore moued againſt the murtherer, and ſought without mercy to depriue him of life, ſhee humbly beſought the King that he would giue her her ſonnes life, and not depriue her of that hope that remained her to ſuſtaine her old yeers with; which he ſhould bring to paſſe, if ſo be he prohibited thoſe that would kil her ſon from executing their intents: for that except it were for feare which they had of him, they would by no meanes be withdrawne from their fatall and bloody reſolution. Now when as the King had granted her requeſt, the woman began once more to breake into theſe ſpeeches: I moſt humbly thanke your maieſty (ſaid ſhe) who haue had compaſſion of mine age, and doe ſo prouidently foreſee that I be not depriued of my ſonne; but to the intent I may be the better aſſured of thy humanity, I beſeech thee (O King) firſt of all pacifie thy diſpleaſure conceiued againſt thy ſonne, and be no more incenſed againſt him: For how can I perſwade my ſelfe that you will do me this grace, if you your ſelfe euen vntill this day continue your diſpleaſure conceiued vpon the like occaſion againſt your ſonne? For it is contrary to the rules of wiſedome, to adde to the remedileſſe loſſe of one ſon, the hapleſſe death of a fathers liuing hope. Vpon theſe words the King began preſently to ſuſpect that *Ioab* had ſuborned this woman, & vnderſtanding no leſſe by the old womans report, he ſent for *Ioab*, and told him that he granted him that which he deſired, commanding him to ſend for *Abſalon*, aſſuring him that his diſpleaſure was pacified, and choller aſſwaged. *Ioab* caſt himſelfe downe proſtrate before the King, and reuerently receiuing his word of reconciliation, went vnto Geſſur and fet *Abſalon* from thence with him, and brought him to Ieruſalem. The King vnderſtanding that his ſonne drew neere, ſent out a meſſenger to meet him, com-

Ionathan comforteth Dauid, contradicting his feare in reſpect of all his ſonnes, and onely vpon iuſt ſurmize ſuſpecting Amnons death.

Dauids ſons reſort vnto their father.

Abſalon flieth to his grandfather.

2 King. 14. Abſalon by the ſubtilty of a woman and the ſetting on of Ioab, is reuoked from baniſhment vnto Ieruſalem.

The yeere of the world, 2912. before Christs Natiuitie, 1052.

commanding that as yet he ſhould not preſume to preſſe into his preſence, becauſe hee was not G
diſpoſed to behold him ſo ſuddenly. Who vnderſtanding the will of his father, forbore to ſhew
himſelfe vnto him, and went and dwelt amongſt his owne familiars and houſhold ſeruants: Nei-
ther was his beauty any waies decreaſed by the ſorrow he had conceiued, or for that his enter-
tainment was farre different from the bringing vp and nouriſhing of a Princes ſonne; but he ra-
ther excelled and grew more famous thereby: ſo that for beauty and goodlineſſe of perſonage,
he exceeded all thoſe that liued more deliciouſly and daintily: his glibband or haire was ſo thicke
that it could ſcarcely be powled in eight daies, and waighed two hundred ſicles, which amount to
fiue pound. He liued alſo two yeeres in Ieruſalem, and was the father of three ſons, and one faire
daughter, which *Roboam* the ſonne of *Salomon* afterwards tooke to wife, of whom he begat a ſon
called *Abia*. In proceſſe of time he ſent meſſengers vnto *Ioab*, that now at length he would pacifie H
his father, and beſeech him to admit him to his preſence, that he might both ſee and ſubmit him-
ſelfe vnto him. But becauſe *Ioab* made ſmall reckoning of theſe his motions, hee ſent of his ſer-
uants, and commanded them to burne and ſpoile *Ioabs* poſſeſſions that abbutted vpon his: who
hearing of that which had hapned vnto him, reſorted vnto *Abſalon*, accuſing him and queſtio-
ning with him for what cauſe he had done him this iniury. To whom *Abſalon* anſwered: I haue
(ſaid he) inuented this ſtratagem to make thee come vnto mee, ſeeing thou madeſt ſmall account
of my commiſſions, whereby I haue charged thee to reconcile mee vnto my father. And at this
preſent I beſeech thee that thou wilt mooue my father in my behalfe; otherwiſe I ſhal thinke my
returne more grieuous then my baniſhment hath beene, if ſo be my father ſhall as yet continue
his diſpleaſure. *Ioab* was perſwaded through the compaſſion he conceiued of, the neceſſity wher- I
in he ſaw him, and went and ſollicited the king, with whom he ſo effectually debated as touching
Abſalon, that altering his contrary diſpoſition, he graciouſly and ſpeedily ſent and called for him.
As ſoone as he came vnto his preſence, *Abſalon* caſt himſelfe proſtrate on the ground, demanding
pardon for his offences: But *Dauid* raiſed and lifted him vp, and promiſed him that from thence-
forth hee would no more vpbraid him with thoſe miſ-deeds. After all things had thus falne
out, *Abſalon* within a little ſpace aſſembled a great number of horſes and Charriots, and en-
tertained fifty men for his guard, and euery day early in the morning preſented himſelfe before
the Kings Palace, and talked with thoſe that reſorted thither; about the tryall of their differents:
and whereas ſome of them were condemned, he talked with them according as he found them
affected, alleadging that his father had no good counſellers, and that perhaps he himſelfe had in K
ſome things iudged amiſſe: and by theſe means indeuoured he to get the good will of all men, tel-
ling them that if he had the like authority, he would make them know by proofe what his equi-
ty was. Hauing by theſe plauſible perſwaſions drawn the hearts of the common people vnto
him, he thought himſelf already ſeized of their ſeruices in whatſoeuer he intended. Some 4. yeers
after his reconciliation, he came to his father *Dauid*, requiring of him that he might goe to He-
bron & ſacrifice vnto God, according as he had vowed at ſuch time as he fled from his preſence.
Which requeſt of his when *Dauid* had granted him, he reſorted thither being attended with
great affluence and concourſe of all the people (by reaſon he had appointed diuers to meet him
in that place, amongſt whom was *Achitophel* the Gelmonite, one of *Dauids* counſellers, and 200.
others of Ieruſalem, who altogether ignorant of his enterprize, aſſembled themſelues in that L
place to be aſſiſtant to his ſacrifice:) by all whom he was declared King, according as he him-
ſelfe had commanded them to doe. When the newes hereof came vnto *Dauids* eares, and he was
thorowly aſcertained beyond all conceit, how his ſonne had behaued himſelfe; he ſuſpected and
doubted his impiety and arrogancy, wondring that he ſhould ſo ſoone & ſo lewdly forget him-
ſelfe of the pardon, which he had obtained for his enormous and hainous crimes; and contrary
to all law plunge himſelfe and hazzard his reputation in more grieuous offences: as firſt of all to
peruert the eſtate of the kingdome which God had eſtabliſhed: and ſecondly, in complotting to
depriue and degrade his owne father. For which cauſe he determined to flie to the other ſide of
Iordan, conducting with him his moſt inward and hearty friends, to whom he reported the vn-
bridled fury of his ſonne, remitting all things vnto God who iudgeth all things; and leauing the M
gouernment of his royall houſe to the diſpoſition of his ſixe concubines, he departed from Ieru-
ſalem. With him iſſued an affectionate and great number of people; beſides thoſe ſixe hundreth
ſouldiers, who had followed him in his baniſhment during *Sauls* life time. And although the high
prieſts *Abiathar* and *Sadoc* with all the Leuites had concluded to depart with him, yet perſwaded
he them to abide with the Arke, aſſuring them that God would deliuer them; yea although the
Arke were vnremooued from his place. He commanded *Abiathar* likewiſe to ſend him priuate
intelligence

Abſalon reuoked by his father, is commanded for a time to flie his preſence.

Abſalons children born in Ieruſalem.

2 *King.* 13. Ioab vrged by the burning of his houſes, reconcileth Abſalon to his father.

The yeere of the world, 2916. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt. 1048.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 9.

Abſalon ſubtilly affecteth his fathers kingdome.

The yeere of the world, 2920. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1044.

Abſalon proclaimed king.

Dauid departed out of Ieruſalem.

Dauid flying prohibiteth the hie Prieſts to follow him, to the intent to giue him intelligence of that which did paſſe.

A intelligence of each occurrent that ſhould happen, reſeruing with him for his intire and inward counſellers *Achimaas* the ſonne of *Sadoc*, and *Ionathan* the ſonne of the abouesaid *Abiathar*.

The yeere of the world, 2920. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1044.

But *Ethæus* the Gittite by no perſwaſions of the King could be induced to ſtay, but contrary to his command followed him, whereby he more manifeſtly expreſſed his affection towards him. But as he mounted and aſcended on his bare feet vpon the mountaine of Oliuet, and all they of his traine followed him (intermixing their trauell with bitter teares) a certain meſſenger came and certified him that *Achitophel* was with *Abſalon*, and held on his ſide. Which report aggrauated and increaſed his griefe: ſo that he beſought God that it might pleaſe him to alienate the affection of *Abſalon* from *Achitophel*, for feare leſt if he ſhould giue him ſome ſiniſter counſell, he

Ethæus departed with Dauid.

B might eaſily be perſwaded thereunto; becauſe that *Achitophel* was a man of ripe iudgement and ready execution in all that concerned him. As ſoone as he came vnto the top of the mountaine, he beheld the City: and as if he had vtterly been baniſhed from his Kingdome, he began with aboundant teares to call vpon God. There met he with *Chuſai* his ſincere and vnfained friend, whom when he beheld with his garments rent, with aſhes on his head, and lamenting the vnhappy change which he then beheld: *Dauid* cheered him, and exhorted him to be no waies diſcomforted; and finally, beſought him to returne vnto *Abſalon*, as vnder a colour that he had forſaken his part, where diligently prying into his ſecrets, he might oppoſe himſelfe againſt *Achitophels* counſels, becauſe he might not ſo much pleaſure him in keeping him company, as in ſtaying with *Abſalon*. *Chuſai* being after this manner perſwaded by *Dauid*, returned backe to Ieruſalem, where preſently after he encountred with *Abſalon*, who repaired thither. In the meane

Achitophel reuolteth from Dauid, and followeth Abſalō, whoſe counſels Dauid ſtriueth by prayer to make fruſtrate. Chuſai is perſwaded to ſubmit to Abſalon, and to croſſe Achitophels counſels

C time *Dauid* marching onward a little further, chanced to meete with *Siba Mephiboſeths* ſeruant, and Purueior of all thoſe goods which *Dauid* had giuen him (for that he was *Ionathans* ſon, who was the ſon of *Saul*.) This man droue before him two Aſſes loaden with victuals, which he preſented to *Dauid* and his company, to refreſh themſelues with; and being demanded where he had left *Mephiboſeth*: In Ieruſalem (ſaid he) where he expecteth to be choſen King, through the occaſion of thoſe troubles that had hapned, and in memory of the benefits that diuers men had receiued at *Sauls* hands. *Dauid* diſpleaſed with that which he heard, gaue *Siba* all thoſe riches wherewith he had gratified *Mephiboſeth* in times paſt, deeming him more worthy of the ſame then *Mephiboſeth*. Wherewith *Siba* was very highly contented.

2 King. 16. Siba accuſing his maſter wrongfully, is made owner of his riches.

D When *Dauid* drew neere vnto a place which is called *Choran*, a certaine couſin of *Sauls*, called *Simei*, the ſonne of *Gera*, came out againſt him, and caſt ſtones at him, and reuiled him; and the more *Dauids* friends inuironed and defended him, the more obſtinately perſeuered he in his reproofes and ſcandalous railings: calling him murtherer, and Captain of the wicked, charging him like an impure and execrable man to get him out of the Kingdome, giuing God thanks for that he had depriued him of his Kingdome by the meanes of his owne ſonne, and in puniſhment of thoſe crimes which he had committed againſt his owne maſter. This his ſo cruell and vnbridled liberty, moued all *Dauids* followers to diſpleaſure; ſo that all of them were prepared to reuenge them on *Simei*; and amongſt the reſt *Abiſai* would haue ſlaine him: but *Dauid* pacified his diſ-

Simeies reuiling of Dauid.

Dauid forbiddeth to kill Simei.

E pleaſure, willing him to forbeare, for feare (ſaid he) leſt to our preſent miſeries we annexe a further and new occaſion. For in as much as concerneth my ſelfe, I ſet light by this madde dog, and referre the matter vnto God, who is the cauſe that he is thus deſperately bent againſt vs. Neither is it to be wondred at, that I ſuffer theſe outrages by him, ſith mine owne ſon is ſo wicked, as he taketh a felicity to diſdaine me: but it may be that God will haue compaſſion on vs, and if hee pleaſe, we ſhall haue the vpper hand ouer our enemies. He therefore walked onward on his way, not caring what *Simei* ſaid, who ran on the other ſide of the mountaine, railing and reuiling at him. When *Dauid* was arriued on the banke of Iordan, he muſtered and refreſhed his army, who were ſore wearied: meane while *Abſalon* entring Ieruſalem with *Achitophel* his counſellor, was ſaluted and applauded by the whole concourſe of the people; and amongſt the reſt, *Dauids* friend

Chuſai vnder a colour offereth his ſeruice to Abſalon.

F came vnto them, who proſtrating himſelfe before *Abſalons* feete, wiſhed him both proſperity and perpetuitie in his Kingdome. Him did *Abſalon* aske how it came to paſſe, that he who was reputed to be one of *Dauids* moſt indeared friends, and eſteemed alwaies to be moſt loyall and faithfull vnto him, ſhould at that time (when moſt occaſion was proffered him to expreſſe his loyalty) abandon him, and ſubmit himſelfe to his enemie? To him *Chuſai* anſwered both readily and wiſely, that it became him to follow God, and the good will of the people.

Sith therefore (ſaid he, my Soueraigne) that both theſe are for you, it concerneth me to follow you, becauſe you haue receiued the Kingdome from God: If therefore you eſteeme me to be your faithfull friend; I will approue vnto you my loyalty and true affection in like manner, as

in

in your knowledge I haue teſtified in effect vnto your father, who ought not to be diſpleaſed at that which hath hapned, ſince the Kingdome is not tranſported into another houſe, but remaineth in his owne family, becauſe he who was his ſon receiued the ſame. By ſuch like words he reconciled himſelfe to *Abſalon*, whereas before that time he was inwardly ſuſpected. Hereupon *Achitophel* was ſent for to conſult with him about their affaires in hand: who gaue him counſell to abuſe all his fathers concubines; and make them his owne. For, ſaid he, from that time forward, the people will beleeue that you and hee will neuer be reconciled; and will be more ready to beare armes and inuade your father for your ſake. For hitherto (ſaid he) they haue vnwillingly profeſſed themſelues to be his enemies, ſuſpecting leſt a peace ſhould be concluded betwixt the father and the ſonne. *Abſalon* beleeuing this aduice of his, cauſed a Tent or roiall Pauillion to be pitched in the ſight of all the people, whereinto he entred, and had the company of his fathers Concubines. All which fell out, according as the Prophet *Nathan* had fore-told, at ſuch time as he certified *Dauid*, that his owne ſonne ſhould make warre againſt him.

The yeere of the world, 2900. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1044.

Achitophel perſwadeth Abſalon to lye with his fathers concubines.

CHAP. IX.

ABSALONS *warre againſt his father: his death, and the diſcomfiture of his army.*

WHEN *Abſalon* had done that which *Achitophel* had inſtructed him in, he requeſted him once more to counſell him concerning that warre which he had enterprized againſt his father: who required ten thouſand choſen men at his hand, promiſing him to kill *Dauid*, and to bring all the reſt that were in his conduct vnder his ſubiection: aſſuring him that *Abſalons* Kingdome would bee then eſtabliſhed, when *Dauids* head were cut off from his ſhoulders. When this aduice of his had highly contented him, he ſent for *Chuſai*, who was the chiefeſt amongſt *Dauids* friends (for ſo *Dauid* himſelfe had tearmed him) to whom he diſcouered the aduice which *Achitophel* had giuen him, and required him to giue his opinion what hee thought thereof: who knowing very well that if *Achitophels* counſell were followed, *Dauid* ſhould bee in danger to be apprehended and ſlain, enforced all his arguments and counſels to the contrary. For,

„ ſaid he, my Liege, you are ſufficiently informed both what your fathers valour is, and their vertue
„ that accompany him; who hath fought many battels, and hath had the vpper hand ouer all his e-
„ nemies. It is to be feared alſo leſt he at this preſent be encamped in the field. For, he is well exer-
„ ciſed in leading armies, and to preuent any ſtratagems, whereby the enemy may inuade him, and
„ about the euening hee hath perhaps left his men hidden in ſome ſtraight, or in ambuſh behinde
„ ſome rock: and if our men ſhall aſſaile him, his ſouldiers will by little and little retire, and after-
„ ward recouering courage, by reaſon that the King ſhall be neere vnto them, they will charge vs a-
„ freſh; and during their medley, your father will ſuddenly breake out of his ambuſh, and encourage
„ his owne men, and diſcomfort yours: wiſely therefore examine mine aduice, and if you finde that
„ it be good, neglect that which *Achitophel* hath giuen you. Send mee thorow all the countrey of
„ the Hebrewes, commanding euery one to take armes and march out againſt your father: and
„ when you haue gathered together theſe forces, be your ſelfe in perſon the Generall of the army,
„ and commit it not to another mans charge, and aſſuredly expect to haue an eaſie victory ouer him,
„ if you aſſaile him in the open field, for that he is accompanied with a very few men, and your
„ ſelfe are attended by many thouſands, who at leaſt-wiſe if they loue you, and will ſhew a good af-
„ fection towards you, may eaſily rid you of that enemy. And if ſo be your father ſhut himſelfe vp
„ in any City, we will and may ſubuert the ſame by Mynes and engines. This aduice of his ſeemed
to be better then that of *Achitophels*, ſo that *Abſalon* preferred the ſame. For it was God that put this thought into his heart, to neglect *Achitophels*, and reſpect *Chuſais* counſell.

2 *King* 17. Achitophels counſell perſwading Abſalon to purſue Dauid. Chuſais oppoſition.

Chuſais counſell accepted: Achitophels reiected.

Now when *Chuſai* had thus preuailed, he preſently repaired to the high Prieſts *Sadoc* and *Abiathar*, certifying them what *Achitophel* had complotted, and how he had contradicted him: finally, how his opinion had taken place, giuing them in charge to ſend priuate intelligence vnto *Dauid* thereof, and to informe him of his ſonnes reſolution, wiſhing him with all ſpeede to paſſe ouer the riuer of Iordan, for feare leſt *Abſalon* being informed of his aboad in that place, ſhould make haſte and purſue him, and ouertake him before he might recouer a place of ſecuritie.

Now had the high Prieſts before-hand prouided that their ſonnes ſhould lye hid without the Citie, of ſet purpoſe, to the end they might be ſent vnto *Dauid* to informe him how matters went. They therefore ſent a truſty ſeruant vnto theſe, who brought them newes of *Abſalons* deliberations, with expreſſe commandement to enforme the King thereof with all ſpeed,

Sadoc and Abiathars ſons ſent vnto Dauid.

who

A who presently vpon this intelligence, like good and faithfull ministers, posted with all speede to report their fathers newes vnto the King.

The yeere of the world, 2920. before Christs Nativitie, 1044.

But scarcely had they trauelled two furlongs, when certaine horsemen discouered them, and brought newes thereof vnto *Absalon*, who presently sent out scoutes to apprehend them: which when the children of the high Priest perceiued, they forsooke the high way, and incontinently retired themselues into a certaine village neere vnto Ierusalem, which is called Bocchura, where they besought a certaine woman to hide them, and shut them in some place of securitie, who let them downe into a pit, and couered the mouth thereof with bundles of wooll. She being demanded by those that pursued them, whether she saw them, denied the same, saying, that as soone

The high Priests sonnes being pursued are hidden by a woman in a pit.

B as she had giuen them drinke, they departed from her presently; assuring them that if they presently and speedily pursued them, they might easily apprehend them: but after they had long time followed and could not finde them, they returned from whence they came. The woman perceiuing that they were departed, and that there was no cause of feare, lest the yong men should be surprized, she drew them out of the pit, and set them onward of their way: who, with as great speede as was possible, resorted vnto *Dauid*, and declared vnto him exactly what *Absalons* deliberation was. Hereupon *Dauid* passed the flood Iordan presently with all his men, and although it were night, could not be withdrawne by reason of the darknesse.

Dauid informed of Absalons deliberation, passeth himselfe and his whole armie ouer Iordan by night.

But *Achitophel* seeing that his opinion had beene reprooued, tooke his horse and suddainly repaired vnto his coūtrey of Gelmone: there calling together his houshold seruants before him, he

C discouered vnto them what aduice he had giuen *Absalon*; which since he had not accepted, he told them that shortly they should see him dead, alleadging that *Dauid* would haue the vpper hand in the war, & should returne into his kingdome. It is better therefore, said he, for me, with a great mind, & as it becommeth a valiant man, to depart out of this life, then to submit my selfe to *Dauids* punishment for partaking with *Absalon*, and giuing him counsell. This said, he repayred himselfe into the most secret part of his house, and hung himselfe, being both his owne Iudge and executioner: after which, his kinsmen cut him down and buried him. But *Dauid* (as we said) hauing past Iordan, came and incamped in a strong Citie, the most defenced in that Countrey: there was he entertained with great beneuolence by all the noble men of that coūtry, partly moued thereunto by the mans present necessitie, partly through the reuerēce of his former felicity.

Achitophel perceiuing his counsell was despised, hung himselfe.

Dauid commeth to Mahanaim, where he is royally entertained by the Peeres.

D These were *Berzillai* the Galaadite, *Siphar* the Gouernour of the prouince of the Ammonites, & *Machir* the chiefe of the country of Galaad, who gaue *Dauid* & his whatsoeuer they wanted, in abundance: so that they lacked neither beds, nor bread, nor flesh, but were plentifully stored with all things. They that were sicke and wearied also, wanted nothing that either might serue for repose or refection. In this estate remained he. But *Absalon* assembled a great multitude of people to make warre vpon his father; and after he had passed Iordan, he pitched his tents neere vnto his fathers, within the country of Galaad, and made *Amasa* Generall of his armie, opposing him against *Ioab* his cousin: for *Amasas* father was *Iethar*, and his sister was *Abigail*, sister to *Saruia*, mother to *Ioab*. When *Dauid* had mustered and numbred his forces, and found that hee had fortie thousand fighting men, it was thought fit presently to hazzard battell, & not to expect till *Absa-*

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 10. 2. *King.* 18. Absalon passeth ouer Iordan.

E *lon* should charge vpon them.

The diuision of Dauids armie.

Hee therefore ordained Coronels ouer thousands of his men, and diuided them into three squadrons: the one of which he gaue in charge to *Ioab*; the second to *Abisai* his brother; and the third to *Ethæus* his familiar friend (who was of the city of Geth.) In this battel his friends would not admit his presence (and that vpon good and deepe consideration) for they said, that if they should be defeated in his company, they should vtterly lose all good hope: but if one squadron should be ouercome, the rest might haue their recourse vnto him, who might assemble vnto them and strengthen them with greater force; the rather for that the enemies would alwaies thinke it likely, that he had some other army with him. This counsell of theirs seemed pleasing vnto him, for which cause he remained within the City. But at such time as he sent out his friends vnto the battell, he besought them that (in remembrance of all the benefits and fauours hee had bestowed

Dauid's friends dissuade his presence in the battell.

F on them) they would both shew themselues couragious and faithfull men in the fight; & that hauing obtained the victory, they would spare his sonne, for feare lest his death should increase, & redouble his discontents. Thus praying God to giue them victory, hee dismissed them to enter battell. But when as *Ioab* had planted his armie right ouer against the enemy, and had extended them on the Plaine, hauing a wood vpon their backs; *Absalon* also drewe out his army against him. So that encountring, and valiantly fighting the one against the other, they performed many notable exploits on both parts: the one hazzarding themselues in all dangers, and employing

Dauid commandeth them to spare his sonne. The battell betwixt Ioab and Absalon.

The yeere of the world, 2920. before Christs Natiuitie, 1044.

ployng all their affections, to the intent that *Dauid* might recouer his kingdome: the others neither refusing to doe or endure any thing, so that *Absalon* might not be depriued, or exposed to his fathers punishment and displeasure for his insolent attempt. Besides that, they held it an indignitie for them, that being so great in number as they were, they should be surmoũted by such a handfull of people as followed *Ioab*: deeming it to be an vtter disgrace vnto them, that being so many thousands of them in armes, they should be discomfited by *Dauids* followers. G

The flight and ouerthrow of Absalons armie.

But *Ioab* and his men being more skilfull and trained in feates of armes then the rest, discomfited and brake *Absalons* army: so that they fled thorow woods and steepe places. *Dauids* souldiers pursuing after them, tooke some, and slew other some; so that both in flight & fight, a great number of them were put to the sword: for there fell that day about twenty thousand men. But all *Dauids* troupes freshly set vpon *Absalon*, who was easily knowne by reason of his absolute beauty, and high stature: he fearing to be surprized by his enemies, mounted vpõ his royall mule, and fled in great haste. And for that by swift motiõ of his body, his locks were scattered abroad, his bush of haire was entangled in a thicke & branchie tree, where he hung after a strange manner, and his mule ranne onward with great swiftnesse, as if shee had as yet borne her Master on her backe: but he hanging by the haire amidst the brãches, suddainly fell into his enemies hands. This when a certaine souldier perceiued, he brought newes thereof vnto *Ioab*, who promised him to giue him fiftie sicles, if he would kill him. H

Ioab killeth Absalon.

The souldier answered, that if he would giue him two thousand, he would not commit such a murther on the sonne of his Soueraigne, the rather for that in the presence of them all, *Dauid* had requested them to spare him. Hereupon *Ioab* commanded him to shew him the place where he had seene *Absalon* hang: who no sooner discouered him, but thrusting a Iauelin to his heart, he slew him. That done, *Ioabs* Esquires arrounding the tree, tooke him downe; and casting him into a deepe and obscure pit, they ouerwhelmed him with stones: so that in appearance it seemed to be a tombe, or some great, high, and stately monument. After this, when *Ioab* had sounded the retreat, he withdrew his souldiers from pursuite, supposing it to be an innaturall thing for one countreyman to flesh himselfe vpon another. I

Absalons marble pillar.

Absalon had erected in the royall valley two furlongs distant from Ierusalem a Marble pillar, which he had intituled by the name of *Absalons* Hand; saying, that when his children should be dead, his name should remaine in that pillar. Now he had three sonnes, and a daughter which was called *Thamar*, as we haue said heretofore, who was married vnto *Roboam*, *Dauids* Nephew, and had by him a sonne called *Abia*, who succeeded his father in the kingdome: of whom we will speake more conueniently in his place. K

CHAP. X.

The happy estate of DAVID *being restored vnto his Kingdome.*

Chusai sent to certifie Dauid of the victorie.

AFTER that *Absalon* was slaine, all the people returned priuately to their owne houses: but *Achimaas* the sonne of the high Priest *Sadoc* drew neere vnto *Ioab*, requiring his licence to repaire vnto *Dauid*, and to certifie him of the victory, and how by Gods helpe and prouidence he had obtained the victory. This did the Generall denie him, telling him that it was not conuenient that he, who before times was wont to bring ioyfull newes, should now certifie the King of his sons death. He therefore commanded him to stay, & calling *Chusai* to his presence, he gaue him commission to certifie the King of that which he had seene. *Achimaas* requested him the second time that he would suffer him to go, promising him that he would make no mention but of the victory; & that as touching *Absalons* death, he would not vtter any thing: whereupon he dismissed him also, who chusing the shorter way (which he onely knew) outstripped *Chusai*. Now as *Dauid* sate in the gate of the Citie (expecting some messenger that might certifie him of the successe of the battell) one of the Sentinels perceiuing *Achimaas*, that came running hastily, and vnable to discouer who it was, told *Dauid* that he saw a messenger comming towards him: who answered that it was some one that brought ioyfull newes. Anon after he told him that a certaine other messenger followed: To whom *Dauid* answered likewise, that it was one that brought glad tidings. And when the watchman perceiued that it was *Achimaas*, *Sadoc* the high Priests son, & that he was neere at hand, he ran first of all & certified *Dauid*; who was very glad thereof, saying, that he brought some good & desired newes as touching the euent of the battell: and no sooner had the King spoken the word, but *Achimaas* entred and humbled himselfe vpon his face before *Dauid*, to whom he reported that his armie had the victorie. Being afterwards L M

terwards demanded what was become of *Abſalon?* He anſwered, that he incontinently departed from the campe as ſoone as the enemies were put to flight, yet that he heard a certaine cry of ſouldiers that purſued *Abſalon:* and further then, that he knew nothing, becauſe by *Ioabs* commandement hee was ſpeedily ſent away to bring tidings of the victory. When *Chuſai* was come and had humbled himſelfe before the King, and had declared vnto him the ſucceſſe of the battell, the queſtion was asked how *Abſalon* did? Whereunto he anſwered: The like fortune happen to thine enemies (O King) as hath hapned to *Abſalon*. Theſe words quite extinguiſhed the delight and ioy that *Dauid* conceiued in the victory, and wholly amated his faithfull ſouldiers: for as touching the King, he aſcending the higheſt part of the City, bewailed his ſonne, beating his breſt, tearing his haire, and afflicting himſelfe in all kindes, and after ſuch a ſort, as may not be expreſſed; and crying out in a mournefull manner: My ſonne (ſaid he) would God, my ſonne, that I were dead with thee, that I might be with thee. For whereas of his owne nature he was a very louing man, yet loued he *Abſalon* aboue all other moſt tenderly.

The yeere of the world, 1920. before Chriſts Nativitie. 1044.

Dauid hearing of Abſalons death by Chuſai, grieuouſly bewaileth him.

When the army and *Ioab* were informed that *Dauid* lamented his ſonne in this ſort, they had this reſpect, that they would not enter the City after a triumphant and victorious manner: but they entred hanging their heads, and weeping all of them moſt tenderly, as if they had returned from ſome diſcomfiture. But when as the King hauing his head couered, perſeuered in his deſire to bewaile his ſonne, *Ioab* entred in vnto him, and ſaid, O King: you conſider not that in this behauiour of yours, you diſhonour your ſelfe: for it is to be thought that you hate thoſe that loue you, and expoſe themſelues to all perils for your loue; yea, that you hate your ſelfe and your own ſucceſſion: and that contrariwiſe, you loue your moſt mortall enemies moſt entirely, ſith you bewaile them that were no leſſe, & who are iuſtly depriued of their liues. For if *Abſalon* had had the victory, and had poſſeſſed the Kingdome in aſſurance, there had not any one of vs beene left aliue that loue you, but had all of vs ſuffered a moſt hated death; nay, and in the firſt ranke your ſelfe and your owne children: neither would they being our enemies haue lamented, but laughed at our deaths; yea they would puniſh them likewiſe who ſhould haue any compaſſion of our miſeries: yet art thou not aſhamed to lament after this manner, for ſuch a man as moſt extremely hated thee, who notwithſtanding he were thine owne ſonne, was ſo vngratefull and vngracious towards thee. Deſiſt therefore from thy vniuſt lamentation, and offer thy ſelfe in preſence to thy wel-deſeruing ſouldiers, and giue them thanks that by their vertue haue obtained thee this victory: otherwiſe if thou continue as thou haſt begunne, this day will I tranſlate both the Kingdome and the army from thee, and giue thee occaſion more grieuouſly and truly to lament thee of thy misfortunes then thou didſt before. By theſe words *Ioab* pacified and alaied the Kings lamentations, and drew him to the care of his common-weale: for clothing himſelfe in a royall habit, whereby hee might ſeeme more gracious in the ſight of his ſouldiers, he ſate him downe in the gate: ſo that all the people hearing thereof, flocked out to ſalute him.

2 King. 19. Ioab and his army enter the city in mournfull manner.

Dauid is taxed for lamenting his ſon, & vpon Ioabs perſwaſion preſenteth himſelfe vnto the people.

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Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 11.

Whileſt theſe things paſt after this manner, they that remained aliue of *Abſalons* army, returning home vnto their houſes, ſent their meſſengers to euery corporation, aduertiſing them how many benefits they had receiued at *Dauids* hands, and how after many and grieuous wars, he had brought them to a ſecure liberty, and how vniuſtly expelling him, they had committed the Kingdome vnto another. For which cauſe it behooued them, ſith he was dead whom they had choſen, to make their ſupplication and ſubmiſſion vnto *Dauid*, that diſmiſſing his wrath, hee would receiue the people into his fauour, and according as beforetime, ſo now alſo he would vouchſafe them his pardon and protection. Of theſe things ſundry intelligences came vnto the Kings eare, ſo that by expreſſe letters he commanded *Sadoc* and *Abiathar* the chiefe Prieſts, that they would certifie the Princes of the tribe of *Iuda*, that it ſhould be a great indignity for them, that other tribes ſhould prefer *Dauid* to the Kingdome before them, eſpecially ſith he was both of their tribe, and their kinſman alſo. In like manner he commanded them to ſpeake with *Amaſa* the Generall, and expoſtulate with him, why hee who was his Nephew by the ſiſters ſide, did not perſwade the army to recommend the Kingdome to his hands: willing them to aſſure him that he was not only to hope for pardon for that which had happened, but alſo for the gouernment of the whole army, according as *Abſalon* had granted him. Hereupon the high Prieſt not onely conferred with the Princes aforeſaid, but alſo informed *Amaſa* what the King had promiſed in his behalfe, whereby they drew him to their faction. And firſt of all, thoſe of his owne tribe reuoked *Dauid* very inſtantly into the Kingdome: the reſt of the Iſraelites, by their example and *Amaſas* authority, did the like alſo; and theſe Ambaſſadors flocked vnto him to receiue him into Ieruſalem. But wonderful and praiſe-worthy was the diligence of the tribe of *Iuda*, who went out as far as the banke

The Kingdome of Iſrael is once more offered vnto Dauid.

Dauid not only giueth Amaſa his pardon, but maketh him Generall alſo of the whole Army.

The tribe of Iuda cõmeth as far as Iorden to meete with Dauid, and make a bridge ouer the flood.

of

The yeere of the world, 2920. before Christs birth, 1044.

of Iordan to meete with him, with theſe came *Simei* the ſonne of *Gera*, with a thouſand men, which he had brought with him of the tribe of *Beniamin*. *Sitha* likewiſe *Sauls* freeman came thither with his fifteen ſons, & twenty ſeruants: who made a bridge ouer Iordan, that the King might the more eaſily paſſe ouer, both himſelfe and his army. As ſoone as he came vnto Iordan, he was ſaluted by the tribe of *Iuda*: and *Simei* marched onward on the bridge, and proſtrating himſelfe at the Kings feet, asked pardon of his offences, and beſought him to remit his diſpleaſure: and that in recouering his authority, hee would not firſt of all doe iuſtice on him, but that hee ſhould remember this alſo, that he being induced by the repentance of his errour, did with the formoſt march out to meete him vpon his returne. Whileſt thus he beſought and lamented, *Abiſai*, *Ioabs* brother, ſpake after this manner: Why ſhould he not dye that hath thus villanouſly outraged the King, whom God hath eſtabliſhed? But *Dauid* turned backe vnto him, and ſaid: Ye ſonnes of *Seruia*, will you neuer ceaſe to hatch new troubles; and to adde new diuiſions to your former commotions? Know you not that this is the firſt day of my raigne? for which cauſe I ſware an oath that I will pardon all them that haue committed any impiety againſt me, & that no one man ſhall depart from me in my diſfauour. For which cauſe be of good cheere, *Simei*, & feare thou not that I will ſeeke thy blood. Wherupon he adored the King & marched onward before him. After this, *Mephiboſeth*, *Sauls* nephew came out to meet him, clothed in a deſolate and ſorry raiment, hauing his haires hanging downe, in a neglected & ſorrowfull manner. For ſince the time that *Dauid* fled and forſooke the city, he had bin in ſuch ſort diſtreſſed, that he neither had trimmed his haire, nor changed or cleanſed his garment, ſuppoſing this calamity & diſpoſition to touch him as neerly, as it did the King: and further, in that by *Siba* his ſteward, he had bin vniuſtly detracted and accuſed to the King. After he had proſtrated himſelfe, and adored the King, *Dauid* asked him for what cauſe he forſooke him in his troubles, and offered not himſelfe to accompany him in his flight? Who anſwered, that it was the wickednes of *Siba*, who was the cauſe thereof: for he, ſaid he, being commanded to prepare my neceſſaries for that iorney, neglected the execution thereof, contemning both me and it, as if I had beene ſome abiect ſlaue: Otherwiſe had I had the vſe of my feet, and the meanes to haue waited on thee in thy iourney, I had neuer endured to haue forſaken thee. Neither was he contented (my Liege) to hinder my deuout ſeruice toward thee, but furthermore, hee hath maliciouſly incenſed your Maieſty againſt me: yet know I well, that your wiſedome will not admit or giue credit to his detractions, both for that you are iuſt, as alſo for that God and truth which you onely aſpire to, are onely beloued by you. For, whereas during my Grandfathers dayes, you were alwayes conuerſant amongſt the moſt difficult dangers, and followed and attempted by him, and whereas all our poſterity by that meanes deſerued to be vtterly extinguiſhed, yet haue you vſed both moderation and meeknes, eſpecially in forgetting thoſe indignities; at ſuch time as the memory thereof affoorded you meanes to puniſh them. And notwithſtanding all theſe things, you haue entertained me like your friend, feaſted me at your daily table, and dignified mee with no leſſe honours, then if I had beene one of your neereſt and deareſt kinſmen. When *Dauid* had heard theſe things, he thought neither good to puniſh *Mephiboſeth*, neither to examine whether *Siba* had wrongfully accuſed him; but after he had certified him that he had giuen *Siba* all his goods, yet did he pardon him, and promiſe him the reſtitution of halfe his poſſeſſions. Whereunto *Mephiboſeth* replied: Let *Siba* (ſaith he) poſſeſſe the whole, it onely ſufficeth mee that I ſee your Maieſty reſtored againe into your Kingdome. After this, *Dauid* inuited *Berzillai* the Galaadite (a vertuous man and of great authoritie, and by whoſe bounty during the time of his warre he was aſſiſted, and who had attended him as far as Iordan) to accompany him vnto Ieruſalem, promiſing him to make no leſſe account of him then of his father, and aſſuring him liberally to allow him all things that concerned his honour and age. But hee being deſirous to liue in priuate, beſought his Maieſty to diſmiſſe him from the Court, becauſe (as hee ſaid) his age was ſo extreme as it made him vnapt for courtly pleaſures, conſidering that he had attained to the age of fourſcore yeeres: alledging that it better became him to thinke of death, and the departure out of this world. For which cauſe, he beſought *Dauid* to fauour him ſo much, as that he might gouerne himſelfe according to his owne deſire, becauſe that by reaſon of his age, he neither knew how to ſauour meate nor drinke: beſides, for that his hearing was loſt, ſo that he could not diſtinguiſh nor diſcerne the ſound of inſtruments, wherein they who conuerſe in Kings Courts, doe moſt vſually take ſuch delight.

Simei is pardoned.

Mephiboſeth purgeth himſelfe of Sibas ſlanders.

Dauid pardoneth Mephiboſeth, and reſtoreth him to the halfe of his poſſeſſions

Berzillai excuſeth himſelfe, and will not reſort to Ieruſalem.

To this *Dauid* replied, Sith (ſaid he) thou doeſt ſo inſtantly requeſt me to giue thee leaue to depart from me, I diſmiſſe thee: but leaue thou thy ſon *Achimaas* with me, who ſhall be maſter of my many fauours. Hereupon *Berzillai* left his ſon with him, and taking leaue of the King (with prayer

prayer that God would grant him the fulnes of all his desires)he returned to his own house.But *Dauid* went vnto Galgal (hauing already the halfe part of the people with him, and the whole tribe of *Iuda.)* Thither resorted then vnto him the chiefe Gouernours of that countrey,attended by a great multitude of people,complaining vpon the tribe of *Iuda,*for that vnwitting to the rest they had resorted to him,when as by a mutual consent they should all of them haue met him together. But the Princes of the tribe of *Iuda* requested them in no sort to misconstrue their preuention of them.For that by reason of alliance they had done this office,wherby being tied vnto him,they were bound with more feruent study to doe him seruice: for neither in respect of that diligence of theirs receiued they any rewards,whereby they that came after should think themselues preiudiced in profit. This answer of theirs the Princes of the Tribes tooke not in good part, but thus they spake vnto their brethren: We wonder (said they) that you onely challenge the King to be your kinsman, as if he were not to be accounted an allie vnto vs all, whom God hath equally placed to be Gouernour ouer vs all;when as therefore the whole people consisteth of eleuen parts,you onely are but one;besides,we are your elders:so that you haue not dealt vprightly,in that you haue secretly & couertly sought out the King.Whilest the Gouernors in this sort debated the matter with them,a certaine wicked and seditious person called *Siba,*the sonne of *Bochri,* of the tribe of *Beniamin,*standing vp in the midst of the people,began to cry out with a loud voice,and to exclaime after this manner: We haue no part with *Dauid,* nor inheritance with the sonne of *Iesse.* This said,he sounded a trumpet,and proclaimed warre against the King, so that all men followed him,and forsooke *Dauid.* Onely the tribe of *Iuda* remained with him, and established him in the royall Throne in Ierusalem: where remooving his concubines (which his son *Absalon* had knowne) out of his Palace, he neuer after that time had any company with them. After this he declared *Amasa* Generall of the army, and placed him in the same degree which *Ioab* had,neere vnto the person of the King;commanding him that he should assemble the greatest forces that he might out of the tribe of *Iuda,*and that within three daies he should return vnto him,to the end that hauing deliuered him both the army & the place of Generall,he might send him to make war vpon the son of *Bochri.* After that *Amasa* was departed,and emploied his time in gathering vp his army;the King seeing that he failed to returne vpon the third day, told *Ioab* that it was not good to permit *Siba* to gather a greater head by delay,and thereby breed vs more trouble and molestation then *Absalon* had done.For which cause(said he)stay thou not,but take vnto thee those forces which thou hast in readinesse, and my sixe hundreth men with thy brother *Abisai,* and pursue thou the enemie, and in what place soeuer thou meetest him, by all meanes indeauour thy selfe to giue him the battell. Haste thee therefore, and ouertake him,for feare lest he seize some of our strongest Cities,and thereby procure vs much trauell and labour. *Ioab* with all expedition obeyed his commandement,and tooke with him the aforesaid sixe hundreth, with his brother *Abisai,* and commanded all the forces that were in Ierusalem to follow after him, and in his array issued he after *Siba.* Now when he came vnto *Gabaon* (a borough, some forty furlongs distant from Ierusalem) *Amasa* came and met with him,and brought with him great forces. *Ioab* hauing his sword girt by his side, and his curets on his backe, whilest *Amasa* came onward to salute him,subtilly and of set purpose let his sword slip out of his sheath, and taking it vp from the ground with one hand, he drew neere vnto *Amasa,* vnder pretence to kisse him on the chin,and suddenly thrust the sword that was in his other hand into his belly and slew him. Which action of his was both hainous and detestable, proceeding from a iealousie he had conceiued against a good young man and his cousin, who had in no sort offended him, and onely by reason of the estate of Generall, which the King had giuen him; and because *Dauid* had equalled him in honour with him: for which very cause before that, he had slaine *Abner.* Notwithstanding this act of his seemed in some sort pardonable,by reason of the pretext which he pretended of the wrong done vnto his brother *Azael,* yet was not this a sufficient colour to excuse the murther of *Amasa.* When this was done, he pursued *Siba,* and left a certaine man to waite vpon the body of *Amasa,*who had commandement giuen him to proclaime with a loud voice thorow the whole army,that he was iustly and deseruedly slaine, commanding those that bare any fauour to the Kings title,to follow their Generall *Ioab* and his brother *Abisai.* Now whilest his body lay thus in the way, and all the multitude (as it is vsuall in such like accidents) flocked round about it,he that had the charge of the body tooke it vp, and bare it into a certaine place out of the way, and couered it with a garment: which done,all the people followed *Ioab.*

The yeere of the world, 2920. before Christs Natiuitie, 1044.

The tribe of Iudaes accusation, and excuse, for that without the knowledge of the other tribes they had gone out to meet the King.

2 *King.*20. Siba a seditious person incenseth the people to rebell against the King.

Dauids concubines, whom Absalon had defloured,are sequestred from him.

Ioab by reason of Amasaes delay is sent out against Siba by Dauid.

Ioab killeth Amasa.

Now whilest he pursued *Siba* thorow al the region of the Israelites,a certain man told him that he had retired himselfe into a certain strong city called Abelmacha; where he no sooner arriued,

The yeere of the world, 2920. before Christs Natiuitie, 1044.

but that he begirt the City, and entrenched it round about; commanding his ſouldiers to vnder- G
mine and ouerthrow the walles: for he was ſore diſpleaſed becauſe they had ſhut the gates a-
gainſt him. But a certaine honeſt and prudent woman, ſeeing her countrey in extreme perill, aſ-
cended the walles and called *Ioab* and his ſouldiers to a parlee; who comming forth to conferre
with him, ſhe ſpake after this manner: God (ſaid ſhe) ordained Kings and Generals of armies, to
the end they might deſtroy the enemies of the Hebrewes, and plant amongſt them an vniuerſall
and perpetuall peace; but you inforce your ſelues to deſtroy one of the mother Cities of Iſrael,
that hath in no ſort offended you. *Ioab* praied God to be fauourable vnto them, and ſaid that for
his owne part it was not his meaning that any one of the City ſhould die, neither his pretence
to raze and deface ſo famous a City; his intent was onely, that if *Siba* the ſonne of *Bochri*, and the H
Kings aduerſary were deliuered into his hands to do iuſtice on him, he would leuy the ſiege, and
cauſe his army to retire from thence. When the Woman had heard what *Ioab* had ſaid, ſhe prai-
ed him to ſtay a little while, promiſing him incontinently to caſt his head ouer vnto him. Wher-
upon ſhe came downe amongſt the aſſembly of the Citizens, to whom ſhe ſpake after this man-
ner: Wretched men that you are, will you miſerably ſuffer your wiues and children to be ſlaine
for a wicked mans cauſe, and a ſtranger whom ye know not? will you admit him in place of *Da-*
uid your King, from whoſe hands you haue receiued ſo many benefits? thinke you that one only
City can reſiſt ſo huge an Army? After this manner perſwaded ſhe them to cut off *Sibas* head,
and to caſt it into *Ioabs* campe: which done, *Ioab* commanded the retreat to be ſounded, and le-
uied the ſiege, and returning backe into Ieruſalem, was once more declared Generall of all the
people. The King alſo appointed *Banaia* Captaine of his guards, and of ſixe hundreth ſouldiers.
Adoram was made Treaſurer to gather in the tributes. *Sabath* and *Achilaus* had the charge of re-
membrancers. *Suſa* was made Secretary. *Sadoc* and *Abiathar* were made the High Prieſts. After
this it hapned that the Countrey was afflicted with a famine: For which cauſe *Dauid* beſought
God that he would haue compaſſion on his people, and that it might pleaſe him to manifeſt not
onely the cauſe, but alſo the remedy of that malady. The Prophets anſwered him, that God
would be reuenged of the wrong done to the Gabeonites, whom King *Saul* had deceiued and
traiterouſly ſlaine, without reſpect of the oath, which the Gouernor *Ioſuah* and the elders made
vnto them. If therfore he would ſuffer the Gabeonites to reuenge the death of their ſlaughtered
friends according to their deſire, God had promiſed to be appeaſed, and to deliuer the people I
from their eminent and preſent euils. As ſoone as he vnderſtood by the Prophets what God
required, he ſent for the Gabeonites, and asked them what it was which they required: who wiſh-
ed him to deliuer into their hands ſeuen of *Sauls* ſonnes to take their reuenge on them: whereup-
on the King made ſearch after them, onely ſparing and protecting *Mephiboſeth* the ſonne of *Io-*
nathan. When the Gabeonites had laid hold on theſe ſeuen, they executed them according to
their pleaſures: and thereupon God incontinently ſent downe raine and diſpoſed the earth to
beare fruit; moiſtning and alaying the drouth forepaſſed, ſo that the land of the Hebrewes reco-
uered againe his priſtine fruitfulneſſe. Not long after, the King made war vpon the Philiſtines:
and at ſuch time as the battell was ſtriken, and the enemies turned their backs, it chanced that
the King hotly purſuing the chaſe was left alone, and diſcouered in his wearineſſe by one of the
enemies called *Acmon*, the ſonne of *Araph* of the race of the Giants, who beſide his ſword had
a iauelin, the point whereof waighed three hundreth ſicles, and a corſelet tiſſued with chaines,
who returning backe charged *Dauid* very violently, with an intent to kill the King of his ene-
mies, by reaſon that he ſaw him ſpent with trauell. But about the ſame inſtant, *Abiſai*, *Ioabs* bro-
ther, arriued in the place, who ſtept betweene them and reſerued the King, and ſlew his enemy.
The whole Army for a little ſpace were grieuouſly diſcomforted, in regard of the danger wherin
the King had been, and the Gouernours ſwore that he ſhould neuer afterwards enter into battell
with them, for feare leſt he might fall into ſome diſaſter, by reaſon of his readineſſe and valour,
and by that meanes ſhould depriue the people of thoſe gifts which were in him, which he had
already made them feele; and whereof hereafter they ſhould be made partakers, if God ſhould M
vouchſafe him a long and bleſſed life. The King hauing intelligence that the Philiſtines were aſ-
ſembled in the City of Gazara, ſent out an Army againſt them, in which *Sabath* the Hittite, one
of *Dauids* redoubted and picked ſouldiers behaued himſelfe very valiantly, and gat great repu-
tation: for he ſlew diuers of them that vaunted themſelues to be of the race of the Giants, and
that were very proud and puffed vp with preſumption of their valour, and was chiefe authour of
that victory which the Hebrewes had.

After this laſt receiued loſſe, the Philiſtines once more hazzarded their fortunes in warre, a-
gainſt

Ioab beſiegeth and ſhutteth vp Siba within Abelmachæa.

A woman rebuketh Ioab for ſeeking the ſubuerſion of the City, which he rather ought to protect.

Ioabs conditions of peace propoſed to the beſieged.

The puniſhment of Siba.

Officers diſtributed by Dauid.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 12

2 *King.* 21. A famine inflicted on the Iſraelites for breach of oath

Seuen men of Sauls kinred deliuered to the Gabeonites to be puniſhed.

Dauid in hazzard of his life is deliuered by Abiſai.

Dauid perſwaded to abſtaine from warre.

Dauids valiant Captains, Sabath.

gainſt whom when *Dauid* had ſent out an army, *Nephanus* his kinſman ſhewed himſelfe very valiant: For fighting hand to hand againſt him that was accounted the moſt valiant Champion amongſt all the Philiſtines, he ſlew him,and put the reſt to flight; of whom very many dyed in the battell alſo. In proceſſe of time they reincamped neere vnto a City not far from the frontiers of the countrey of the Hebrewes: In which army of theirs there was a man ſixe cubits hie, who had on either foote and either hand, a finger more then accuſtomed bequeſt of nature affoorded him. Againſt him *Ionathan* the ſon of *Sama* (one of thoſe that were ſent by *Dauid* in this army) fought hand to hand and ſlew him: ſo that approuing himſelfe to be the means of that victory,he bare away the honour of the battell, and praiſe of his valour:for this Philiſtine boaſted likewiſe that he was deſcended from the race of the Gyants. After this battell they warred no more on the Iſraelites. Hereupon *Dauid*,deliuered from war and danger, and euer after enioying a perfect peace, compoſed Odes and hymnes in praiſe of God,in diuers kinds of verſe: for ſome are of three,other ſome are of fiue meaſures. He made inſtruments alſo, and taught the Leuites to praiſe God vpon them,on the Sabbath daies and other feaſts.The forme of theſe inſtruments was after this manher. The Cinnare is compoſed of ten ſtrings, and is plaid vpon with a bow. The Nable containeth twelue ſounds of cords,and is ſtriken with the fingers.The Cimbals were large and great,and made of braſſe, of which it ſufficeth in this ſort to make ſome mention, leſt the nature of thoſe inſtruments ſhould wholly be vnknowne.Now all thoſe that were about the King were valiant men: but amongſtall the reſt,there were eight moſt notable and heroike men. The noble actions of fiue of which I will declare, becauſe they might ſuffice to exemplifie the vertues that were in the other that remained: for they were capable to gouerne a countrey,and to conquer diuers nations. The firſt of them was *Eſſemus* the ſon of *Achemæus*, who hauing very oftentimes thruſt himſelfe into the midſt of his diſordered enemies, neuer gaue ouer fighting till he had ſlaine nine hundreth of them. After him was *Eleazar* the ſonne of *Dodeias*, who had accompanied the King in Sarphat. He in a certaine battell (whereon through the huge multitude of the enemies,the Iſraelites were affrighted and put to flight)onely kept his place and affronted the enemy,and ruſhing in among them made a great ſlaughter of them: ſo that thorow the great quantity of bloud which he ſhed, his ſword ſtucke faſt to his hand; and the Iſraelites ſeeing the Philiſtins put to flight by him, came downe and ran vpon them,and obtained a miraculous and famous victory ouer them. For *Eleazar* ſlaughtered thoſe that fled,and the reſt of the army followed and ſpoyled thoſe that were ſlaine. The third was the ſon of *Ilus* called *Sebas*,who fighting againſt the Philiſtines,in a place called the Iawe (and ſeeing the Hebrewes to be affraid of their power, and almoſt out of heart) reſiſted them alone,as if he had beene an arraunged army, and ſlew ſome of them,and purſued and put the reſt to flight,in that they were vnable to ſuſtaine his force and violence. Theſe three exploited with their owne hands theſe executions of warre. About that time that the King liued in Ieruſalem, the army of the Philiſtines came out to make war vpon him, and *Dauid* as we haue declared heretofore) was gone vp into the higher City to aske counſell of God, what the euent of that war ſhould be;and the enemies being incamped in that valley(that extendeth it ſelfe as far as Bethleem, a City ſome twenty furlongs diſtant from Ieruſalem) *Dauid* ſaid to his companions: There is very good water in the place where I was borne,and eſpecially that which is in the pit which is neere vnto the gate, if any one will bring me of that water to drinke, I ſhall eſteeme it more then if he gaue me great riches. Theſe three men hearing theſe words,inſtantly ran out,and paſt thorow the enemies camp,and went to Bethleem:where hauing drawn water,they returned backe vnto the King, ſallying thorow the midſt of their enemies, bringing newes that the Philiſtines being afraid of their hardineſſe, and great courage, kept themſelues vpon their guard, not daring to charge them; notwithſtanding their ſmall number. But the King taſted not of this water which they brought him,ſaying that it was bought with the danger of mens liues,and therefore that it was no reaſon he ſhould drinke thereof, but he powred it out as an oblation vnto God, giuing him thankes becauſe he had deliuered his ſeruants; After theſe three followed *Abiſai Ioabs* brother, who ſlew ſixe hundreth of the enemy in one day. The fift was *Banaia* of the race of the Leuites, who being defied by certaine brothers, famous amongſt the Moabites for their vertue, ouercame them. Moreouer, a certaine Ægyptian of a wonderfull ſtature, hauing defied him(notwithſtanding the ſaid *Banaia* was naked and the other armed) yet charged he him, and tooke away his iauelin and ſlew him. To theſe foreſaid actes of his,a man may annexe this as the moſt valiant, or very neerely equalling the reſt. For it came to paſſe, that after a certaine ſnow,a Lyon toſſing amidſt the flakes thereof, fell into a pit(whoſe mouth was ſo narrow,that a man could not diſcerne where it was,eſpecial-

The yeere of the world, 2924. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1040.

Nephanus.

Ionathan.

2. *King.* 22. Dauid a Poet. Dauids inſtruments of Muſicke.

2. *King.* 23. Dauids thirty eight Champions.

Iſlemus.

Eleazar.

Sebas.

Three Champions paſſe thorow the enemies campe and drew water in Bethleem,and brought it vn. to Dauid.

Abiſai.

Banaia.

Banaias ſlew an Ægyptian with his owne ſpeare.

The yeere of the world, 2924. before the Natiuitie of Christ, 1040.

Banaia slew a Lyon. Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 13. 2. *King.* 24.

ly for that at the same time it was couered with snow) where being inclozed, and seeing no means to escape, he roared out amaine: which when *Banaia* who passed that way heard, he followed the voice, and drew neere vnto the place; and afterwards went downe into the pit, where with a staffe he bare in his hand, he fought with, ouercame and slew the Lyon. The thirty three other were of like valour and vertue. But King *Dauid* being desirous to know how many thousands of men hee could number amongst the people, and forgetting the commandement ordained by *Moses* (who had giuen order that if the people had beene numbred, there should be paide vnto God for euery head halfe a sicle) he commanded *Ioab* to goe and number all the people: and although *Ioab* had manifestly proued vnto him that it was a thing no waies necessary; yet could he not perswade him, but that he enioyned him with all expedition, to set forward on his way, and muster the people of the Hebrewes.

Dauid sendeth Ioab to muster the people.

Hereupon *Ioab* tooke with him the principals of the Tribes and Scribes, and after circuited all the country of the Hebrews, to know how many men there were: and at the end of nine months and twenty dayes, he returned to Ierusalem to the King; and presented him with the list of the people, the tribe of *Beniamin* onely excepted (for he neither numbred that tribe, nor the tribe of *Leui.*) This done, the King perceiuing that he had displeased God, was very sorrowfull and pensiue. The route of the other Israelites was of 900. thousand men, able to beare armes, and to follow the warre, besides that the onely tribe of *Iuda* contained 400. thousand men. When the Prophets had certified *Dauid* how God was displeased with him, he began to pray and beseech him that it might please him to appease his wrath, and to pardon his offence. Hereupon God sent the Prophet *Gad* vnto him, who brought him the choise of three things, willing him to make election which of the three he would endure: either that famine for 7. yeers space should raigne in his countries; or that warre for three months space should afflict the same, wherein he should haue the worst; or that the plague and pestilence should for three daies space range amongst the Hebrewes. Being thus distraught and troubled by reason of his difficult election, amidst these imminent miseries; and the Prophet vrging him to returne a short answer, whereby God might be satisfied: the King bethinking him that if he should aske famine, hee should rather seeme to respect his owne security, then the Common-weale, in that no danger might by that meanes touch him, for that he had great store of corne in his barne, and they vnfurnished; and if for three moneths he should make choise to be ouercome by the enemy, in that case also hee might seeme to haue care of himselfe, in that he had many strong Castles and a valiant guard of men to attend his person: he therefore made choise of a plague, that was both as incident to the Prince, as the subiect; wherein each man was touched with equall and eminent feare: saying, that it was better to fall into the hands of God, then into the hands of his enemies. When the Prophet had receiued this answer from him, he reported it vnto God; who sent a plague and mortality amongst the Hebrewes, whereby they died after diuers manners: so that it was very hard to discerne the malady; which being but one kinde, yet notwithstanding seized the people by tenne thousand causes, and vnknowne occasions. For one of them died after another, and the sickneſſe surprizing them at vnawares, brought a suddain dissolution of the spirits, and swouning vpon them; so that some of them gaue vp the ghost with grieuous torments, and most strange dolors. Others were presently parched vp through the burning agonies they endured, and (vnrecouerable by any counsell or remedy) consumed away amidst their languishing fits and tortures. Others died strangled, hauing their eies suddenly darkned and blinded. Othersome giuing order for the buriall of their houshold seruants, died before they were thorowly interred; and from the day-breake (at which time the pestilent mortality began to rage) vntill dinner time, there died seuenty thousand persons. And now had the Angell of God stretched out his hand ouer Ierusalem, ready to inflict punishment thereon, when as the King put on sackcloth and prostrated himselfe on the ground, beseeching and praying God that it would please him to surcease his wrath, and be pacified with the number of those that were already consumed by the pestilence. Whilest thus he prayed, lifting vp his eyes, he beheld the Angell of God houering in the ayre ouer Ierusalem, with his naked sword: whereupon he besought God and said, that it was he that was the shepheard, who had deserued to be punished, and not his flocke; who ought to be fauoured in that they had not any waies offended, praying him to satisfie his displeasure vpon him and his posterity, and to spare the people.

The summe of the Israelites that were numbred.

Dauid hauing election of three sorts of punishment, chose the plague.

A huge slaughter of those that died of the pestilence that was inflicted by God.

Dauid prayed for the innocent people.

Hereupon God accepting his prayer, surceased the plague, and sent the Prophet *Gad* vnto him, commanding him that hee should presently repaire to the threshing floore of *Oronna* the Iebusite, and there build an Altar, on which he should offer sacrifice vnto God. Which when *Dauid*

A commandement to build an Altar

uid vnderſtood, hee neglected not this ordinance, but went preſently to the appointed place. When *Oronna* (who threſhed his corne) ſaw the King (accompanied by his ſonnes) comming towards him, he ranne out to meete him, and humbled himſelfe before him. This man was by nation a Iebuſite, and one of the greateſt friends that *Dauid* had (by meanes wherof he left him vnſpoiled at ſuch time as the fortreſſe of the Iebuſites was taken, as we haue heretofore declared.) *Oronna* asked him for what cauſe his Lord came thus vnto him, who was his ſeruant? *Dauid* anſwered him that it was to this intent, that he might purchaſe his threſhing floore, to the intent that he might build an Altar in that place, and offer ſacrifice vnto God. *Oronna* replied, that both his floore, Charriots, and Oxen were the Kings to offer vp for a burnt ſacrifice, beſeeching God that he would graciouſly accept that offering. To this the King anſwered, that he highly eſteemed his ſimplicity and magnanimity, and that he fauourably reſpected the offer he had made him, yet that it was his pleaſure that he ſhould receiue the price of the ſame, becauſe he held it an inconuenient to offer ſacrifice vnto God vpon other mens charges. To this *Oronna* anſwered, that his Maieſtie might doe as beſt pleaſed him. Hereupon he bought the foreſaid floore of him for fiftie ſicles. Then erected he an Altar in this place and offered ſacrifice thereon, as well burnt offerings as other ſacrifices for proſperity: and by this meanes the diuine maieſtie was appeaſed, and euer after ſhewed himſelfe fauourable. (Now this place was the very ſame, whereto *Abraham* in times paſt had brought his ſonne *Iſaac* to offer him vp for a burnt ſacrifice vnto God, and as he was about to ſacrifice him, a Wether vpon the inſtant preſented it ſelfe vnto the Altar, wch *Abraham* offered vp in ſteade of his ſonne, as we haue heretofore made manifeſt.) *Dauid* ſeeing that God had heard his prayer, and fauourably accepted his ſacrifice, decreed that in that place the generall Altar of the people ſhould ſtand, and that on the very ſame floore hee would build a Temple vnto God: which words of his, God afterwards ratified. For ſending his Prophet vnto him, he certified him that his ſonne that ſhould ſucceede him, ſhould build a Temple. After this propheticall declaration, the King commanded to number the inhabitants of Ieruſalem, and it was found that they were one hundreth and foureſcore thouſand men: of which number he appointed eighty thouſand to intend the hewing of ſtones; and ordered that the reſt of the common people ſhould beare ſtones vnto them: and he appointed three thouſand and fiue hundreth, who ſhould gouerne them, and haue the ouerſeeing of the works. He gathered alſo a great quantity of yron and braſſe, to worke vpon, with ſtore of huge and mighty Cedar trees, which they of Tyre and Sidon ſent him, whom hee had put in truſt to furniſh him therewith; telling his friends that hee made that preparation at that time, to the intent that when his ſonne ſhould fortune to gouerne after him, he might haue ſtuffe in a readineſſe for the building of the Temple: and to the intent that he being as yet young and vnexperimented, ſhould not be troubled with the gathering thereof, but hauing all things in a readineſſe, might finiſh the building of the Temple.

The yeere of the world, 2930. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1034.

Oronna the Iebuſite. *Supra. l. 7. c. 2.* called Orphona.

Oronna giueth Dauid his floore.

The ſumme that was paied for the threſhing floore.

The place of the Altar that was built. *Gen. 22.* *Supra. l. 1. c. 13.*

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 14.

The workemen allotted for the building of the Temple. *1. Paral. 22.*

Dauid gathereth great ſtore of yron, braſſe and wood.

CHAP. XI.

DAVID *during his life time, ſurrendreth the Kingdome to* SALOMON.

THEN calling vnto him his ſonne *Salomon*, he charged him that after his deceaſe, and his enſtalment in the kingdome, he ſhould build a Temple vnto God: telling him that though he had both a will and intent to performe the ſame; yet that he was contradicted by God, for that he had beene ſoyled with ſlaughters, and brought vp in warre. Adding further, that it was foreprophecied vnto him, that the finiſhing of that edifice was by Gods ordinance reſerued to his yonger ſon that ſhould be called *Salomon*, whom God ſhould not leſſe tender and care for, then the father doth his ſon: and how the whole land of the Hebrewes ſhould be made happy vnder this Prince; and among all other benefits, that they ſhould haue peace (which is an eſpeciall prerogatiue and bleſſing) and not onely be freed from forraine wars, but alſo from ciuill diſſentions. For which cauſe (ſaid he) ſince by God thou wert appointed King before thou waſt borne, indeauor thy ſelfe to be capable and worthy to be conducted by his prouidence, by honouring piety, iuſtice and fortitude, and keeping thoſe his ordinances and lawes, which he gaue vs by *Moſes*, and not permitting others to tranſgreſſe the ſame. And as touching the temple (which he will that thou ſhalt build when thou ſhalt obtain the kingdome) enforce thy ſelf to diſcharge that duty towards God: neither be thou diſmaid or afraid at the greatnes of the work. For before

The building of Salomons Temple is commanded.

Dauid counſelleth Salomon to honour God.

The yeere of the world, 2930. before Christs birth, 1034.

I shall depart out of this world, I will set all things in a readinesse for thee. Know therefore that I haue already gathered ten thousand talents of gold, and an hundred thousand talents of siluer; of brasse and yron there is as much, which is a thing innumerable; of stone and of wood, a matter most incredible. Moreouer, thou shalt haue many thousands of Masons and Carpenters, and if ought be defectiue besides these, thou shalt thy selfe make prouision thereof: when thou hast performed this, thou shalt be gracious in Gods sight, who shal be thy soueraigne and safe conductor. He exhorted also the gouernours of the people to set to their helping hand, and yeeld their assistance to his sonne in finishing this worke, and in furthering the seruice of God without suspition of any inconuenience; assuring them that they should enioy a firme peace, and a flourishing estate (such blessings as God bestoweth vpon those that studie after pietie and iustice.) Moreouer he charged him to place the Arke within the Temple at such time as it should bee finished, with all other sacred vtensils, for the receit whereof the Temple should long since haue beene builded, had not their forefathers neglected Gods command, who had enioyned them, that at such time as they should possesse their enemies land, they should build him a Temple. These were *Dauids* exhortations, not onely vnto his sonne, but also to the other Princes.

The treasure that was gathered towards the building of the Temple.

The assistants that Salomon had in building the Temple.

The commandement as touching the Arke, and laying vp all other sacred vtensils within the Temple.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 15.

Dauid groweth old and numbe.

Abiface warmeth him.

3. *Kings* 1.

Now when *Dauid* was very old, so that by reason of his yeeres his body was cold and benumd, that notwithstanding the many couerings and clothes they laid vpon him, yet could hee not be het or warmed: his Physicians assembled themselues together and consulted, and at last concluded, that one of the faireſt virgins that was in the countrey, might be chosen out to lie with the king: because by this meanes she might warme his chill limbes, and comfort his decaying heat. Whereupon after search made, they found out a Damsell called *Abisace*, which surpassed all other in beauty, who slept with him and warmed him: for by reason of his age, he was vnable to haue the vse of a woman. But of this virgin hereafter we shall make further mention.

Adonias affecteth the Kingdome.

The fourth sonne of *Dauid* was a goodly tall yong man, called *Adonias*, the son of *Aegistha*, who (resembling *Absalon* in complexion and ambition) began to vsurpe, with a deliberation to make himselfe king: and amongst his ordinary discourses which he vsed to his friends, he said that it behooued him to take possession of the kingdome. To this intent he prepared many chariots and horses, and fifty men to attend him for his guard. His father certified of these his proceedings, reproued him not, neither crossed this his deliberation; neither demanded of him likewise, wherefore he presumed to attempt such vnseemely actions. Of this his reuolt he had for his coadiutors *Ioab* the Generall, and the high Priest *Abiathar*: but they that contradicted him, were the high Priest *Sadoc*, and the Prophet *Nathan*, and *Benaia* the Captaine of the guard, with *Simei*, *Dauids* friend: besides all other the valiant men at armes. Whereas therefore *Adonias* made a banquet out of the Citie, and in the suburbs neere vnto the fountaine of the Parke royall, he inuited all his brethren vnto the same, except *Salomon*; and tooke with him *Ioab* and *Abiathar*, with the Gouernours of the tribe of *Iuda*: but as touching *Sadoc*, the Prophet *Nathan*, *Banaia*, and the rest of the contrary party, he called them not vnto the banquet. This did the Prophet *Nathan* tell to *Bethsabe*, *Salomons* mother, certifying her that *Adonias* was made King without the knowledge of *Dauid*, aduising her both to haue care of her owne security, and the estate and Maiesty of her son (who by reason of *Adonias* vsurpation was like to be supplanted) wishing her in person to certifie the King thereof: and further promising, that while she debated these things with the King, hee would come in the meane while, and confirme that which hee had said. *Bethsabe* being thus perswaded by *Nathan*, came vnto the King, and humbling her selfe before him (and afterwards requiring licence to speake vnto him) shee certified him of all those things that had hapned, according as she had bin aduised by the Prophet: particularly deciphering vnto him what banquet *Adonias* had made, and what guests he had inuited (namely *Abiathar* and *Ioab*, with the rest of his sonnes, except *Salomon* and his particular friends) vrging this furthermore, that the people expected who it should be, whom *Dauid* would nominate to succeed him: for which cause she earnestly besought *Dauid*, that he would prouide and foresee, that he who should succeed him in the gouernment, should neither seeke her blood, nor the death of her son *Salomon*. Whilst *Bethsabe* discoursed after this manner, the Chamberlaines gaue the King to vnderstand that *Nathan* attended to speake with him. Wherupon, *Dauid* commanded that he should be called in, and as soone as he was entred, he asked the King if that day he had appointed *Adonias* to gouerne & succeed in the kingdome after him? for that (said he) he hath made a sumptuous Feast; whereunto he hath inuited all thy sonnes, but *Salomon*; thither also hath he called *Ioab*: where, after the great cheere and banquetting, they haue proclaimed & cried, Long liue King *Adonias*. Furthermore (said he) he hath neither inuited me, nor the High Priest *Sadoc*, nor the

The yeere of the world, 2931. before the Natiuitie of Christ, 1033.

Bethsabe by Nathans perswasion certifieth Dauid of Adonias vsurpation.

Captaine

A Captaine of the guard *Banaia*. It therefore behooueth thee to let vs know, if this be done by thy approbation and allowance.

The yeere of the world, 2931. before Christs Nativitie, 1033.

As ſoone as *Nathan* had made an end of his ſpeech, *Dauid* commanded that *Bethſabe* ſhould be called in (who had retired herſelfe out of the Kings chamber, at ſuch time as the Prophet entred into the ſame.) As ſoon as *Bethſabe* re-entred the chamber, *Dauid* ſaid vnto her, I ſweare vnto thee by that great God, that thy ſonne *Salomon* ſhall raigne after me, according as before this time I haue already ſworne vnto thee, and he it is that ſhall ſit vpon my throne, yea euen this preſent day. Vpon theſe words *Bethſabe* humbled herſelfe, and beſought God to grant the King long life. Whereupon he called for *Sadoc* the high Prieſt, and *Banaia* Captaine of the guard, and

The kingdome is confirmed to Salomon by an oath.

B gaue them in charge to take the Prophet *Nathan* with them, and all the men at armes that attended him in court; charging them to mount his ſonne *Salomon* vpon the royall Mule, and to conduct him out of the Citie neere vnto the fountaine of Gehon: in which place (after they had anointed him with holy oyle) he willed them to proclaime *Salomon* King, commanding the high Prieſt *Sadoc*, and the Prophet *Nathan* to ſee his will performed; charging thoſe that followed him thorow the Citie, with ſound of trumpet, and a loud voice to cry out, that *Salomon* was ſeated for euer on his fathers throne, to the intent that all the people might vnderſtand, that by his fathers conſent he was declared King. But as touching *Salomon*, he gaue him inſtructions how he ought to behaue himſelfe with piety and iuſtice, in the gouernment of all the people of the Hebrewes, and of the tribe of *Iuda*. After this, *Banaia* beſought God that it would pleaſe him to be

C fauourable vnto *Salomon*, and with all expedition *Salomon* was mounted vpon the Kings Mule, and conducted out of the Citie neere vnto the fountaine; where (after he had beene anointed with oyle) they brought him backe againe into the Citie with ioy and applauſe, wiſhing him a long and proſperous gouernment: then reconducting him to the Kings palace, they placed him in his throne; and on the inſtant all the people began to celebrate banquets and feaſts, and to diſport and reioyce themſelues with dances and inſtruments of muſicke: ſo that by reaſon of the multitude of inſtruments, both the earth and the ayre reſounded therewith. So that *Adonias* and they that banqueted with him, hearing the noiſe, were all of them ſore troubled, and *Ioab* in particular ſaid, that thoſe tunes and trumpetings did no waies content him.

Salomon is anointed King, and placed in his fathers throne.

Whilſt thus they ſate at the banquet, and euery man through amaze forbore to eate his meat

D (being diſtracted through variety of thoughts) *Ionathan* the ſonne of *Abiathar* came haſtily in amongſt them. This yong man did *Adonias* moſt willingly behold, and ſaid that he was a meſſenger of ſome glad tidings: but contrariwiſe he recited vnto them all that which had befalne *Salomon*, or had beene decreed by *Dauid*. Whereupon, *Adonias* and all his gueſts forſooke the banquet, and ſuddenly fled euery man vnto his owne houſe. But *Adonias* fearing the Kings diſpleaſure (by reaſon of his ambition and arrogancy) ranne vnto the Altar, and laying hold of it after the manner of a ſuppliant, hung thereon, according as he in reaſon had cauſe to doe.

Adonias for feare of the Kings diſpleaſure, flyeth from his banquet, and taketh hold of the hornes of the Altar.

Now when theſe tidings were brought vnto *Salomon*, and what hee had done, and how hee required that *Salomon* would aſſure him, that hee would neuermore call to memory that which had hapned, but pardon his offence: *Salomon* anſwered him graciouſly and moderately, and par-

E doned him that fault; notwithſtanding with this caution, that if hereafter it ſhould appeare that he intended or acted any rebellion, it ſhould be *Adonias* himſelfe, who ſhould be the author of his miſchiefe: with this anſwer he ſent ſome to deliuer him from the Altar.

When as therefore he came into *Salomons* preſence and had ſaluted him, he was commanded to repaire home vnto his houſe, without ſuſpect of any inconuenience: yet by the way was hee admoniſhed to behaue himſelfe vprightly for the time to come, if in any ſort he either reſpected his credit or profit.

But *Dauid* willing that his ſonne ſhould be accepted for their knowne and anointed King among the people, aſſembled the gouernours in Ieruſalem, with the Prieſts and Leuites; and firſt of all taking the number of them, he found thirty three thouſand men that were aboue thirty three yeeres old; 23000. of which, he appointed to take charge of the building of the temple, ſix thou-

F ſand to be Iudges and Scribes, with the like number of Muſicians to play vpon inſtruments, who were furniſhed by *Dauid* (as we haue heretofore declared) and diſtributed by him according to their families. So that ſeparating the Prieſts from the reſt of their tribe, he found foure and twenty families of them; ſixteene of the houſe of *Eleazar*, and eight of the houſe of *Ithamar*, giuing order that one onely family ſhould for the ſpace of eight daies performe Gods ſeruice. And thus were all the families diſtributed by lot in the preſence of *Dauid*, of the high Prieſts *Sadoc* and *Abiathar*, and of the Gouernours. The firſt family that aſcended the Temple was written firſt, the

Dauid numbreth the Leuites, and diſtributeth their offices.

1. *Paral.* 23. The diuiſion of the Prieſts into 24. kinreds. 2. *Paral.* 24.

The yeere of the world, 2931. before the Natiuitie of Christ, 1033.

the ſecond next, and ſo ſucceſſiuely the reſt to the number of foure and twenty (and this law remaineth in the ſame ſort euen vnto this day.) He made alſo twenty & foure diuiſions of the tribe of *Leui* (who aſcended according as they were choſen by lot, in the ſame maner as did the prieſts, euery eight day.) He honoured in particular thoſe of *Moſes* poſteritie: for he appointed them to be keepers of Gods treaſury, and of thoſe preſents which the kings ſhould offer. He enacted alſo, that all (as well Leuites as Prieſts) ſhould ſerue God day and night, according as they were commanded by *Moſes*. That done, he diſtributed his whole army into twelue companies, with their Gouernours, Centurions and Conductors: euery ſquadron contained foure and twentie thouſand men, whom he appointed to guard and attend King *Salomon*, for the ſpace of thirtie dayes (continuing from the firſt vnto the laſt, with their Captaines ouer thouſands, & Centurions.) He likewiſe eſtabliſhed thoſe men in office and authority ouer euery ſquadron, whom he knew to be moſt reſolute and vertuous. He appointed alſo Surueiors, who ſhould haue the charge of the treaſure, of the burroughs and fields, and of the cattell (whoſe names in mine opinion it were vnneceſſary to declare.) After that euery one of theſe things were in this manner diſpoſed, he ſummoned all the Gouernours of the Hebrewes (and in generall, all thoſe that had any commiſſion ouer the affaires or demaines of the Kings) to a generall aſſembly, and ſeating himſelfe in a high erected throne, he ſpake after this maner: My brethren & countrimen, I am deſirous that you ſhould know, that hauing determined with my ſelfe to build a temple vnto God, I haue made prouiſion of a great quantity of gold and ſiluer, the ſumme whereof amounteth to a hundred thouſand talents: but God by the Prophet *Nathan* hath forbidden me to build the ſame, by reaſon of your warres, and for that my hand hath bin ſoiled with the ſlaughter of enemies, and hath commanded that my ſonne (who ſhall ſucceed mee in my kingdome) ſhall erect a temple vnto him. Now therefore, ſith you are aſcertained, that amongſt the twelue ſonnes of *Iacob*, *Iuda*, by the generall conſent of them all, obtained the principality; and that I amongſt my ſixe brethren haue bin preferred and placed by God in the kingdome, and notwithſtanding no one of them ſuppoſeth himſelfe to be iniured: ſo do I alſo requeſt that *Salomon* hauing obtained the Empire, my other ſons, neither in reſpect of him, nor amongſt themſelues nouriſh any vnnaturall hatreds & ſeditions, but knowing that he is choſen by God, they may willingly ſubiect themſelues to his dominion. For wheras if God ſo pleaſeth, it is not to be miſliked to ſubmit our ſelues to forraine ſubiection; how much more are ye bound to congratulate & fauour your brother no otherwiſe, then if you were partakers of the ſame honours with him? Truly, I deſire nothing more then that Gods promiſes may be brought to effect, & that that felicity which attendeth this region (vnder the gouernment of *Salomon*) may preſently be diſperſed, and perpetually indure in this countrey. Which without doubt will ſo fall out, and all things ſhall happily ſucceed, if thou my ſonne be a maintainer of piety and iuſtice, and the ancient lawes and ordinances of thy progenitors: otherwiſe, if theſe be neglected, there is no other thing to be expected but mortality and miſery. After he had finiſhed theſe ſayings, he gaue his ſonne the plot and module of the building of the Temple, with all the foundations both of the houſes & chambers, together with the number, height & breadth of the ſame. He alſo limited the waight of thoſe veſſels that were to be faſhioned either of gold or of ſiluer, exhorting him to employ all his care and diligence in performance of the ſame. Hee incouraged likewiſe the Gouernours & the tribe of *Leui* to aſſiſt him, both for that his yeeres had not as yet obtained their ripe maturity, as alſo for that by Gods diuine prouidence hee was admitted and elected King, and was appointed to build the temple, aſſuring them that the building would be very eaſie, and no waies laborious; conſidering that he had prepared a great number of talents of gold, and farre more of ſiluer, and wood, beſides a great multitude of Carpenters, and hewers of ſtone, a great quantity likewiſe of Emeraulds, & other ſorts of precious ſtones. Laſtly, he told them, that now alſo for the preſent, he would beſtow on them to that vſe, other three thouſand talents of pure gold, out of his owne treaſury to adorne the holy place, and the Chariot of God, and the Cherubins, that ſhould ſtand vpon the Arke, and couer it with their wings.

He diuided the Leuites into 24. parts.

Moſes poſteritie appointed to keepe the diuine treaſure. 1. *Paral.* 26.

The army diuided into 12. parts.

1. *Paral.* 27.

Dauid aſſembling the Gouernors of the tribes, commendeth his ſon Salomon to them. 1. *Paral.* 28.

Dauid giueth his ſonne the module of the Temple.

The Princes of the people gaue a huge ſum of gold, ſiluer, braſſe, and precious ſtone towards the building of the Temple.

Now, when the King had ſpoken after this manner, all the Gouernours, Prieſts and Leuites according together, ſhewed a greater readineſſe, and made many ſignall and heroicall offers. For they tied themſelues to bring fiue thouſand talents of gold, and tenne thouſand ſtateres, of ſiluer a hundred thouſand, and of iron many thouſand talents; and if any one of them had a precious ſtone, he brought it and deliuered it to the treaſurers cuſtody, who was called *Ialus*, being one of *Moſes* poſterity. This thing highly contented all the people, and *Dauid* (ſeeing the affection and readineſſe of the Gouernors and Prieſts, and in generall of all the reſt) began to bleſſe God with a loud voice, calling him the Creator & Father of this whole world, the faſhioner both of diuine and

A and humane things, and the Preſident and Gouernour of the Hebrewes, and their felicity and the kingdome by him committed vnto him. After this, he prayed for all the people that they might be bountifully bleſſed, and priuately he beſought God to giue his ſonne a good and iuſt mind, furniſhed and adorned with all vertue. He commanded the people likewiſe to ſing praiſes vnto God: which they performed, and proſtrated themſelues vpon the earth, and afterwards gaue thanks vnto *Dauid*, for all thoſe benefits they had receiued during the time of his gouernement. The next day, in way of ſacrifice vnto God, they offered vp a thouſand calues, a thouſand rams, and a thouſand lambes for ſacrifice and a burnt offering: in way of peace offerings alſo, they ſlew many thouſand other beaſts. The King celebrated a feaſt all that day with the whole B people, and *Salomon* was anointed with oyle the ſecond time, and proclaimed King. *Sadoc* alſo was eſtabliſhed high Prieſt of all the people, and *Salomon* was conducted into the Kings houſe, and placed in his fathers throne, and from that day forward they obeyed him.

The yeere of the world, 2931. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1033.

1. Paral. 29. The ſacrifices and feſtiuall ſolemnized vpon Salomons coronation.

CHAP. XII.

The death of DAVID, *and how much hee left his ſonne towards the building of the Temple.*

NOT long time after this, *Dauid* fell ſicke through age: and knowing that he ſhould depart out of this world, he called for *Salomon* his ſonne, and ſpake vnto him after this C manner following; My ſonne, I muſt now depart and ſleepe with my fathers, and enter the common way, which both they that now liue, and thoſe which come after ſhall tract; from whence we may not returne, neither behold and reuiſit thoſe things that are done in this life. For which cauſe, whilſt I yet liue and draw onward to my death, I earneſtly exhort thee (as heretofore I haue counſelled thee) that thou behaue thy ſelfe iuſtly towards thy ſubiects, and deuoutly towards God, that hath honoured thee with this kingdome; charging thee to keepe his precepts and lawes which he hath giuen vs by *Moſes*, and to take heede leſt either ſurprized by flattery, or miſ-led by fauour, or ſeduced by couetouſneſſe or any other ſiniſter affection, thou be drawn to neglect and forſake the ſame: for thou canſt by no meanes continue in Gods fauour, except thou keepe his lawes, for otherwiſe he will withdraw his prouidence from thee. But if in ſuch D ſort as it becommeth thee, and we wiſh, thou behaueſt thy ſelfe towards him, thou ſhalt continue the kingdome in our family; and no other houſe at any time but our owne, ſhall obtaine the dominion ouer the Hebrewes. Remember likewiſe the iniquity of *Ioab*, who through emulation ſlew two good and iuſt Generals, *Abner* the ſonne of *Ner*, and *Amaſa* the ſonne of *Iethram*; puniſh him according as thou thinkeſt meete, for that hitherto he hath eſcaped puniſhment, by reaſon hee was ſtronger and more powerfull then my ſelfe. I command alſo vnto thee the ſons of *Berzillai* the Galaadite, whom for my ſake aduance to honour, and adorne with dignities: not in beſtowing any benefits on them, but in repaying thoſe courteſies I haue receiued, which their father with a liberall hand beſtowed vpon mee during the time of my baniſhment, and for which he made vs indebted to him. As touching *Simei* the ſonne of *Gera*, of the tribe of *Beniamin*, who during the time of my flight, and at ſuch time as I retired my ſelfe into my campe, in- E iured mee with great outrages, and afterwards came out to meete mee neere vnto Iordan, and tooke aſſurance of me, that for that time I ſhould not puniſh him; at this preſent ſeeke you after him, and doe iuſtice vpon him.

Hedio & Ruffinus. chap. 16. *3. King. 2.* Dauids laſt counſell to Salomon.

Dauid willeth Salomon to puniſh Ioab.

Dauid commendeth Berzillais ſonnes to Salomon.

How Simei ſhould be puniſhed.

After he had thus exhorted his ſon, and had communicated with him all his affaires, both as touching his friends, as thoſe alſo whom he thought worthy of puniſhment, he gaue vp the ghoſt (after he had liued ſeuenty yeeres, and raigned in Hebron a City of Iuda for the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres and a halfe, and thirty three in Ieruſalem ouer the whole nation.) He was a iuſt man, adorned with all vertue, requiſite in a King that ſhould haue the gouernment of ſo many nations. For he was valiant beyond compariſon, and in thoſe battels which he fought for his ſubiects, he was the firſt that thruſt himſelf into danger, and exhorted his ſouldiers to behaue themſelues valiantF ly, not commanding them like their Gouernour, but trauelling and fighting with them as their fellow ſouldier. Hee was ſufficient both in knowledge and foreſight, both how to accept of the preſent, and how to mannage his future occaſions: he was moderate and iuſt, courteous, and fauourable to thoſe that were afflicted, and both iuſt & gentle, which are thoſe ornaments wherewith Princes ought to be beautified: and in this great authority wherein he was placed, he ſtepped not any waies awry, but in reſpect of *Vrias* wife. He left as much or rather more riches behind him, then any other King of the Hebrewes, or other nations had done. His ſonne *Salomon* buried him

The yeeres of the age and raigne, together with the vertues of Dauid.

The yeere of the world, 2923. before Christs birth, 1033.

The sumptuous sepulchre of Dauid. Hircanus taketh a huge sum of money out of Dauids Tombe. Herod spoileth Dauids sepulchre.

him most royally in Ierusalem, with all those ceremonies which were accustomed in royall obsequies, and amongst other things, he buried a great and huge value of riches with him: the incredible estimate whereof may be coniectured by that which followeth. For one thousand three hundred yeeres after, the High Priest *Hircanus* being besieged by *Antiochus* surnamed the wicked (who was *Demetrius* sonne) and willing to gratifie him with some summe of money (to the intent he might leuie the siege, and transport his army some other wayes) and vnable to leuie money by any other meanes, he opened one Cabinet of the monuments of *Dauid*, from whence he drew three thousand talents, which he deliuered to *Antiochus*, and by this meanes deliuered the City from the siege (as we haue declared in another place.) And againe a long time after this, *Herod* also opened another Cabinet, from whence he tooke out a great summe. And as touching the Tombes of Princes, no man defaced them, because they were most magnificently builded, for feare lest they should be esteemed destroyers of Monuments. But for the present it sufficeth that I haue certified thus much.

THE EIGHTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES: WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the eighth Booke.

1 *How* Salomon *obtaining the Kingdome, expelled his enemies.*
2 *Of the riches, prudence and wisedome of* Salomon, *and how first of all he builded the Temple in Ierusalem.*
3 *How* Salomon *being dead, the people reuolted from* Roboam *his sonne, and made* Hieroboam *King of the tenne Tribes.*
4 *How* Susac *King of the Egyptians sacking Ierusalem, carried away the riches of that City into Egypt.*
5 *The warre of* Hieroboam *against* Abiam, Roboams *sonne, and the slaughter of his army, and how* Basanes *the rooter out of* Hieroboams *posterity, occupied the Kingdome.*
6 *The irruption of the Ethiopians into the land of the Hebrewes vnder* Asa, *and the ouerthrow of their armie.*
7 Basans *stocke being wholly rooted out amongst the Israelites,* Zamri *ruled in Israel with his sonne* Achab.
8 Adad *King of Damasco and Syria, encamping and fighting two seuerall times against* Achab, *is ouerthrowne.*
9 *Of* Iosaphat *King of Ierusalem.*
10 Achab *being prouoked to warre by the Syrians, is ouercome and slaine in battell.*

CHAP. I.

How SALOMON *obtaining the Kingdome, expulsed his enemies.*

The yeere of the world, 2931. before Christs Natiuitie. 1033.

2 King. 2. Salomon king of Israel after Dauids death.

WEE haue declared in the former Booke what *Dauid* was, how great his vertue hath beene, what profits and benefits those of his Nation receiued by him, what warres and battels hee worthily exploited, and how happily at last (through extremity of age) he departed out of this life. But after that *Salomon* his sonne (being at that time very young) had obtained the Kingdome, aud was placed in his Fathers Throne (according as *Dauid* had determined, and the diuine power had decreed) the whole people (according to the common course in the election of new Princes) with happy acclamations wished him perpetuall felicity in all his affaires, and after his well gouerned estate and royaltie, long, many and prosperous yeeres. But *Adonias*, who during his Fathers life time, thought

thought to poſſeſſe and ſeize himſelfe of the royall eſtate, came vnto the Kings mother, and with all humility & reuerence ſaluted her. To whom *Bethſabe* ſaid, that if there were any thing wherein ſhe might ſtead him, he ſhould manifeſt it vnto her, and that ſhe would grant it him willingly. Whereupon he began to ſay, that it was a thing very well knowne, that the kingdome appertained vnto him, both in regard of his age, as alſo in reſpect of the fauour and good liking of the people: but ſince that it had beene transferred vnto *Salomon* her ſonne by the will of God, he was content therewith, and would be his ſeruant, being very glad of the fortunate ſucceſſe of his affaires. He therefore beſought her that ſhe would ſollicite *Salomon* in his behalfe, and perſwade him to giue him *Abiſace* to wife, who had ſlept with *Dauid*, for that he had not any carnall company with her by reaſon of his age, and that as yet ſhe was fully poſſeſſed of her virginitie.

The yeere of the world, 2931. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1033.

Adonias requireth Abiſace to wife.

Bethſabe promiſed him to further his ſuite to the vtmoſt of her power, and willingly to imploy her ſelfe toward the accompliſhing of the marriage, both for that the king was willing to gratifie her in whatſoeuer ſhe ſhould deſire, as alſo for that ſhee would inſtantly intreat him: ſo that he departed from her with aſſured hope of good ſucceſſe in reſpect of his marriage. Hereupon preſently did *Bethſabe* addreſſe her ſelfe to the king, intending to certifie him both what *Adonias* had requeſted, and what ſhe had granted. When tidings came to *Salomon* that his mother came to viſit him, he went out to meet her, and embraced her, and afterwards conducting her into the place where the royall treaſure was, he ſate him downe, and commanded his ſeruants to place a ſeat on his right hand, for his mother: who ſettled by him, ſpake vnto him after this manner. My ſonne, vouchſafe me one fauour that I ſhall requeſt at thy hands, and ſend me not hence diſcontented, and confuſed through thy refuſall. *Salomon* anſwered her, that ſhe ſhould command him, by reaſon that duty tied him to the ſatisfaction and fauour of his mothers ſuites, reprouing her for that inſinuation ſhe had vſed, by reaſon that thereby ſhee euidently expreſſed that ſhe was not thorowly aſſured to obtaine her demand; but that ſhe feared the refuſall and repulſe in the ſame: ſhe therefore required him to giue the Damſell *Abiſace* for wife to *Adonias* his brother. The King diſpleaſed at this her ſuit, diſmiſſed his mother, alleadging that *Adonias* hammered high thoughts in his head, and that he wondred that in requiring *Abiſace* to wife, he had not requeſted *Salomon* likewiſe to giue him place in the kingdome: for *Adonias* was elder then he, and had more mightie friends then he had; namely, the Generall *Ioab*, and the high Prieſt *Abiathar*. For which cauſe he incontinently ſent *Banaia* captaine of his guard to kill *Adonias* his brother. Then calling vnto him the high Prieſt *Abiathar*: The paines (ſaid he) that thou haſt indured by accompanying my father *Dauid*, and attending and bearing the Arke with him, make thee eſcape from death: yet notwithſtanding, for that thou haſt bin an aſſiſtant to *Adonias*, and followed his faction, I condemne thee to depart from my preſence, charging thee not to ſee my face any more, but to retire thy ſelfe to thine owne houſe, and there to liue in thy countrey vntill thou haſt ended thy daies: for hauing in this ſort neglected me, it is not conuenient that thou ſhouldeſt be in honour with mee. For this cauſe was the houſe of *Ithamar* depriued of the prieſtly dignitie (according as God had fore-propheeied to *Eli*, one of the anceſtors of *Abiathar*) and tranſlated to the race of *Phinees*, and eſtabliſhed in *Sadoc*. Thoſe of the race of *Phinees*, who led a priuate life all that time that the Prieſthood remained in the familie of *Ithamar* (whereof *Eli* was the firſt) were theſe; *Boccias* the ſonne of *Ioſeph*, *Ioatham* the ſonne of *Boccias*, *Maræoth* the ſonne of *Ioatham*, *Aropha* the ſonne of *Maræoth*, *Achitob* the ſonne of *Aropha*, *Sadoc* the ſonne of *Achitob*, who was the firſt high Prieſt vnder King *Dauid*.

Adonias is ſlaine. Abiathar is diſpoſſeſſed of the Prieſthood.

The genealogie of the High Prieſt Sadoc.

Ioab hauing tidings of the death of *Adonias*, was ſeized with ſudden and extreme feare: for he loued him more then King *Salomon*, and by reaſon of that friendſhip which he bare vnto him, he iuſtly and vpon good grounds apprehended his owne danger, and in this reſpect he fled vnto the Altar, hoping in that place to be ſecured in regard of that reuerence which the King bare vnto God. But when *Ioabs* reſolution was made knowne vnto the King, he ſent *Banaia* vnto him with commiſſion to bring him from the Altar, and to conduct him to the iudgement ſeat, that he might in that place iuſtifie his actions: But *Ioab* ſaid that he would neuer abandon the Temple, but that he had rather die in that place then in another. When *Banaia* had certified the King of this his anſwer, he commanded him to cut off his head in the ſame place, according as he required, and that in that ſort he ſhould be puniſhed by reaſon of the two murthers, which he had curſedly committed vpon the perſons of *Abner* and *Amaſa*: commanding that his body ſhould be buried in the ſame place, to the end that his ſinnes ſhould neuer depart from his race, and that both *Dauid* and *Salomon* might be held guiltleſſe of the death of *Ioab*. This command of his *Banaia* executed, and was afterward made Generall of the men of warre. Moreouer, the King eſtabliſhed

Ioab is ſlaine. Banaia is ſubſtituted in his place.

The yeere of the world, 2931. before Christs birth, 1033.

blished *Sadoc* solely in the place of *Abiathar* whom he had deposed. He commanded *Simei* also to build him a house in Ierusalem, to keepe himselfe therein, without passing the flood of Cedron: for if he chanced to breake that commandement, the penaltie which he should incurre, should be no lesse then death; and to the more serious performance of this his iniunction, he tied him by a solemne oath. *Simei* thanked *Salomon* for the charge he had imposed on him, and swore that he would fulfill the same: so that forsaking his owne countrey, he came and dwelt in Ierusalem, where after he had soiourned for the space of three yeeres, it hapned that he had newes that two of his fugitiue slaues had fled, and retired themselues into Geth: whereupon he went to find them out, and no sooner returned he backe againe with them, but that the King had intelligence that he had neglected his commandement; and that which is more, that he had broken that oath which he made vnto God: wherewith he was wroth. For which cause calling him vnto him, he spake after this manner; Hast thou not sworne (said he) that thou wilt no waies abandon or issue out of this Citie to depart into another? Truly thou shalt not escape the penaltie of thy periurie, but I will see iustice done vpon thee for the same, & for those outrages thou didst offer vnto my father during his flight, at which time thou didst shew thy selfe to be a wicked man in all things: to the end that thou maist vnderstand that the wicked receiue no priuiledge, although that their punishments be for the present deferred, but at such time as they suppose themselues to be assured (because they haue suffred no punishment) their punishment is augmented and made more grieuous, then it had beene, if they had presently beene executed for their offences. Whereupon *Banaia* slew *Semei*, according as he was commanded. From that day forward *Salomon* had his royall estate secured, and after that his enemies had receiued condigne punishment, he tooke to wife the daughter of *Pharao* King of Ægypt, and afterwards builded the walles of Ierusalem, farre greater and more stronger then they were before: and all the rest of his life, he gouerned his Common-weale in peace; so that his youthfull yeeres hindred him not from the obseruation of iustice, and the maintenance of lawes, neither excluded the remembrance of that which his father had charged him at the houre of his death: but behauing himselfe in all things exactly, he executed the affaires of his kingdome with that circumspection, that such as excelled him in yeeres, and were aduanced in prudence, could not surpasse him.

Sadoc obtaineth Abiathars place in the Priesthood.

Semeies punishment and death.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 2. 3. *Kings* 3. Salomon marrieth the King of Ægypts daughter, and establisheth the kingdome.

CHAP. II.

Of the wisedome, prudence, and riches of SALOMON, *and how first of all he builded the Temple in Ierusalem.*

AS soone as he came to Hebron, he determined to pay his vowes vnto God, on that brazen altar which was erected by *Moses*, and sacrificed thereon in burnt offerings a thousand head of cattell; which honourable deuotion of his was most acceptable vnto God. For the very same night, after he had appeared vnto him in a dreame, hee commanded him to aske whatsoeuer blessing (as he imagined) sufficient to recompence this his pietie. But *Salomon* required a most high and excellent thing, which God doth most liberally bestow, and men in like sort very happily receiue. For he demanded neither gold nor siluer, nor any other kinde of riches (such as a youthfull man would require) for these are onely affected by the common sort, when the other are onely worthy of the diuine magnificence: But giue mee (said he) O Lord, a ripe iudgement, and a good vnderstanding, to the intent that by these meanes, I may administer iustice to this people with truth and equitie. With this demand of his, God was greatly delighted, and promised him to giue him all other things whereof he had made no mention, namely, riches and glory, and aboue all these, such an vnderstanding and wisedome, as no one man either King or priuate hath had before him. Moreouer, that he would continue the kingdome in his family for many ages, if so be that he continued in the waies of iustice, and obeyed God in all things, and walked in his fathers waies in imitating his chiefest vertues.

God appeareth to Salomon by night in a dreame, and willeth him to aske that which most of all he desired.

Salomon requireth wisedome at Gods hands, who with it giueth him riches and honours also.

After that *Salomon* had receiued these blessings from God, and was made happy by these promises, hee forsooke his bed, and worshipping God returned vnto Ierusalem, where hee offered great sacrifices before the Tabernacle; and magnifically feasted all those of his household. About the same time a very difficult iudgement was brought him to decide; the resolution whereof, was very hard to be discouered. And I haue thought it necessary to declare the occasions whereon at that present the debate was grounded, to the end that the Readers may vnderstand the difficultie of the cause in question, and that if they happen at any time to be assistant in such like affaires, they might draw as it were from the counterfeit of this Kings wisedome, a perfect

module

module whereby they may directly ſhape an anſwer to ſuch demands as ſhall be offered them. Two women of looſe and luſtfull conuerſation came vnto him, one of the which (who ſeemed to haue ſuffered the iniury) began after this manner: I, O King (ſaid ſhe) and this woman dwell together in one chamber; but ſo it fortuned, that both of vs on one day, and at the ſame houre, bare each of vs a ſon: ſome three daies after we were brought a-bed, this woman lying by her infant, hath in ſleepe ouerlaid it, and ſtifled it, and hath taken my childe from betweene my knees and laid it by her, & ſettled the dead child whileſt I ſlept, in my boſome. Now on the morrow when I thought to offer the teate vnto mine infant, I found not mine owne, but perceiued that her child lay dead by me: for I knew it, becauſe I had exactly marked it. This my childe I haue demanded at her hands, and becauſe I could not recouer it, I haue made my recourſe vnto your Maieſties iuſtice, O King: for in that we were ſole women, and ſhee is obſtinate and feareth not to be conuicted by any, ſhe perſiſteth in her obſtinate deniall of the ſame. After the King had heard this her demand, he inquired of the other if ſhee had any thing to anſwer vnto this accuſation. But ſhee denying the act, and auerring that the childe which remained aliue, was hers; and that the dead one appertained to the other: and beſides that, ſince no man appeared that might determine the controuerſie, but all the aſſiſtants were amazed at the obſcuritie and difficultie of the debate; the King at laſt bethought him of this policy: He commanded that both the children ſhould be brought before his preſence, as well the liuing as the dead; and calling one of his guard vnto him, he commanded him with his naked ſword, to cut both the children into two parts, to the intent that both of them might take the halfe of the liuing, and the other, halfe of the dead child. This ſentence of his was ſecretly condemned by all the people, accounting it very childiſh. In the meane time the true mother began to exclaime, and deſire that the matter might not paſſe ſo far, but rather that they ſhould giue the whole child that was aliue, vnto the other: for that it ſufficed her, ſo as ſhe might ſee him aliue, that he might be ſuppoſed to be anothers. The aduerſe part offered her ſelfe to behold the diuiſion of the infant: and moreouer required that the true mother ſhould be puniſhed. But the King coniecturing by the diſcourſe, both of the one, and of the other, which of their meanings was moſt vnfained; adiudged the infant vnto her that cryed firſt, (for that in equitie ſhe was the true mother) and condemned the wickedneſſe of the other, who had murthered her owne childe, and laboured as much as in her lay, to procure the death of her companions innocent infant. All the people tooke this iudgement for an aſſured proofe and ſigne of the Kings prudence and wiſedome; and from that time forwards they reſpected and honoured him as one that was endowed with a diuine ſpirit. The chieftaines and gouernours vnder him thorow all the kingdome were theſe: *Vri* gouerned the countrey of Ephraim, wherein was comprized the rule of Bethleem. *Aminadab* commanded ouer the quarter of Dura, and the Sea coaſt, and had eſpouſed the daughter of *Salomon*. The great Plaine was ſubiected to *Banaia* the ſonne of *Achila*, who gouerned likewiſe all the countrey that extended towards Iordan. *Gaber* commanded the Galaadites, and Gaulonites, as farre as the mountaine Libanus, and had vnder him ſixtie great Cities, and Forts. *Achinadab* gouerned all Galilee as farre as Sadon, and had eſpouſed alſo one of *Salomons* daughters called *Baſima*: *Banacat* had the countrey that confineth the Sea neere to the Citie of Arce: *Saphat*, the mountaines Itabyr, and Carmel, and the land of Galilee as farre as Iordan: *Sonbeia* gouerned the whole land of the Beniamites: *Tabar* had all the gouernment on the other ſide of Iordan, and was elected gouernour generall ouer them all. Thus about this time did the Hebrews wonderfully increaſe in riches, and the tribe of *Iuda* waxed opulent, by reaſon that the people addicted themſelues wholly to the tilling and manuring of their lands. For their peace was vnder ſuch aſſurance, that being diſtracted by no warlike tumults, and beſides that fruitfully enioying a moſt deſired libertie, they eſpecially intended this thing onely, to increaſe their priuate and particular eſtates. The King alſo had other gouernours who ruled the Syrians, & commanded other ſtrange nations, which are extended from Euphrates as farre as Ægypt, who gathered the tribute of thoſe nations for the King. Theſe Barbarians euery day furniſhed the King for his owne Table, and the maintenance of his houſhold, with thirtie Cores of fine floure, and ſixtie of the courſer: ten fat Oxen, and twentie graſſe Beeues, with a hundred fat lambes. All which things, beſides veniſon and buffalles taken in chaſe, birds, and fiſh, were furniſhed daily by the Barbarians to ſerue the Kings houſhold. He had likewiſe a great number of charriots, ſo that he had fortie thouſand mangers wherein his coach-horſes fed; and beſides theſe he had twelue thouſand horſemen, halfe whereof kept alwaies about the King in Ieruſalem, the reſt were billetted in diuers villages belonging to the King, and remained there. And they that had the charge to furniſh the Kings expences, prouided likewiſe neceſſary prouen-

The yeere of the world, 2931. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1033.

Two women accuſe one an other for exchange of their children.

Salomon commandeth both the children to be diuided into two parts.

Salomon by the ſpeech and geſture of the women diſcouereth the true mother.

Salomons gouernours & captaines.

3 *Reg.* 4.

The happy peace of the Iſraelites in Salomons time.

Salomons daily expences.

Salomons charriots and horſemen.

The yeere of the world, 2931. before Christs birth, 1033.

der for the horſes, conueying it to that place whereſoeuer the King ſoiourned. But ſo great was the wiſedome and prudence which God had beſtowed vpon *Salomon*, that hee ſurpaſſed all his progenitors: and the Ægyptians likewiſe, who are eſteemed the wiſeſt of all men, were farre behind him in wit. For he excelled all thoſe that in that time were in the greateſt account amongſt the Hebrewes, whoſe names I will not omit; and theſe they were, *Ethan, Eman, Eman, Chalt* and *Dodan* the ſonne of *Imaon*. He compoſed alſo a thouſand and fiue hundred bookes of Odes and Canticles, and thirtie thouſand bookes of Parables and Similitudes; for to euery kinde of plant he alluded the parable from Hyſope, vnto the Cedar. The like did he of all liuing creatures that feed on the earth, ſwimme in the waters, or flie in the ayre; for none of their natures was he ignorant of: neither had hee omitted to ſearch their faculties in particular, but examined and diſcourſed on them all, and had an inward ſpeculation and knowledge of their ſeuerall and ſecret properties. Hee obtained alſo by inſpiration the Art of Magicke, for the profit and health of men, and the exorciſing and caſting out of diuels: for he deuiſed certaine incantations, whereby the diſeaſed are cured, and left the methode of coniuration in writing, whereby the diuels are enchanted and expelled; ſo that neuer more they dare returne: And this kinde of healing to this day, is very vſuall amongſt thoſe of our nation. For I ſaw a certaine popular and priuate man amongſt the Hebrewes, in the preſence of *Veſpaſian*, his ſonnes, tribunes, and other ſouldiers, that cured diuers that were poſſeſſed. And the manner of his cure was this: He applyed to the noſe of the Demoniack a Ring; vnder the ſeale whereof, was a root of thoſe things that *Salomon* had declared, which drew the diuell out of the noſtrils of the ſicke, as ſoone as he ſmelled the root: and as ſoone as the man was falne, he adiured him neuer more to returne, intermixing ſome mention of *Salomon*, and rehearſing thoſe incantations that were inuented by him.

Salomons prudence and wiſedome.

Salomons methode in coniuration, whereby he caſt out diuels.

The author in this place abuſeth the gifts of God beſtowed on Salomon, in extending them to thoſe Arts which are forbidden by the expreſſe Word of God.

A Iew caſteth out diuels.

After this, the ſaid *Eleazar* being deſirous to ſhew vnto them that were preſent, the efficacie of his Art, he ſet a pot or pitcher of water not farre from the place where the poſſeſſed ſtood, and commanded the diuell at ſuch time as he forſooke the man, to ouerturne the pot, and thereby to giue a ſigne vnto the aſſiſtants, that he had forſaken the poſſeſſed: which act of his manifeſtly declareth how great the ſcience and wiſedome of *Salomon* was. For which cauſe I thought good in this place to make mention therof, that the worthy nature of this King might be known vnto all men; and how beloued he was of God, and how ſurpaſſing in all kinds of vertue. When *Hiram* King of Tyre vnderſtood that *Salomon* ſucceeded his father in the kingdome, he was glad thereof (for he was *Dauids* friend) for which cauſe he ſent meſſengers vnto him to ſalute him, and to congratulate with him of that good which had hapned to him: by whom *Salomon* returned an anſwer in theſe tearmes: *Salomon* to *Hiram* the King: Know thou, that my father hauing a will to build a Temple vnto God, hath beene withdrawne from the performance thereof, by the continuall warres and troubles he hath had: for hee neuer tooke reſt before he either had defeated his enemies, or made them tributaries vnto him. For mine owne part, I thanke God for the peace which I poſſeſſe, and for that by the meanes thereof, I haue opportunitie (according to mine owne deſire) to build a Temple vnto God: for hee it is that foretold my father that his houſe ſhould be builded during my raigne. For which cauſe I pray you ſend ſome one of your skilfulleſt men with my ſeruants to the wood Libanus, to hew downe trees in that place: for the Sidonians are more skilfull in hewing and preparing timber then our people are, and I will pay the cleauers of wood according to your direction. When *Hiram* had read this Letter, he was very glad to peruſe the contents of the ſame, and wrote backe againe vnto him to this effect:

Hirams Embaſſadors to Salomon.

3. *Reg.* 5. Salomon requireth carpenters and workemen from Hiram.

The King *Hiram* vnto King *Salomon*: Thou haſt cauſe to thanke God, in that he hath deliuered thy fathers kingdome into thy hands, to thee I ſay, who art a man wiſe and full of vertue. For which cauſe ſince no newes can come vnto me more gracious, nor office of loue more eſteemed then this, I will accompliſh all that thou requeſteſt: for after I haue cauſed a great quantitie of Cedar and Cyprus wood to be cut downe, I will ſend it thee by Sea by my ſeruants, whom I will command (and funiſh with conuenient veſſels of burthen) to the end they may deliuer the ſame, in what place of thy kingdome it ſhall beſt pleaſe thee, that afterwards thy ſubiects may tranſport them to Ieruſalem. You ſhall prouide to furniſh vs with corne, whereof wee ſtand in need, becauſe we inhabit an Iland.

Hiram promiſeth Salomon wood, and in ſtead thereof requireth corne.

The copies are yet at this day kept, not onely by thoſe of that nation, but alſo by the Tyrians: ſo that if any man deſire exactly to know what they be, let him ſearch the publike Records of the Tyrians, and he ſhall find in them matters accordant to that we haue ſaid. All which I ſay, to that end that the readers might be aſſured, that I outſtrip not the truth in any ſort, & that I inſert not in this hiſtory matters that are meerely apparant and deceitfull, and onely faſhioned for delight;

light;neither feare I that any man ſhall examine my writings; neither deſire I likewiſe that euery man giue credit at the firſt ſight to the ſame,or that I be held blameleſſe in ſuffering my ſelfe any waies to vary or improperly dilate ought in this hiſtory: but contrariwiſe,if I cannot approoue the truth by demonſtration, and ſufficient teſtimonies, I deſire not to be allowed. As ſoone as *Salomon* had receiued theſe Letters from the King of the Tyrians, hee praiſed his facilitie and beneuolence,and preſently ſent him that which he demanded: euery yeere therefore he ſent him two thouſand Cores of wheat,and the like number of Bads of oyle(this Bad containeth ſeuenty and two ſextaries.) Hee gaue him alſo the like meaſure of wine. From that time forward the friendſhip betwixt *Hiram* and *Salomon* increaſed more and more, ſo that both of them proteſted that it ſhould continue for euer. The King impoſed on his people the tribute of thirtie thouſand workemen,whom he gaue in charge to trauell continually,and diſtributed them very diſcreetly. He ordained that ten thouſand of them ſhould cut wood in Libanus for the ſpace of one moneth; and that then they ſhould reſt two moneths, returning euery man vnto his owne dwelling place: vntill ſuch time as the twenty thouſand had in their turne accompliſhed the taske in the time that was prefixed vnto them, and then the firſt 10000. renued their worke, and followed the ſame in the fourth moneth. *Adoram* was cõſtituted ſuperintendent ouer this tribute. Beſides theſe, there were 70000. men appointed to carry ſtones and wood, who were the inhabitants of that countrey,which *Dauid* had left. There were foureſcore thouſand hewers of ſtone, ouer which were 3200. commiſſaries; theſe had the King commanded to cut the greateſt ſtones, to make the foundations of the Temple: which after they had hewed and prepared in the mountaine, he commanded ſhould be drawne and brought into the Citie, and not onely commanded hee his countrey-men to performe this,but thoſe workmen alſo that were ſent him by *Hiram*.

The yeere of the world, 2931. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1033.

The truth of Ioſephs hiſtory.

The King ſendeth Hiram a great quantitie of wheat, oyle, and wine.

The order of the Carpenters in Libanus.

The order of the Maſons and other workemen.

Salomon began this building in the fourth yeere of his raigne,in the ſecond moneth, which the Macedonians call Artemiſium, and the Hebrewes Iar; fiue hundreth ninety and two yeeres after the departure of the Iſraelites out of Ægypt; one thouſand and twenty yeeres, ſince the arriuall of *Abraham* in Meſopotamia; one thouſand foure hundred and forty yeeres, after the Deluge: And ſince *Adam* the firſt man vntill *Salomon* (who builded the Temple) all the yeeres that are paſſed, haue beene three thouſand one hundred and two. But the beginning of the building of the Temple hapned in the eleuenth yeere of the raigne of *Hiram*, who gouerned in Tyre: and ſince the firſt time that Tyre began to be inhabited,vntill the ſaid building of the Temple,there paſſed two hundred & forty yeeres. The King therefore laid the foundations of the Temple,and made a moſt deepe trench, and fortified it with moſt ſtrong ſtones,which might be able to reſiſt all the iniuries of time. Theſe ſtones were ſo cloſely ioyned the one vnto the other, that for the ſtrength of the foundations, they might ſerue to make the baſe and ground, both to fortifie the worke, as alſo to ſuſtaine that which ſhould be builded thereupon, either for embelliſhment or weight of the charge: neither could the foundations be of leſſe ſtrength and hugenes,which were to ſuſtaine a ſumptuous pile of that height,greatnes,magnificence and ornament. The wals were made of white ſtone,and continued of the ſame matter euen vntill the roofe. The height of the Temple was ſixtie cubites, and the length as much,and the breadth twentie. Ouer that was another edifice, hauing the like dimenſions; ſo that the whole height of the Temple was ſixeſcore cubites: and the entry thereof was to the Eaſt-ward. The porch that gaue entry thereinto, had twenty cubits in length(which was the bredth of the Temple)and in bredth ten cubits: and the height thereof was of ſixeſcore cubits. About the Temple were builded thirtie Cels,which inuironed the circuit of the ſame on the outſide,and ſerued to ſuſtaine all the edifice; for that they were of that number, and paſſable the one into the other. The entries were made after the ſame manner, from whence a man might eaſily paſſe from the one to the other. Euery one of theſe Cels had twenty and fiue cubits in bredth,and as many in length,and twenty in height:and aboue them there were other builded: and others likewiſe aboue theſe of like number, and dimenſion: ſo that they were almoſt as high as the other buildings. Ouer theſe there were no buildings;only this,they were couered with Cedar:Euery Cell had his couer apart,& had no dependance on the other roofs. The reſt of the building of the Temple was couered with long beames,mortized the one within the other, which ſuſtained the whole:ſo that the wals being in this maner faſtned the one vnto the other,were the more ſtronger. To theſe beames were there faſtned certaine roofes of the ſame ſtuffe, which were curiouſly poliſhed,carued and guilded. The walles on the inſide were couered with Cedar planks intermixed with gold: ſo that all the Temple ſhined, and the burniſht gold lightned,& dazled their eyes that entred into the Temple. All the whole building of the Temple was moſt artificially made of ſtones moſt exactly carued, and moſt cloſely and cunningly ioyned together: ſo that they that curiouſly pried into the ſame,could not any waies

Hedio & Ruffinus,chap. 9. 3. *Kings* 6.

When the building of the Temple began.

The depth of the foundations of the Temple.

The height, length and bredth of the Temple.

The porch before the Temple.

The Cels which were builded in the circuit of the Temple.

The beames and walles beautified with gold.

obſerue any ſtroke of the hammer,nor other workmans toole,but all the whole maſſe ſeemed to be a naturall,and no artificiall frame; and rather gathered in that place of it ſelfe,then garniſhed by the hands of cunning workemen. As touching the aſcent into the higheſt part of the Temple, the King in that ſort deuiſed it,that in the thickneſſe of the wall he included a paire of winding ſtaires to that purpoſe. This part had not a great gate towards the Eaſtward,as the lower had,but in the ſides there were little dores made: All the whole Temple both within and without was couered with Cedar planks,tied together with ſtrong chains to fortifie & ſtrengthen the ſame. The Temple inwardly was diuided into two parts,the one whereof contained the *ſanctum ſanctorum*, of twenty cubits(which was vnacceſſible)the reſt of the ſpace,of forty cubits was conſecrated to the vſe of the Prieſts. And in the midſt of the wall made he two gates of Cedar, inriched with ſtore of gold,and diuers curious carued works,and hung them with tapiſtry: wherein where imbrodered diuers flowers of hyacinth,purple,& ſcarlet intermingled with moſt pure,white & delicate linnen. He placed alſo vpon the holy of holieſt(which was 20. cubits broad,& as many long) 2. Cherubins of maſſie gold,each one 5. cubits hie,& each of them had 2. wings that were ſpred 5. cubits broad,by which meanes they were not farre diſtant the one from the other,but that the one of their wings touched the Southern wal of the ſacred place,& the other the Northern wall: the other wings that touched one another,ſerued for a couer for the Arke which was placed betweene them both. But what the figure of the Cherubins was,it is impoſſible to expreſſe: he made the pauement of the Temple alſo, of plates of beaten gold. To the gate of the Temple alſo hee faſtned conuenient dores 20. cubits high,anſwerable in height to the wall,& couered with plates of gold. In a word, he left not one place either within or without the Temple, that was not garniſhed with gold: he likewiſe adorned the outſide of the gates as he had done the inſide. But the gate of the porch had no ſuch ornament. After this, *Salomon* ſent vnto *Hiram* King of Tyre for one,who was a cunning workman called *Vram*,the ſon of a woman of the line of *Nepthali*;and of *Vrias* the Iſraelite. This man had great knowledge in all kinde of works,but his eſpeciall excellency was in working gold, ſiluer and braſſe, who made all that which couered the Temple according as the King commanded. He made two pillars of braſſe,foure fingers thicke,& eighteene cubits high,and twelue in the circumference;on the chapters of each of them,he planted a founded lilly,of fiue cubits in height,which he inuironed with certain grates made of braſſe after the maner of enterlaced nets,which couered the lillies on each ſide,on which there hung downe two hundred Pomegranats in two ranks. Theſe pillars placed he in the entrance of the porch,the one on the right hand called Iachin, the other on the left called Boz. He founded alſo the brazen Sea made after the maner of a Hemiſpheare,& this veſſel was called the ſea,by reaſon of the hugenes thereof. For it was a lauer that by meaſured line was ten cubits broad,the thicknes of a hand;the midſt thereof was ſuſtained with a pillar ten times twiſted,whoſe bignes was a cubit. This lauer was ſuſtained by twelue heifers,which by three & three were placed directly oppoſite againſt the quarters of the foure winds: and the hindermoſt part of theſe heifers were ſet ſomewhat ſtooping,to the end that this round and ample veſſell might be the more ſurely ſupported by them. This ſea contained three thouſand Bads. He made alſo ten brazen baſes foure ſquare, for the lauers,each one in length fiue cubits, in bredth foure, in height three; thus were the parts of this work ſeuerally faſhioned. There were foure little pillars ſquare,and erected at euery corner one, in which the ſides of the baſes were adioyned, & diuided into three ſorts,according to the place diſtinguiſhed betweene the ioynts;with Images,here a Lion,there a Bull, and in another place an Eagle. The pillars likewiſe were adorned with the ſame ingrauing: and all this whole work hung vpon foure wheeles, which were made of caſt worke, which had certaine naues or ſpoakes a cubit and a halfe in the Diameter:and it was a wonderfull thing to ſee the circumferences of them, how cunningly they were wrought,& properly ſettled to the ſides of the baſes by their naues,or ſtrakes. They were thus made:the corners or angles on the vpper part were ſuſtained by certaine ſhoulders made after the manner of extended hands,on which was there placed a ſpire,to which the lauer was faſtned, being vpheld by the pawes of a Lion,and an Eagle, which were faſhioned & ſo properly vnited, that they that beheld them,would haue ſuppoſed them rather to be naturall creatures then otherwiſe: and betwixt them alſo there were certaine palme trees figured. Such was the compoſition of the ten lauers. Moreouer,he made ten other brazen lauers after the manner of a round cockle ſhell,each of which contained forty Choes: for they were in height foure cubits, and from brim to brim, there were likewiſe foure cubits: which lauers he placed vpon ten baſes or feet called Mechonoth, fiue of which ſtood on the left ſide of the Temple, that extended to the Northward,the other fiue on the right hand toward the Southward; yet ſo as they affronted the Eaſt. Here likewiſe placed he the Sea full of water, to the intent that the Prieſts

The yeere of the world, 2933. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt, 1031.

Winding ſtaires.

The Temple diuided into two parts.

Two Cherubins.

The pauement, gates, and all other things in the Temple beautified with gold.

Salomon ſendeth to Hiram for Vram a cunning workeman.

3. *Reg.*

A veſſell called the brazen Sea.

Ten brazen baſes of the lauer.

Ten round lauers.

Prieſts entring into the Temple, might waſh their hands and feet before they went vp vnto the Altar. The other lauers ſerued to waſh the inwards and feet of thoſe beaſts that were ſacrificed. He builded likewiſe a brazen Altar of twenty cubits long, and as many in bredth, and tenne in height, to offer burnt offerings thereon. He made likewiſe all the veſſels that belonged thereunto of braſſe: as kettels, water-pots, hookes and forks, and ſuch like, that in brightneſſe equalled the pure gold. The King alſo dedicated many tables, and amongſt theſe, one great one of gold (on which the ſacred bread was laid) the reſt not farre inferiour, yet made after diuers manners, held ewers and platters of gold, to the number of twenty thouſand, and of ſiluer forty thouſand. He made likewiſe ten thouſand candleſticks (according as *Moſes* had commanded) whereof one he dedicated in the Temple, that according to the law it might giue light there in the day time. He made a table alſo, on which the loaues of bread were laid, on the North ſide of the Temple, hard by the candleſticke, which was placed towards the Southward. The Altar of gold was planted betwixt them both. All which things were incloſed in that part of the Temple that contained forty cubits, before the tapiſtry of the holy of holieſt, where the Arke ſhould be placed. The King alſo cauſed foureſcore thouſand pots, and a thouſand hundreth of ewers of gold, and twice as many of ſiluer, to be made; and foureſcore thouſand plates of gold, and twice ſo many of ſiluer, to offer the kneaded flower in them vpon the Altar; & threeſcore thouſand cups of gold, and twice ſo many of ſiluer, to lay the flower mingled with oyle thereon; and two thouſand meaſures of gold, and twenty thouſand of ſiluer, reſembling a Hin or an Epha of *Moſes*. Twenty thouſand of Cenſors alſo of gold, wherein the perfume was burnt, to hallow the Temple; and other cenſors likewiſe in which they carried fire from the great Altar, and laid it on the leſſer which was within the Temple, to the number of fiftie thouſand. He prepared alſo a thouſand veſtments for the vſe of the Prieſts, with their ſurcots, heads, pectorals, and with their precious ouches, notwithſtanding there was but one Crowne wherein *Moſes* had written the name of God, which hath continued euen vntill this day. He made alſo ten thouſand ſtoales for the Prieſts of fine linnen, with ſcarlet girdles, for euery one of them; two huudreth thouſand trumpets according to the ordinance of *Moſes*, and forty thouſand inſtruments of Muſicke to record and praiſe God with (as the Pſaltery and Harpe of a mixt matter, the fift part gold, and the fourth part ſiluer.) All which *Salomon* moſt magnificently prepared for the ſeruice of God, ſparing no coſt, but imploying himſelfe to the vttermoſt of his power, toward the ornament of the Temple: which he beautified and endowed with all theſe treaſures. Hee enuironed the Temple likewiſe with a certaine wall ſome three cubits hie, which in our tongue we call Giſon, to exclude the prophane multitude, and admit none but the Prieſts only. Without this wall there ſtood a Temple foure-ſquare with great and broad Iles, which opened with very great gates, euery one according to the quarter of the winde; and the doores thereof were couered with gold. Into this place all the people that were purified might enter, and they likewiſe that kept the ordinances of *Moſes*. It may not be ſpoken or ſcarcely beleeued, although it were ſeene, how admirable that exteriour Temple was: for he filled huge trenches, which by reaſon of their immeaſurable depth, could not be lookt downe into without vehement apprehenſion of feare (for they were foure hundreth cubits deepe) yet notwithſtanding he filled them, and raiſed them to the height of the hill, whereon the Temple was built; and by this meanes it came to paſſe, that the walk without the Temple, was equalled with the foundation of the ſame. This did he begirt with double porches, ſuſtained by pillars of rich ſtone; the roofe whereof were of poliſhed Cedar, and the gates were of Maſſiue ſiluer.

After that King *Salomon* had in ſeuen yeeres finiſhed theſe ſo huge, faire, and magnificent buildings, and all the other neceſſaries which he had beſtowed vpon the Temple, and declared thereby his great riches, and confirmed his readines to be ſuch, that that which at the firſt ſight might require a mans whole life to finiſh, hee accompliſhed in few yeeres, in reſpect of the greatneſſe of the Temple: He wrote vnto the Gouernours and Elders of the Hebrewes, commanding them to aſſemble all the people in Ieruſalem to behold the Temple, and to bring in the Arke of God: and although this aſſembly was publikely proclaimed, yet ſcarcely did the people make their appearance in Ieruſalem before the ſeuenth moneth, which we call Thuri, and the Macedonians Hyperberete. About this time fell the feaſt of Tabernacles, which the Hebrewes moſt religiouſly obſerue and honour with great feſtiuals. They therefore tooke the Arke and Tabernacle that *Moſes* had beforetimes made, with all thoſe neceſſaries which appertained to the diuine ſeruice, and bare them into the Temple. The King and all the people with the Leuites marched before, hauing their cattell ready to ſacrifice, and filling the way with offerings, and the blood of diuers ſlaughtered beaſts, burning an infinit quantity of perfumes, wherewith the ayre was filled round about;

The yeere of the world, 2933. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1031.

The vſe of the Sea, and the other ten lauers.

The Altar and veſſels appertaining to the ſame.

The Table of ſacred bread.

The candleſticke.

The cups and vials.

The bowles.

The Cenſors.

Prieſts garments.

Inſtruments of Muſicke.

The incloſure before the Temple.

The Fane.

The huge trenches wherein the foundation of the Temple, was laid, filled.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 4. 3 *Reg.* 8.

Salomons Temple was conſecrated in the moneth of October.

The Arke is carried into the Temple.

The yeere of the world, 2941. before the Natiuitie of Christ, 1023.

about, the ſent whereof diſperſed it ſelfe farre and neere, to make it knowne that God would be present in that new builded and conſecrated place (if we may ſo ſpeake of diuine things after a humane manner.) Thus ceaſed they not to ſing and dance vntill they came vnto the Temple: and after this ſort conducted they the Arke. But when as it was to be carried into the holy of holieſt, the reſt of the multitude departed, & the Prieſts onely placed it vnder the two Cherubims, who imbraced it with their wings, as if it had bin couered with a pauillion or ſome canapie: for they had bin expreſſely faſhioned after that manner by the workeman. The Arke contained nought els but the two tables of ſtone, in which were kept in writing the ten commandements pronounced by God on the mount Sinai. For as touching the candleſtick, and the table, and altar of gold, he placed them in the Temple before the moſt holy of holieſt, in places correſpondent to thoſe where they ſtood, when they were in the Tabernacle. Then offered they the ordinary ſacrifices, and placed the brazen altar before the Temple neere vnto the gate: ſo that when it was opened, the other ſtood in ſight, and a man might ſee the ſeruice and magnificence that was vſed in the ſacrifices. And as touching the other vtenſils, he gathered them all together, and placed them in the Temple. But after the Prieſts (hauing giuen order for all things about the Arke) were departed from thence, ſuddenly there fell amidſt the Sanctuary a thicke cloud, not pitchy, nor ſuch as reſembleth winter clouds loaden with raine; but defuſed and temperate, which darkned the ſight of the Prieſts, ſo that they ſaw not one another. But thereby euery mans mind was eaſily induced, and his opinion confirmed, that God was deſcended into the Temple, and willingly dwelled in the ſame: In effect all men had no other opinion: But King *Salomon* ariſing from his throne wherein hee was ſeated, addreſſed his prayers vnto God, in ſuch words as he thought both to be agreeable to the diuine nature, and conuenient for him to vſe: O Lord (ſaid he) thou haſt an eternall houſe, neither are we ignorant that thou haſt builded this whole maſſe of the Vniuerſe for thy ſelfe, which conſiſteth of heauen, earth, ayre and ſeas: which thou altogether filleſt, yet art thou not contained by them. But therefore haue we adorned and erected this Temple to thy name, to the end that we might offer vp our ſacrifices and prayers in the ſame, and ſend them vp to heauen (as a ſweet ſacrifice) to obtaine thy fauour, aſſuring our ſelues that thou art here preſent alſo, and wilt neuer be abſent from this place. For whereas thou ſeeſt all things, heareſt all things, yet forſakeſt thou not vs at all: neither doſt thou abandon the place where thou doſt worthily inhabit: but rather thou art alwaies neere vnto all men, but in eſpeciall preſent with thoſe that thinke on thee day and night. Theſe words ſpake he, looking vpwards towards God, and afterwards addreſſing himſelfe vnto the people, he ſpake vnto them as touching his power and prouidence, how he had foretold his father *Dauid* of all that which ſhould happen: the greater part whereof was already accompliſhed, and the reſt was ſhortly to ſucceed. Furthermore, hee declared how God himſelfe had giuen him his name before he was borne, and that it was known how he ſhould be called: and how at ſuch time as he ſhould be King after the deceaſe of his father, he ſhould build him a Temple; which things they ſaw brought to paſſe according as they were foretold: for which they ought to giue God thankes, and not to loſe any hope of any of thoſe things that had beene promiſed them in regard of their happineſſe, hauing occaſion of beliefe by the ſight of thoſe things which they then beheld.

The Prieſts place the Arke of God in the Sanctuary, & in it the Tables of ſtone, wherein the tenne Commandements were written.

The candleſticke, table, and altar of gold.

The brazen altar.

A cloud in the tabernacle.

Salomons prayer vnto God.

God immeaſurable.

The cauſes why the Temple was builded.

God is true in his promiſes.

Salomons prayer, wherein he thankes God for his benefits, and beſeecheth his future protection.

When the King had ſpoken after this manner, vnto the people, hee turned againe and beheld the Temple, and lifting vp his hands towards the people, he began thus: It is impoſſible (ſaid he) for men to yeeld effectuall thankes vnto God for thoſe benefits they haue receiued of him: for God (who is more abundant then all men) hath no need of them: But (O Lord) it behoooueth vs, that ſince of thy grace thou haſt made vs more excellent then other liuing creatures, we ſhould bleſſe and giue thanks vnto thy Maieſtie, and in eſpeciall it concerneth vs to honour thee for the benefits thou haſt beſtowed on our family, & all the Hebrew nation. But with what other means then ought we to appeaſe thee when thou art diſpleaſed, and when we are to entertaine thy mercy, then by that voice which we draw from the ayre, and which as we know mounteth backe againe into the ayre? I ought therfore firſt of all to giue thee thanks in reſpect of my father, whom from obſcuritie thou haſt raiſed to high maieſtie: next, for that thou haſt fulfilled all thoſe things which thou haſt foreprophecied of me, vntil this preſent day; I beſeech thee for the time to come to furniſh me with thoſe things, that thou maieſt giue vnto men that are deare vnto thee, which is, that thou increaſe our houſe euery way, according as thou haſt promiſed my father *Dauid* to performe during his life, and at ſuch time as he was neere vnto his death: namely, that the kingdome ſhould continue in our family, and that his race ſhould multiply in innumerable ſucceſſions. Beſtow thou this benefit vpon vs, and bequeath vnto all mine, that vertue wherein

thou

thou takeſt delight. Moreouer, I beſeech thee that a portion of thy ſpirit may come and dwell in the Temple, to the intent that we may vnderſtand that thou dwelleſt vpon earth: for not onely this Temple, but the whole heauen, and the depth of things that are vnder the ſame, are too little for thy habitation. I beſeech thee therfore that it may pleaſe thee to continue it for thine owne, to the end it may neuer be deſtroyed by the enemy, but that thou wilt alwaies haue care of it, as of thine owne peculiar inheritance. And if it ſhall ſo fall out that thy people runne aſtray, and that afterwards being puniſhed by thee, by ſome puniſhment of death, peſtilence or any ſuch chaſtiſement (by which thou reclaimeſt thoſe that offend thee, to the obſeruation of thy lawes) they haue recourſe vnto this Temple, aſſembling, beſeeching, and requiring thee of mercy; heare them I beſeech thee, as being preſent in this place, and haue compaſſion on them, and deliuer them from their aduerſities.

The yeere of the world, 2941. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt, 1023.

Salomon humbly beſeecheth God, that hee will protect this Temple as his owne houſe.

Neither doe I onely intreat thee for the Hebrewes when they ſhall haue offended thee: but if it happen that any one arriue heere from any part of the world, of what country ſoeuer he be, to demand and require the fruition of this mercy, heare thou him, I pray thee, and grant his requeſt: For by this meanes all men ſhall know, that it is thy will that thy houſe ſhould be builded in this place, and that we are not inhumane by nature, but that we haue deſired that thy help and the communication of thy bleſſings ſhould be beſtowed, not only on thoſe of our nation, but alſo on all the world. This ſaid, he caſt himſelfe flat vpon his face, and continued in praier a long time, and afterwards riſing againe, he offered ſacrifices vpon the Altar; and hauing filled the Temple with intire offrings, he knew moſt euidently that God did gratefully account & accept of his oblations: for a fire trilling thorow the aire, and lighting vpon the Altar in the ſight of all men, conſumed and deuoured the ſacrifice. When this viſion had hapned, the people manifeſtly coniectured that Gods aboad ſhould be in that Temple, & with great ioy humbled themſelues on their faces, and lay proſtrate on the pauement. But the King began to praiſe God, and incited the people to do the like, conſidering they had already receiued the teſtimonies of his mercy, exhorting them to pray that he would be alwaies merciful vnto them, & that he would keep them for euer in cleanneſſe and vncorrupt minds, and that they might iuſtly and religiouſly lead their liues, in obſeruing thoſe commandements which he had giuen them by *Moſes*. For in ſo doing, the people of the Hebrewes ſhould proſper and grow more happy, then all the nations of the world. Moreouer, he exhorted them to keepe in their remembrance thoſe means, by which the benefits they poſſeſſed had beene gotten; aſſuring them that by the ſame they ſhould retaine continuance, increaſe, and multiplication thereof. For they ought to thinke that they receiued them not, but for their piety and iuſtice; and that it was all one for men to get that which they wanted, as to keep that which was gotten, without defaulting in any thing. When the King had ſpoken after this maner vnto the people, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly (hauing firſt of all accompliſhed the ſacrifices both for himſelfe and the people, by offering vp twelue thouſand Oxen, and ſixeſcore thouſand ſheep.) For then firſt of all was the Temple embrued with the blood of the ſlaughterd ſacrifices, and all the Hebrews with their wiues & children, were banquetted therin. The King alſo feaſting with the whole people, celebrated the ſolemnity of the Tabernacles for the ſpace of 14. daies in great pompe and magnificence. And when as all things were ſufficiently performed, and nothing was deficient that concerned the ſeruice of God, euery one (diſmiſſed by the King) departed to his owne dwelling place, giuing him hearty thanks for the care he had of them, and for the works he had done for them, praying God that it might pleaſe him to grant their King *Salomon* a long life. And thus they returned home with ioy, praiſing and ſinging hymnes vnto God, ſo that they rid their way, and returned to their families with great rreaſure, and without any trauell.

He prayeth that ſtrangers may be heard alſo in this place.

A fire from heauen conſumeth Salomons ſacrifice 3 *Reg.* 8.

Salomon exhorteth the people to praiſe God, and to giue him thankes, and to pray vnto him.

3 *Reg.* 8. 41.

Salomons ſacrifices in the dedication of the Temple. The feaſt of Tabernacles. The King diſmiſſeth the people. 3 *Kings* 9.

After then that they had conducted the Arke into the Temple, & had beheld the greatnes and beauty of the ſame, and had celebrated moſt excellent ſacrifices, and made great ſolemnities, they returned euery one vnto his City. But a viſion that night appeared vnto the King during his ſleep, wch gaue him aſſurance that God had heard his praier, & that he would keep his Temple & dwel in the ſame for euer (if ſo be his poſterity & all the people addicted themſelues to liue vertuouſly:) promiſing himſelf in eſpecial, that if he continued in the obſeruation of thoſe aduertiſements which his father had preſcribed him, he would raiſe him to the ful infinity of felicity, and thoſe of his poſterity ſhould obtain the royalty ouer all the country, & ouer the tribe of *Iuda*: but if he forgot the exerciſes of piety, & exchanged them for the ſeruice of ſtrange gods, he would pluck him vp by the roots, without leauing any remainder here to raign after him. Neither ſhould the people of Iſrael remaine vnpuniſhed, but ſhould be exterminate by infinite wars and aduerſities, and be caſt out of the countrey which he had giuen vnto their anceſtors, and become baniſht men,

God appeareth againe to Salomon, and promiſeth him all bleſſings, if hee ſwarued not from his fathers precepts

A grieuous commination againſt the Iſraelites, if they fall from the way of righteouſnes.

The yeere of the world, 2941. before Christs Natiuitie, 1023.

men, and runnagates in a forraine land. And as concerning the Temple which is builded at this G
preſent, I will (ſaid he) deliuer it to the enemies to ranſacke and burne it, and the Citie ſhall be
deſtroyed by the hands of the enemies: and their miſeries ſhall bee ſo notorious thorow the
world, and to ſuch extremitie ſhall they be driuen, as it ſhall hardly be beleeued: ſo as their
neighbours round about them, hearing tidings of their calamities, ſhall be aſtoniſhed, and ſhall
ſeeke out the cauſe why the Hebrewes are thus hated by God, who before-times haue beene
ſo aduanced by him in riches and honours: and they ſhall vnderſtand thereof by thoſe that ſur-
uiue, in hearing them confeſſe their ſinnes; and the tranſgreſſions they haue committed againſt
the ordinance of their forefathers. Theſe things that were declared vnto him in a dreame, are
regiſtred in the ſacred letters. H

Hedio & Ruffinus. chap. 5. Salomons Palace finiſhed in thirteene yeeres.

Seuen yeeres after the Temple had beene thus builded (as it hath beene heretofore declared) he began the building of his Palace, which he ſcarcely finiſhed in thirteene yeers ſpace (for he was not ſo intent and earneſt in building thereof, as he was in the ſtructure of the Temple.) For although the Temple were very great, and of incredible and maruellous magnificence, yet ſo it is, that God (for whom it was made) aſſiſting the workemen, it was thorowly finiſhed within the terme of the yeers aforeſaid. But the royall Palaces, being farre leſſer then was the Temple, were builded more ſlowly, becauſe the ſtuffe had not beene prepared ſo long time before, neither with ſo great affection; and the rather, becauſe the Palaces that were builded, were not for God, but for Kings: Notwithſtanding, this houſe was builded very magnificently, according as the wealth of the countrey and the power of the Hebrew King required. But it ſhall not be amiſſe if I declare all the order and diſpoſition of the ſame houſe, that by the deſcription thereof the Reader may both gather and conſider the whole amplitude thereof: It was a great and goodly lodging, ſuſtained by diuers pillars, prepared to receiue and containe much people at the time of their aſſemblies, wherein they intreated of affaires and held pleas. It was a hundred cubits in length, and in breadth fiftie, and in height thirtie, comprized vnder ſixteene ſquare pillars couered with Corinthian worke, with ſtaires of the like meaſure, and carued gates, both pleaſant for ſight, and fit for fortification. I

The Hall. The Tribunal.

In the midſt of this ſpace, and hard by the Temple, there was another ſquare Pauillion thirty cubits large, ſuſtained with ſtrong pillars, within w^ch there was another magnificent Tribunal, on which the King ſate to giue iudgement: vnto which there was annexed another Palace prepared for the Queene. All the chambers, as well thoſe that were ordinarily in vſe, as thoſe for recreation after he had retired himſelfe from publike affaires, were adorned with planks of carued Cedar, and were builded partly of ſtone ten cubits ſquare, partly of curious marble, and very rarely and cunningly wrought (ſuch as are wont to adorne Temples and Palaces) and are found out by the moſt curious and cunning Maſons. And that which made it more beautifull, were three panes of Tapiſtry, and the fourth admirable for the artificiall engrauings: for the workmen had made therein trees and plants of diuers ſorts, ſhadowed with their branches and leaues, hanging in ſuch ſort, that to behold them, a man would haue thought that they ſhooke, the workmanſhip was ſo exquiſite and curious that couered the ſtone. The reſt, as farre as the roofe, was enchaſed, and flouriſhed with diuers antiques and pictures. Furthermore, he builded other places of pleaſure, with very long porches to beautifie the Palace; amongſt which, there was one moſt magnificent to make banquets and feaſts in, which altogether was adorned with gold: and all the neceſſaries belonging thereto, and to the entertainment of thoſe that banquetted, were of gold. It is a great matter to number the hugeneſſe and variety of theſe royall lodgings, both greater and leſſer; of thoſe that were hidden vnder the earth, as of thoſe, which being lifted vp in the aire, did moſt apparantly manifeſt their beauty: The pleaſant arbors likewiſe delightfull to behold, and moſt contenting in ſummer, for that they were couered and warranted from the heate. To ſpeake in a word, all the building was made of white marble, of Cedar, of gold, and of ſiluer: the floores and walles were figured with diuerſity of flowers and of precious ſtones, inchaſed in gold, after the manner of the Temple of God, which ſhined with ſuch like ornaments. There was likewiſe erected a moſt mighty Throne, made in forme of a Tribunall, with ſixe ſteps of pure Iuory: on each ſide of which there ſtood two ramping Lyons, and the like number were placed aboue. The ſtage of the Throne was after the forme of hands, that laid hold on the King: and he ſate vpon a halfe Oxe looking backwards: and this Throne was all inuironed with gold.

The Queenes houſe, and other Palaces of pleaſure. The ornaments of Salomons Palace. Chambers of pleaſure, with houſhold-ſtuffe of gold. 3 *Kings* 10. Salomons Throne made of Iuory. 3 *Reg.* 5.

Salomon builded all this that hath beene ſpoken of, in the ſpace of twenty yeers, being furniſhed by *Hiram* King of the Tyrians for theſe his buildings, with great ſummes of gold, and farre more greater of ſiluer, beſides a quantity of Cedar and Pine-trees. *Salomon* alſo remunerated him,

him,and gaue him great preſents,and ſent him euery yeere ſufficient of corne, wine and oyle(as we haue heretofore declared)whereof he ſtood in great neede, by reaſon that his Countrey was an Iland. And beſides that, he gaue him twenty Cities in Galilee, not farre diſtant from Tyre. *Hiram* hauing viſited them, and not well pleaſed with them, ſent vnto *Salomon* to certifie him thereof,that he had no vſe for his Cities:and from that time forward they were called the countrey of *Chebal*,which is as much to ſay in the Phœnician tongue,as vnpleaſant. *Hiram* likewiſe ſent vnto *Salomon* certaine myſteries and difficult queſtions requiring him to decide the ſame, and to diſſolue thoſe doubts and difficulties that occurred in his demands. *Salomon* being a man of ripe iudgement and vnderſtanding, pretermitted none of them; but after he had attained their reſolution in his owne opinion, and had gathered the ſenſe, he expreſſed and opened the ſame. Of theſe two Kings, *Menander* (who tranſlated the Antiquities of the Tyrians out of the Phœnician tongue into the Greeke)maketh mention, ſpeaking after this manner: After the deceaſe of *Abibale, Hiram* his ſonne ſucceeded him in the Kingdome,who liued fiftie and three yeeres, and raigned thirty and foure. He annexed the field which is called Ample, vnto the Iland,and dedicated a golden pillar in *Iupiters* Temple. He alſo cauſed a great quantity of wood to be hewed downe in the mountaine Libanus, to make couers and rooſes for Temples. For hauing pulled downe ſome ancient Temples, he builded that of Hercules,and that of Aſtrate,and made this firſt building of Hercules in the moneth Peritien, and made warre againſt the Eucecans, who refuſed to pay their tributes: and after he had once againe brought them vnder his ſubiection, he returned to his owne Palace. In his time liued the young ſonne of *Abdimon*, who alwaies reſolued thoſe queſtions which *Salomon* King of Ieruſalem propoſed. *Diue* alſo maketh mention of him in theſe tearmes: After the deceaſe of *Abibale*, his ſonne *Hiram* raigned: he it was that fortified the quarter of the City to the Eaſtward, and enlarged the ſame, and conioyned the Temple of Olympian *Iupiter* to the City, which before that time was in another place, and filled all the place betweene them with earth, and adorned it with pendants of Gold: and afterwards going vp to Libanus,he hewed downe timber to build Temples withall. He ſaid alſo,that *Salomon* raigning at that time in Ieruſalem, ſent vnto *Hiram* certaine ſubtill queſtions,demanding the expoſition thereof vnder this condition,that if he declared them not,in way of penalty he ſhould pay a great ſumme of money; and afterwards that a certaine Tyrian called *Abdimon*, expounded that which had beene propoſed: and in lieu thereof propoſed certaine others, which *Salomon* could not expound, and for that occaſion he paid a great ſumme of money vnto *Hiram*. This is it that *Dius* writeth.

The yeere of the world, 2941. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt, 1023.

Salomons gratuitie to Hiram,for the benefits hee receiued.

3 Kings 9.

3 Kings 5.

Salomon interpreteth certaine hidden queſtions ſent vnto him by Hiram.

Menander the hiſtoriographer maketh mention of Hiram and Salomon.

Dius maketh mention of Hiram.

Dius of Salomon.

The King ſeeing that the City wanted both bulwarks and towers to ſecure the ſame,and that the ſtrength of the ſame was no way anſwerable to the dignity therof,he repaired the wals, and erected great towers on the ſame. Moreouer he builded certaine Cities,which deſerue to be memorized among the moſt renowned, namely,Aſor and Magedon,and for the third, the City of Gaza in the country of the Philiſtins:againſt which *Pharao* King of Egypt led out his army,and tooke it by force,and after he had put all the inhabitants thereof to the ſword,he deſtroyed the ſame, and afterwards he gaue it in dower vnto his daughter, which married with *Salomon*. For which cauſe the King fortified it,ſeeing it to be already ſufficiently defenced by nature,& that it ſtood very commodiouſly for the war,and to hinder the inuaſions of the enemy that might happen. Not far from thence he fortified two other Cities,wherof one was called Betachor,and the other Baleth. Beſides theſe he builded others, which were Cities of recreation and pleaſure,by reaſon of the good temperature of the aire,and the pleaſantnes of the fruits,and in eſpecially the ſweete ſtreamy riuers,wherwith they were watered. Afterwards entring into the deſart that is aboue Syria,and conquering the ſame,he builded another great City two dayes iourney diſtant from the higher Syria, a dayes iourney from Euphrates, and ſixe from the great Babylon. The cauſe why this City was inhabited farre from the ciuill and peopled quarters of Syria, was, becauſe in no place of the lower countrey there was water to be found,and in this City only there were fountaines and ſprings. He therefore builded this City, and begirt it with ſtrong walles, and called it Thadamor (which is the name which the Syrians tearme it by,euen at this day:and amongſt the Greekes it is called Palmyra.)And theſe were *Salomons* works in that time. But for that there are diuers that demand the queſtion how it commeth to paſſe, that all the Kings of Ægypt that haue beene ſince *Minæus* the founder of Memphis, and who raigned diuers yeeres before our great anceſtor *Abraham*, who (I ſay) haue beene till *Salomons* time, for the ſpace of more then thirteene hundred yeeres, haue beene called *Pharaohs*, deriuing that name from one that raigned in the mid-time betweene both: I haue thought it requiſite to manifeſt the ſame to the

Salomon repaireth the wals of Ieruſalem, and erecteth towers.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 6.

Salomon buildeth certaine cities, Azor, Magedon, Gaza. Betachor, Baleth.

Thadamor, or Palmyra.

Why the Ægyptian kings were called Pharaohs.

The yeere of the world, 2953. before Christs Nativitie, 1011.

the intent to resolue that doubt, and expresse the cause of that name. The name of *Pharao* amongst the Ægyptians, signifieth as much, as King. But I thinke that from their childhood they had other distinct names; and that afterwards when they are created Kings, they take vpon them that name, which in their mother tongue signifieth no lesse, then Authority. (For the Kings of Alexandria hauing beene before-time called by other names, at such time as they are introduced into the Kingdome, they are called Ptolomies, by the name of their first King.) The Romane Emperours likewise, notwithstanding they haue other names at the time of their birth, yet are they called Cæsars; because the soueraignty and honour wherunto they are raised, imposeth that title on them: and the name that was giuen them by their fathers, is no more retained. For this cause it is (as I thinke) that although *Herodotus* of *Halicarnesseus*, saith, that since *Minos* the founder of Memphis, there haue beene three hundred and thirty Kings of Ægypt; yet declareth he not their names, because they were called *Pharaohs*. For when after these a woman had obtained the Kingdome, he called her by her owne proper name, *Nicaule:* Whence it appeareth that the men who haue beene Kings, were vsually called by this name, and that it had not been communicated vnto this woman: for which cause it was necessary to declare her owne first name. For mine owne part, I haue found in the bookes of our nation, that since *Pharao*, who was father in law to *Salomon*, no one of the Kings of Ægypt haue beene called by that name: and that some little while after, the aforenamed woman came vnto *Salomon*, who raigned in Ægypt and Æthiopia: of whom a little after we will make some discourse. And at this present I haue made mention of it, to make it knowne that our records, and the Chronicles of the Ægyptians, accord in many things.

The Egyptian Kings called Pharaohs. Ptolomei. Cæsars.

Herodotus writeth not the names of the Egyptian Kings.

Nicaule Queene of Egypt & Ethiope commeth to Salomon.

But King *Salomon* conquered the Chanaanites (which till that time were not vnder his subiection) and those that inhabited the mountaine Libanus, as farre as the City of Amath, and made them tributaries, and chose out amongst them euery yeere such, as he might employ in seruile actions, and in domesticall businesse, and tillage of the land. For no one Hebrew was a slaue: neither was it conuenient, that since God had subiected diuers nations vnder them (whom they might make slaues of) that they should tie those of their owne nation to that bondage; who were all of them employed in armes, and rather tooke delight to mount Charriots, and to ride horses, then to drudge like slaues. Ouer the Chanaanites (whom he employed in his seruice) he appointed fiue hundreth and fiftie Commissaries, who had their charge and authority from the King, and tasked them to those workes and handy labours wherein they imployed them. He builded a Nauy also in the gulfe of Ægypt, in a certaine place of the red sea called Asiongaber, which is named Berenice, not farre from the City of Elana (which countrey in times past appertained to the Iewes.) And toward the building of this Nauy, he obtained of *Hiram* King of Tyre, a very conuenient furtherance: for he sent him modules of ships, and men that were skilfull in Nauigation, whom he charged to saile with his procurers and factors, to the country at that time called Ophir, and at this present the Land of Gold, in the country of India, to bring Gold from thence: who returned backe againe vnto the King, after they had gathered about foure hundreth talents.

3 *King.* 10. Salomō compelleth the remainder of the Chanaanites to pay tribute.

The thraldome of the Chanaanites. 3 *King.* 10.

About this time the Queene of Ægypt and Æthiopia (a woman adorned with wisedome, and admirable in all other things) hauing heard of the renowned vertue and prudence of *Salomon*, was touched with a desire both to see him, as them also that were reported daily to attend him: and for that cause, came in person vnto the King, vnder purpose to confirme her beliefe by experience, and not by heare-say. For oftentimes report is no other thing, but a false opinion, which is beleeued by one or other, and is but only grounded on relation. She therfore resolued to come and see him, & especially to make triall of his wisedome: which she narrowly sifted, by proposing certaine difficult questions vnto him, wch she had conceiued in her mind. She therefore repaired vnto Ierusalem with great pompe, glory, and riches; for she brought with her certaine Camels charged with gold, odors, and precious stones of great value. After that the King had graciously entertained her, and honoured her in all things, hee easily comprehended in his minde those doubts which she had proposed vnto him, and gaue her a more speedy solution of the same, then might be expected: so that she was rauished with the incredible wisedome of *Salomon*; knowing by effect that it exceeded the report which she had heard of him. But in especiall she wondered at his Palace, considering the greatnesse and beauty thereof; and aboue all, the rich furniture and curious architecture of the same; wherein shee perceiued the great wisedome of the King: but aboue all, the house, called Liban, and the magnificence of his ordinary table, and the apparell and seruice of the same, made her astonished. The attire of his seruants likewise, and the

The Queene of Egypt and Ethiope resorteth to Salomon.

The Queene of Ethiope wondreth at Salomons wisedome.

the goodly order which they obſerued in their ſeruice; Moreouer the ſacrifices that were euery day offered vp vnto God, and the care and diligence of the Prieſts in diſcharging their offices; raiſhed her more then all the reſt, when ſhe obſerued them daily: and not able to containe her ſelfe within the tearms of aſtoniſhment at that ſhe ſaw, ſhe manifeſtly expreſſed how wonderfully ſhe was affected, expreſſing to the King in her plaine and publike diſcourſe, that ſhe knew not what to thinke of thoſe things which ſhe had beheld. O King (ſaid ſhe) all that which a man knoweth by heare-ſay may be miſ-beleeued. But the renowne which is come vnto our eares as touching your riches, both thoſe which you haue in your ſelfe (I meane your wiſedome and prudence) as thoſe alſo which your Kingdome hath brought you, is neither falſe nor fained; which notwithſtanding, yet doth it make your felicity farre leſſe then that which I ſee before mine eyes: for report dependeth only on heare-ſay, neither giueth it ſo certain a notice of things, as the ſight diſcouereth and repreſenteth, when one is neere vnto the ſame. For mine own part, in that I gaue no credit to the greatneſſe and multitude of that I haue heard, I haue ſeene farre more then I could expect, and repute the people of the Hebrewes to be moſt happy; and your ſeruants and friends moſt bleſſed, who are continuall witneſſes and hearers of your wiſedome. And each one of you ought to giue God thanks, that hee hath ſo much loued this region and the inhabitants thereof, that he hath eſtabliſhed you in the royal ſeat. I will diſcouer likewiſe, how beſides her words ſhe expreſſed her affection ſhe bare vnto the King, in teſtifying the ſame by diuers preſents wch ſhee offered vnto him. For ſhe gaue him twenty talents of gold, and an innumerable quantity of ſweet odours and precious ſtones. It is ſaid likewiſe, that we haue that plant which diſtilleth balme, and which our country bringeth forth at this day, by the gift of this Princeſſe. *Salomon* for his part requited her bountiful preſents with the like, wch ſhe made choiſe of according to her own liking: for there was nothing which ſhe could require, which he granted not vnto her: ſhewing himſelfe moſt ready to giue her ſatisfaction with a liberall and royall heart. When the Queene of Ægypt and Æthiopia had receiued theſe fauors at the Kings hands (according as it hath bin ſpoken) and he likewiſe had magnificently requited her, ſhe returned backe againe into her owne countrey.

The yeere of the world, 2953. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1011.

The Queene of Ethiope praiſeth Salomons wiſedome.

The Queene giueth Salomon many ſumptuous preſents.

Salomon remunerateth the Queenes bountie.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 7.

About the ſame time there was brought vnto the King from the country called the Region of gold, a quantity of precious ſtones, and of Pine-trees. This wood was imployed to make ſupporters in the Temple, and in the Kings houſe, and to make inſtruments of muſicke likewiſe, as Harpes and Cymbals, on which the Leuites might praiſe God. Amongſt all the gifts that were euer preſented vnto *Salomon*, that which was giuen him at that time, was moſt excellent in greatneſſe and beautie. But let no man thinke, that the Pine-wood (which we ſpeake of) had any reſemblance with that which we call by that name at this day, or which the merchants to delude their chapmen, ſell for the ſame. For they are like vnto fig-trees, but that they are more white and clearer: which I thought good to manifeſt in this place, leſt any man ſhould be deceiued thorow ignorance, in diſcerning the one from the other: becauſe the affaires of *Salomon* haue drawne vs to make mention of this matter. The weight of gold which this nauy brought vnto the King, was ſixe hundreth, ſixty and ſixe talents: beſide that which the merchants bought themſelues, or that which the kings and princes of Arabia had ſent vnto him in way of preſent. This gold cauſed he to be molten downe, and made thereof two hundreth targets, each one waighing ſixe hundreth ſicles; and three hundreth bucklers, each of them waighing three mines of gold, and placed and hung them in the lodging of the wood of Libanus. He cauſed alſo diuers veſſels of gold & precious ſtones to be made for the vſe of his table, laboured with as curious conceit as might be; the reſt of his neceſſaries alſo were of gold: for nothing was either bought or ſold for ſiluer. For the King had many ſhips vpon the ſea called Tharſis, wch vpon his command carried diuers merchandiſe into the remote countries, by vent wherof they brought him home much gold and ſiluer, and much Iuory and Æthiopian Moores, and Apes, and this Nauigation in ſayling to and fro, was finiſhed in three yeeres. The renowne and fame alſo of *Salomons* vertues and wiſedome ſpred far and neere throughout all Nations: ſo that the Kings of what country ſoeuer they were, had a deſire to ſee his preſence, becauſe they beleeued not the report, & deſired to manifeſt their affection to him by magnificent preſents. They therefore ſent him veſſels of gold and of ſiluer, ſcarlet robes, and all ſorts of aromatique drugges, horſes and charriots, mules and ſumpter-horſes, wherein (as it was reported vnto them) the King tooke pleaſure, by reaſon of their force and beauty: ſo that to the number of horſes and charriots which he had before, there were annexed foure hundreth more, which had bin ſent him in way of preſent. For before that, he had a thouſand charriots, and twenty thouſand goodly horſe, excellent for ſhape and ſwiftneſſe: ſo that the like were not to be found, that were comparable with them for beauty and pace. And that which

The precious timber that was brought to Salomon.

Salomons ſhips ſpent three yeers in their iourney.

Many Kings preſent Salomon with ſundry preſents.

The horſes & other gifts preſented to Salomon.

gaue

The yeere of the world, 2953. before the Natiuitie of Christ, 1011.

gaue them the greater grace was, that they had Squires to backe them, who were in their pride of youth, of goodly perſonage to behold, and ſurpaſſing all other in height, hauing long locks which they daily intermixed with wires of gold, that when as the ſunne did reuerberate his beames vpon their heads, they ſhould be more glorious and bright. The King mounted on his Charriot, and apparelled in a white raiment, was accuſtomed to ride abroad about the ſunne-riſe, inuironed with theſe young armed men, hauing bowes and quiuers.

Ittan.

There was a certaine place called Ittan, ſome eight leagues diſtant off of Ieruſalem, delightfull and enriched with gardens and pleaſant fountains of water, whither he vſually and willingly retired himſelfe for his pleaſure, vſing in all things a moſt admirable prouidence and promptitude, and taking pleaſure in thoſe things that were well contriued. He forgot not likewiſe to make cauſeys, but cauſed the hie wayes that led to Ieruſalem (where he made his abode) to be paued with blacke ſtone, both to the intent to make them more acceſſible for thoſe that trauailed to and fro, as to ſhew the magnificence and riches of his gouernment. He then diuided his Charriots, and placed them in ſuch ſort, that in euery City there was a prefixed number, and ſome few he kept about himſelfe, and thoſe Cities he called the Cities of Charriots: he ſtored Ieruſalem alſo with aboundance of ſiluer, ſo that it was as plentifull as ſtones; and with Cedar wood (whereof before that time there was no quantity) he ſtored the countrey, that it was as plentifull to be had as wilde fig-trees. He commanded the Merchants of Ægypt alſo, to buy him certaine charriots drawne by two horſes, for the price of ſixe hundreth dragmes of ſiluer, which he ſent vnto the Kings of Syria, and to thoſe on the other ſide of Euphrates.

The wayes about Ieruſalem paued with flint.
The Cities of Charriots.
The aboundance of ſiluer in Salomons time.
Ægyptian horſes.

Now although he were the moſt magnificent and entirely beloued of God, ſurpaſſing both in prudence and riches all thoſe that before him had the gouernment of the Hebrewes; yet continued he not in this eſtate vntill the end. For, forſaking the obſeruation of the ordinances of his Fathers, his latter yeers were not correſpondent to his former conuerſation, which heretofore we haue declared: for he grew altogether diſſolute and immoderately giuen ouer to women, and was not content onely with thoſe of his owne country, but tooke alſo ſtrange women for his wiues, as Sidonians, Tyrians, Ammonites, and Idumæans, whereby he tranſgreſſed the lawes of marriage inſtituted by *Moſes*, who inhibited to marry with thoſe of forraine nations. Afterwards he began to honour their gods alſo, to gratifie and expreſſe the loue which he bare vnto them: which thing the Law-maker foreſeeing, he had forbidden the Iſraelites to marry with thoſe that were not of their owne nation, for feare leſt conforming themſelues vnto forraine faſhions, they ſhould fall and tranſgreſſe the ordinances of their forefathers: and vndertake to honour thoſe gods, and forſake and forget the honour due vnto the true God. But *Salomon* tranſported with theſe brutiſh pleaſures, made no account of theſe things, but tooke him wiues of the daughters of Princes and Nobles, to the number of 700. and three hundreth concubines, beſides the daughter of *Pharao* King of Ægypt: by which means he was exceſſiuely ouercome by them, inſomuch as he followed their examples, and was forced to giue a teſtimony of the good will and extreme affection that he bare them, in ordring his life according to the faſhion of their countries. As therefore he increaſed in yeeres, and his iudgement grew weake, he was in ſuch ſort miſ-led, that he could not retaine in memory the cuſtomes of his countrey, but grew more and more in neglect of God, and continued the worſhip of thoſe gods which were introduced by his wiues. Before all this he chanced to ſinne and default in the obſeruation of the law, at ſuch time as he made the ſimilitudes of beaſts of braſſe to vnderprop the veſſell called the great ſea, and thoſe of Lyons, which he cauſed to be ſet vnto his Throne: For that action of his ill beſeemed him, who had a moſt excellent and domeſticall example of vertue in the perſon of his father, beſides the glory that he had left him, by being a faithfull ſeruant of God; whence it came to paſſe, that by neglecting to follow his ſteppes (notwithſtanding that God had exhorted him thereunto by appearing vnto him at two ſeuerall times) he died moſt ignominiouſly. There came therfore vnto him a Prophet ſent from God, telling him that his ſinnes were manifeſt and notorious in Gods ſight, threatning him that ere long he ſhould repent the wickedneſſe he had committed. Yet notwithſtanding the Realme ſhould not be taken from him during his life, becauſe God had promiſed *Dauid* that he ſhould be his ſucceſſour in the ſame: but after his deceaſe his ſonne ſhould beare the penalty of the ſame; not ſo as all the people ſhould reuolt, but that he would giue ten tribes vnto his ſeruant, and leaue two vnto the grand-childe of *Dauid*, becauſe hee had loued God, and by reaſon of the City of Ieruſalem, where it pleaſed him to make his habitation.

3 King. 11. Salomō marrying ſtrange women, is ſeduced by thē.

The yeere of the world, 2964. before Christs Natiuitie, 1000.

The punishment inflicted on Salomon, for honouring ſtrange gods.

When *Salomon* heard theſe things, he ſorrowed, and was ſore troubled in that all his felicitie (for

(for which he to-fore-time was admired) began to decline. Neither paſſed there long time after this denunciation of the Prophet, but that (God ſo pleaſing) there roſe vp an enemy againſt him, who was called *Ader*, by nation an Idumæan, and of the princely ſtocke, who vpon this occaſion grounded his rebellion and inſurrection. For, at ſuch time as *Ioab* Generall of *Dauids* army, had conquered Idumæa, and in the ſpace of ſixe moneths defeated all the youth, and thoſe that were capable to beare armes, he fled vnto *Pharao* King of Egypt: who entertained him very courteouſly, and gaue him an houſe, and lands for his maintenance, and loued him dearely when he came to mans eſtate: ſo that he married him with *Taphines* his wiues ſiſter, on whom he begat a ſon, who was brought vp with the Kings children: who hauing intelligence in Egypt of *Dauid* and *Ioabs* death, addreſſed himſelfe vnto *Pharao*, and beſought him to giue him leaue to repaire into his owne countrey.

The yeere of the world, 2964. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1000.

Ader, enemy to Salomon.

Ader fled into Egypt.

Ader beſeecheth Pharao to diſmiſſe him, that hee might return into his countrey.

The King asked him what he wanted; or what the cauſe was that mooued him to be ſo haſty to forſake him? Notwithſtanding therfore that he importuned and requeſted him diuers times, yet preuailed he nothing with him for that time. But when *Salomons* fortunes began to decline (by reaſon of his iniquities aboue mentioned, and the wrath of God prouoked againſt him) *Ader* by Gods permiſſion came into Idumæa, after he was licenced by *Pharao* to depart. But being vnable to mooue the people to reuolt from *Salomon*, by reaſon of the ſtrong garriſons he held, and knowing that without hazzard of his owne perſon, he could mooue no alterations or innouation in that place, he departed from thence, and went into Syria: where confederating himſelfe with a certaine man called *Raas* (who was fled from his Maſter *Adarezer*, King of Sophone, and liued like an outlaw in that Region) he contracted friendſhip with him, and a great ſort of outlawes, and theeues that were his followers, and went into Syria, and taking ſeazure of that countrey, proclaimed himſelfe King thereof. From whence making excurſions into the lands of the Iſraelites, he ſpoiled and pillaged the ſame, during *Salomons* life time. Thus were the Hebrewes enforced to ſuſtaine theſe outrages at *Aders* hands.

Ader returneth into Idumæa, & from thence departeth into Syria.

Raas and Ader enemies to Salomon.

Moreouer, a certaine man called *Ieroboam* the ſon of *Nebat*, by nation a Iew, rebelled againſt *Salomon*, and raiſed his hopes aboue his eſtate, perſwaded therunto by a prophecy that concerned him, and incited him vnto the action. For being left very young by his father, and carefully inſtructed by his mother, as ſoone as *Salomon* perceiued him to be of a noble and couragious ſpirit, he made him Commiſſary ouer the building of the wals, at ſuch time as he immured and fortified Ieruſalem. In this office he behaued himſelfe ſo well, that the King thought very wel therof, and in way of recompence, gaue him the eſtate of Generall ouer the tribe of *Ioſeph*. Towards which, whilſt he trauailed from Ieruſalem, a certaine Prophet met him vpon the way (who was of the city of Silo, called *Achias*) who approching neere vnto him, and ſaluting him, drew him out of the way into a place, where none but themſelues were preſent, and there renting the garment which he wore vpon his backe into twelue pieces, he commanded *Ieroboam* to take ten, telling him that God had ſo decreed, and how he would rent the gouernment from *Salomon*, and reſerue onely one tribe vnto his ſonne, with that other which was annexed vnto it, by reaſon of the promiſe made to *Dauid*; and to thee (ſaid he) he giueth the other ten, becauſe *Salomon* hath offended God, and addicted himſelfe to the loue of ſtrange women, and the ſeruice of forraine gods.

Ieroboam rebelleth againſt Salomon.

Achias the Prophet foretelleth that he ſhould bee King ouer the ten tribes.

Now ſith thou knoweſt the cauſe wherfore God hath alienated the kingdome from *Salomon*, be thou iuſt, and obſerue thou the lawes: for if thou behaueſt thy ſelfe in ſuch ſort as thou knoweſt *Dauid* did, a great reward of thy piety, and recompence of thy obſeruance attendeth thee: ſo that thou ſhalt become as mighty as *Dauid* hath beene before thee. *Ieroboam* confirmed in great hopes by theſe words of the Prophet, being by nature haughtie, in yeers young, and beſides that, deſirous of authority: he tooke no reſt, but being poſſeſſed of the place of Generall, and remembring himſelfe of that which had been told him by *Achias*, he preſently began to perſwade the people to reuolt from *Salomon*, and to chuſe him for their King. *Salomon*, hearing newes of this his deliberation and enterprize, ſought the meanes to lay hands on him, and to put him to death: but *Ieroboam* preuenting him, fled vnto *Suſac* King of Egypt, with whom he remained vntill the death of *Salomon*. And thus for that time eſcaped he puniſhment: and thus was he reſerued to the fortune of a Kingdome.

Ieroboam flieth into Egypt, and remaineth there vntill Salomons death.

CHAP. III.

After the death of SALOMON *the people reuolt from* ROBOAM *his ſonne, and proclaime* HIEROBOAM *King of the tenne tribes.*

The yeere of the world, 2964. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 1000.

The death of Salomon. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 8. al. 4. 3. *Reg.* 12.

BVT when *Salomon* was very old, he died, after he had raigned foureſcore yeers, and liued ninety foure, and was buried in Ieruſalem; of all Kings the moſt happy, rich, and prudent, (except that ſinne whereunto he was drawne by women in his old age) of whom and thoſe calamities that preſently after befell the Hebrewes, we haue ſufficiently ſpoken. After the death of *Salomon*, as ſoone as his ſon *Roboam* (whom he begat vpon an Ammonitiſh woman, called *Nooma*) ſucceeded him in the kingdome, the Gouernours of the people ſent certaine meſſengers into Ægypt, to recall *Ieroboam*: who arriuing in the City of *Sichem*, *Roboam* came thither alſo, reſoluing himſelfe in that aſſembly of the Iſraelites, to take the kingdome vpon him by the peoples conſent. To him therefore the Princes of the people reſorted with *Ieroboam*, beſeeching him that he would remit ſomewhat of their ſeruitude, and ſhew himſelf more mercifull then his father had beene: for that vnder his gouernment they had beene ſorely oppreſſed, aſſuring him that by that meanes his kingdome ſhould be the more aſſured, if ſo be he had rather be beloued then feared. He ſome three dayes after promiſed them to returne an anſwer to their demands, and by that meanes drew them into ſuſpicion, that vpon the motion he miſliked of the offers they had propoſed: for they thought it became his yeers to be affable and ready to deſerue well; yet remained there ſome hope in them, that they had not preſently ſuffered the repulſe. Meane while, he calling about him his fathers friends, conſulted vpon the matter, what anſwer hee ſhould giue the people: Who, for that they wiſhed his welfare, and knew the nature of the people very well, perſwaded him to ſpeake familiarly vnto the people, and remitting a little of his Kingly auſterity, to apply himſelfe to the fauour and good liking of the multitude: for that by this his affability he might the more eaſily draw their hearts vnto him, becauſe that by a naturall inclination, ſubjects take delight in thoſe kings that are courteous, who with a certaine decent familiarity, entertaine themſelues amongſt them. But *Roboam* rejected this counſel of theirs (which was both good & profitable in all occaſions, but eſpecially at ſuch time, when it is vpon the point to be inſeated in a kingdome) and that not without Gods prouidence, ſince contrary to all reaſon he neglected the right courſe, and followed the peruerſe: ſo that calling vnto him certaine young men of his owne humour and diſpoſition, he certified them what the Elders had counſailed him, and willed them to diſcouer their opinion in that matter: but neither their age, nor Gods permiſſion ſuffered them to know that which was expedient. For which cauſe they counſailed him to anſwer the people, that his little finger was more great then the loynes of his father, and that if they had experimented and indured grieuances vnder him, that he would be farre more rigorous, and that if his father had chaſtiſed them with the ſtroke of the whip, that they ſhould expect to be puniſhed by him with rude torments. The King delighted herewith, ſuppoſed the anſwer to be anſwerable to the dignity of his Empire. When as therefore the people were aſſembled on the third day to heare his reſolution, and all of them were in ſuſpence, expecting and deſirous to heare him ſpeake, from whom they hoped nought elſe but ſweetnes: *Roboam* contemning the counſell of his friends, propoſed vnto himſelfe that of the young men. All which happened by the will of God, to the end that that which *Achias* had prophecied might be fulfilled.

The people require Roboam to mitigate their burthen.

The wholſom aduice of the Elders.

The yeere of the world, 2971. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 993.

Roboam reiecteth the aduice of the Elders, and followeth the counſell of the younger.

The Iſraelites mooued with their repulſe, reuolt from Roboam.

They touched by theſe his anſwers, no leſſe then if they had bin wounded with the ſword, conceiued a moſt harty griefe, and were diſpleaſed with him, and no leſſe moued, then if they had already felt the miſchiefe that was threatned: ſo that they beganne all of them to cry with a loud voice, that from that time forward, they had nothing to do with *Dauids* allianee, neither with his ſucceſſion, telling him that they would onely leaue the Temple his father had builded, vnto his charge, & threatning him to abandon him. Furthermore, they were ſo hainouſly and grieuouſly incenſed, (that *Roboam* hauing ſent vnto them *Adoram* the Superintendent of the tribes to pacifie their wrath, and to perſwade them to pardon his youth, if he had ſpoken any thing lightly, and vnreſpectiuely vnto them) they could not endure to heare him ſpeake, but ſlew and welnigh ouerwhelmed him with ſtones. Which when *Roboam* perceiued (ſuppoſing that it was himſelfe, who in the perſon of his officer was put to death, and ſtoned by the people) he feared leſt in effect his life, and the fortune of his kingdome ſhould fall into the like diſaſter. For which cauſe he ſuddenly aſcended his charriot & fled to Ieruſalem, where the tribe of *Iuda*, and that of *Beniamin* (by their

their common ſuffrages)made him King. But as touching the reſt of the people, from that day forward they reuolted from the ſucceſſors of *Dauid*, and proclaimed *Ieroboam* King of their eſtates. *Roboam* the ſonne of *Salomon* being ſore diſpleaſed herewith, aſſembled the two tribes of his obeiſance, with an intent to muſter one hundreth and foureſcore thouſand choſen men, to make warre on *Ieroboam* and his people,and to inforce them by warre to acknowledge him for their Soueraigne. But God reſtrained him by the meanes of a Prophet,who forbad him to make warre; ſaying,that it was ill befitting that warre ſhould be waged betwixt two parties of one nation, and the rather for that this their reuolt had hapned by the will of God: by which meanes and perſwaſion he diſmiſſed his army. But firſt of all I will rehearſe that which *Ieroboam* King of Iſrael did, and afterwards ſubſequently I will declare the acts of *Roboam* King of the two Tribes, and thus ſhall the courſe of the hiſtory continue in due order euery waies.

The yeere of the world, 2971. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt,993.

Roboam intending to make warre on thoſe tribes that reuolted,is inhibited.

After that *Ieroboam* had planted his royall Court in the city of Sichem,he made his ordinary aboad in that place,except that ſometimes he ſoiourned in the City of Phanuel. Not long after this, the feaſt of Tabernacles being at hand, *Ieroboam* (ſuppoſing that if he permitted the people to goe vp and worſhip God in Ieruſalem,and ſolemnize the feaſt in that place,they might either repent themſelues of the reuolt,or being retained and withdrawn by the Temple and ſeruice that was celebrated therein,they might be perſwaded to forſake him,and ſubmit themſelues to their firſt King;and by that meanes he might be drawne into danger of his life)practized and plotted this inuention. He cauſed two golden calues to be caſt, and builded two ſeuerall temples,the one in Bethel,and the other in Dan (which is ſituate neere vnto the ſource of little Iordan.) In each of the chappels of theſe two townes, he placed one of theſe calues, and afterwards aſſembling the ten tribes that were vnder his ſubiection,he ſpake vnto them in maner following:My friends and country-men, I know that you are not ignorant how God is in all places, and that there cannot be any place wherein he aſſiſteth not, nor time wherein he heareth and beholdeth them not,that ſerue him with true affection: For which cauſe I thinke it not conuenient, that you goe vp vnto Ieruſalem at that time, which is a City enemie vnto vs; neither that you make ſo long a iourney in way of deuotion: for it was a man that builded that temple, euen as I haue conſecrated two golden calues, the one in Bethel, and the other in Dan, to the end that euery one of you that inhabite neere vnto thoſe Cities, tranſporting your ſelues to the ſame,may adore God. Neither ſhall you want Prieſts and Leuites: for I will elect ſome ſuch among you, to the intent you haue no more need of the tribe of Leui, or the ſonnes of *Aaron*. Whoſoeuer therefore amongſt you would be a Prieſt, let him offer calues and muttons vnto God: which as it is reported, *Aaron* the firſt Prieſt did. By ſuch like ſpeeches ſeduced he the people,and cauſed them to fall from their forefathers religion,and tranſgreſſe the ordinances of their countrey: and this was the beginning of all thoſe miſchiefes that afterwards fell vpon the Hebrewes: by which meanes being ouercome in warre, they fell into captiuity and ſubiection of ſtrangers (whereof we will intreat further in place conuenient.) Now when the feaſt of Tabernacles(which hapned in the ſeuenth moneth) was at hand; he himſelfe intended to celebrate in Bethel after the ſame manner,as the two other tribes had feaſted in Ieruſalem,and erected an altar before the calfe,and was himſelfe the High Prieſt, aſcending vp to the Altar being aſſiſted by the Prieſts.

The Court and Palace of Ieroboam.

Why Ieroboams calues were made.

Ieroboam perſwadeth the people to idolatry.

The neglect of Gods ſeruice, is the cauſe of all euill.

Now at ſuch time as he was about to ſacrifice,and to offer vp burnt offerings in the ſight of the people, there came a Prophet and ſtood by him called *Iadon* (ſent from Ieruſalem by the commandement of God) who ſtanding vp in the midſt of the people,and in the hearing of the King, turned himſelfe towards the Altar,and ſpake after this maner:Thou Altar,Thou Altar(thus ſaith the Lord)there ſhall a man riſe of the tribe of *Dauid*,called *Ioſias*,he ſhall kill vpon thee the falſe prophets of his time,and ſhall burne the bones of the deceiuers and ſeducers vpon thee: And to the intent that each man may beleeue that this prophecie is true, it ſhall be confirmed by a prodigie. This Altar ſhall ſuddenly breake,and the fat of the ſacrifices that are laid thereon,ſhall be powred on the ground. *Ieroboam* diſpleaſed with theſe words of the Prophet, ſtretched out his hand, commanding them to lay hold on him. But the hand that he ſtretched out, became inſtantly withered, ſo that he could no more draw it backe againe to himſelfe,but held it hanging downe aſtoniſhed and mortified.On the other ſide,the altar cleft in twaine,and all that was theron fell downe(according as the Prophet had foretold.) The King perceiuing that the man had a true and diuine ſpirit of Prophecy,beſought him to pray vnto God, that his hand might be reſtored him againe in his full ſtrength and vigor: which he performed: ſo that his hand recouered againe his naturall ability; wherewith *Ieroboam* was very much contented, and inuited the Prophet to dine with him. But *Iadon* anſwered him and ſaid, that he neither might enter into his

3 Reg. 13. The prophecy againſt the Altar in Bethel.

The prophecy is confirmed by a miracle.

Ieroboams withered hand reſtored.

The yeere of the world, 2971. before Christs Nativitie, 993.

house, nor taste any bread or water within the City, because God had prohibited him: furthermore he told him that it was not lawfull for him to returne the same way that he came. But the King admiring at the continency of the man, began the more seriously to suspect his estate, and (coniecturing by those things which he had both seene and heard) he diuined the assured disaster of his estate and fortunes. There dwelt in that City a certaine false prophet, whom *Ieroboam* held in great honour, (in that he soothed him vp in whatsoeuer was best pleasing to his eares.) This man at that time lay sicke vpon his bed, being faint through age; and when he was enformed by his sonne that there was a Prophet come from Ierusalem, and what wonders hee had wrought, and how *Ieroboam* by his prayers recouered againe his withered hand; hee fearing lest the King should make more account of this stranger, then of himselfe, commanded his sonnes presently to saddle his Asse, and to haue him in a readinesse against his departure. Which when they had hastily performed, he mounted thereon, and went after the Prophet, whom he ouertooke, where he rested himselfe vnder a thicke shadowie Oake; and vpon the first encountry, saluted him, and afterwards expostulated with him, for that he had not visited him, neither accepted of that hospitality which he willingly would haue affoorded him. *Iadon* answered him, that God had interdicted and charged him not to taste any kinde of sustenance in any mans house, that dwelt within that city. Truely, said the other, with me thou mightest eate, for I also am a Prophet, and honour the same God that thou doest: and now also come I vnto thee by his commandement, to conduct thee backe againe into my house, and to entertaine thee with a friendly dinner. These words of the false prophet made *Iadon* credulous, so that he turned backe againe with him. But as they sate at their banquet, and were making merry together, God appeared vnto *Iadon* and said vnto him; that since he had broken his commandement, he should suffer punishment for the same: and withall expressed vnto him the manner: which was, that in his returne homewards, he should be torne in pieces by a Lyon; and that he should not be buried in the monument of his fathers. This thing hapned in my opinion by the will of God, to the intent that *Ieroboam* should not respect *Iadons* words, who had been found a lyar. As therfore *Iadon* returned backe to Ierusalem, a Lyon met him on the way, and tore him in pieces from his Asse and slew him, yet offered he no violence to the Asse that bare him, which he preserued with the body of the Prophet, standing fast by the same, vntill such time as certain passengers beholding the spectacle, brought newes therof into the towne vnto the false prophet, who sent his sonnes to bring backe the body: which by their assistance he honourably buried, charging them that after his death they should bury his body by him, assuring them that all that which he had prophecied against that City, against the altar, the Priests, and false prophets, was very true. And as touching himselfe, he commanded that after his decease they should bury him by him, because that being buried with him, there might no difference be made betwixt their bones, and his tombe might be more honoured. When as therefore he had interred the prophet and giuen his sonne these things in charge (being other wayes a most wicked and impious man) he addressed himselfe vnto *Ieroboam*, and said vnto him: Why art thou troubled at the words of this mad man? The King told him all that which had hapned about the Altar, and his hand, and assuring him that he accounted him a true and diuine Prophet, and one sent by God. But the false prophet began most maliciously to ouerthrow his opinion, and disguise the truth of that which hapned, by his perswasiue words. For he inforced himselfe to inferre, that his hand was astonished through the trauel he had taken in bearing the sacrifices, and after that he had a little rested, that it came into his owne naturall estate againe: and that the Altar being freshly built, and diuers great sacrifices loaded thereupon, it cleft in twaine, and fell downe through the waightinesse of the charge. Consequently he declared vnto him the death of him, that had foretold these signes that were to come, and how he had beene slaine by a Lyon: For which cause he perswaded him to thinke that he in no sort was a Prophet, neither any waies partaking with the truth of prophecy. By such like allegations he made the King beleeue that which he said; and hauing wholly distracted his thoughts from God and good works, and obseruation of Gods lawes, he drew him to all wickednesse and impiety: by which act of his he outraged God, and offended his lawes, and sought daily after no other thing, then to inuent some new and cursed wickednes, that was far more hainous then all that which beforetime he had attempted. This is all that at this time we haue to write, as concerning *Ieroboam*.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 9.

The Prophet is brought backe by the subtilty and fraud of the false prophet.

The disobedience of the prophet, his punishment and buriall.

Iadons prophecy is detracted to Ieroboam by the false prophet.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 10.

Roboams defenced cities. 2 *Paral.* 11.

As touching *Roboam Salomons* sonne (who was King of the two Tribes, as wee haue before this declared) he builded these great and strong Cities, Bethleem, Itama, Thecos, Bethsor, Socoth, Odolam, Epan, Maresa, Zipha, Adoraim, Lachis, Zipha, Saraim, Elon, and Hebron, which

which being within the confines of Iuda, he builded firſt. He builded alſo other great Cities in the country of the Beniamites, which he walled, and placed Garriſons and Gouernours in euery one of them, and great ſtore of corne, wine and oyle: and generally in euery Citie he made a great ſtore-houſe with all ſorts of prouiſion, and victuals, with an infinite number of targets and launces. To him the Prieſts & Leuites annexed themſelues, who were diſperſed thorow Iſrael, who came and dwelt in Ieruſalem. For they tooke no pleaſure to adore by compulſion thoſe calues that *Ieroboam* had erected; and during the terme of three yeeres, they increaſed the kingdome of *Roboam:* who being married to one of his owne line, had three children, and was afterwards married alſo with *Maacha* the daughter of *Thamar* daughter to *Abſalon,* who was of his parentage likewiſe, of whom he begat his ſonne called *Abiah.* He had alſo diuers other children by other women; but aboue all the reſt, he loued *Maacha* moſt entirely. He had eighteene legitimate wiues, married vnto him according to the law, and thirty concubines: he had eight and twenty ſonnes and threeſcore daughters, and declared for his ſucceſſour in the kingdome *Abiah* the ſonne of *Maacha*, and committed all his treaſures and ſtrong forts vnto his hands. But mortal men moſt vſually are corrupted by the vntoward flatteries of wauering fortune, as appeareth by this King. For *Roboam* ſeeing his kingdome thus increaſed; he bent himſelfe to all vniuſt and impious actions, and contemned the ſeruice of God: the people alſo conformed themſelues to his impieties. For the life of the ſubiect is oftentimes peruerted, by reaſon of the corrupt and diſſolute life of their Princes; and thoſe that are inferiours, beholding the ryot of their ſuperiours, will eaſily be withdrawne from all modeſty, and follow thoſe vices they profeſſe, as if they had bin their profeſſed vertues: for ſhould they doe the contrary, they ſhould ſeeme to diſanull and miſlike the actions of their Princes: As it hapned vnder the gouernment of *Roboam,* wherein the ſubiects addicted themſelues to impiety, and all errors: for they would not make profeſſion of honeſty, for feare leſt they ſhould ſeeme to ſtudy the meanes to be offenſiue vnto the King.

The yeere of the world, 2971. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 993.

The godly Iſraelites returne to Roboam.

Roboams wiues and children.

Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis.

CHAP. IIII.

SVSAC *King of Egypt, after the ſpoile of Ieruſalem, tranſporteth the riches of that Citie into Egypt.*

BVT God ſent *Suſac* King of Egypt to take vengeance for that exceſſe, which was cõmitted againſt his maieſty by *Roboam* (whoſe actions *Herodotus* wrongfully aſcribeth to *Seſoſtris.*) For this *Suſac* in the fift yeere of *Roboams* raigne, aſſembled a huge army of diuers thouſands of men, and brought them out againſt *Roboam:* wherein it is reported that he had twelue hundred charriots, threeſcore thouſand horſemen, and foure hundreth thouſand footmen. The greater part of theſe were Libyans, and Æthiopians: breaking therefore into the Hebrewes countrey with this power, without ſtroke-ſtriking he ſeized the ſtrongeſt places of the kingdome of *Roboam,* and fortified them, and at laſt came and incamped before Ieruſalem. But *Roboam* and his aſſociates, ſeeing themſelues begirt with a ſtrong ſiege on euery ſide by *Suſacs* army; at laſt had his recourſe vnto praiers: yet could he not mooue God to encline and fauor him with the victory. For the Prophet *Samæas* threatned and told him, that God would abandon both him and his, in like ſort, as they had forſaken him and his ſeruice. Which when they heard, they ſuddenly loſt their hearts, and ſeeing no meanes to eſcape, they all of them began to confeſſe that God had iuſtly forſaken them, becauſe they had ſhewed their impiety againſt him, and had peruerted all his lawes. But God ſeeing them thus diſpoſed, and making confeſſion of their ſinnes, ſaid vnto the Prophet, that he would not vtterly deſtroy them: yet notwithſtanding that he would deliuer them into the hands of the Ægyptians, to the end that they might learne whether it were more difficult to ſerue God, or men. When as therefore King *Suſac* had without bloodſhed or reſiſt taken & ſurprized the City, and was receiued into the ſame by diſcomforted *Roboam*; he kept not thoſe conuentions that were made betwixt them, but ſpoiled the Temple; and tooke away with him thoſe treaſures that were dedicated vnto God, and the ſeruice of the King, rauiſhing from thence innumerable thouſands of gold and ſiluer, not leauing any thing behind him. Hee carried away alſo thoſe Targets and bucklers of gold, which were made by King *Salomon:* neither left he behind him the quiuer of gold, which was offered by *Dauid,* and receiued by him of the King of Sophena: Which done, he retired backe again into his own countrey. Of this expedition *Herodotus* of Halicarnaſſus maketh mention (who differeth only in the name of the King) and ſaith that he aſſailed diuers nations, and ſubdued Paleſtina and Syria, and

Alias, chap. 5. Suſac inuadeth Iudea with great forces.

Ieruſalem beſieged.

Samæas the Prophet reprehendeth the Iewes of their impiety. 2 *Paral.* 2.

Samæas comforteth the people.

Ieruſalem and the Temple are ſpoyled.

2 *Reg.* 14. What Herodotus wrote of this expedition.

The yeere of the world, 2975. before the Natiuitie of Christ, 989.

tooke many men prisoners without any resist: whereby it is manifest that he meaneth no lesse, G then that our nation hath been ouercome by the Ægyptian. For he saith, that in their gates who yeelded themselues vp vnto him without inforcement, he erected pillars which were figured with the secret parts of a woman. But our King *Roboam* yeelded vp the City into his hands without contradiction. It is said that the Æthiopians haue learnt of the Ægyptians the vse of circumcision of the prepuce. For the Phœnicians and Syrians that are in Palestine, confesse that they haue learnt it of the Ægyptians. But it is a matter very manifest, that no other are circumcised in Palestine of Syria, but our selues. But let each one speake of these things, according as him list.

Roboam for the golden shields and bucklers, maketh new of brasse.

Roboam dyeth, and Abias raigneth after him.

After the retreat of *Sisac*, King *Roboam* made shields and bucklers of brasse, in stead of those H of gold, and gaue the like number vnto his guard: and in stead of liuing in a braue army, in a royall and princely estate, he raigned after a seruile and fearefull manner, being all his life time enemy to *Ieroboam*. He died after hee had liued fiftie seuen yeeres, whereof he raigned seuenteene. He was a haughty and vndiscreet man, who lost his estate, because he would not giue credit to his fathers friends. Hee was buried in Ierusalem in the sepulcher of the Kings, and his sonne *Abias* succeeded him in his raigne, at such time as *Ieroboam* had already raigned eighteene yeeres ouer the ten tribes.

The yeere of the world, 2988. before Christs Natiuity, 976.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 11. 3 *Reg.* 14.

Ieroboams impiety.

Thus were these things terminated. It behooueth now at this present to declare that which *Ieroboam* did afterwards, and how he died. He, obseruing no meane or end of his impietie, im- I ployed himselfe continually in making of Altars and high places, and presumed to ordaine common sacrificers. But God with-held not long time to heape the punishment of those his impieties on the head of him, and of all his posteritie. Whereas therefore his sonne *Obimes* was sicke about that time, he commanded his wife to lay aside her royall garment, and to apparell her selfe like a common woman, and afterwards to goe to *Achias* the Prophet, assuring her that he was admirable for his knowledge in foretelling things to come, and had foretold him that he should be King: for which cause he willed her to repaire vnto him after the manner of a stranger, and enquire of him if her sonne should escape that sickenesse. Whereupon shee disguised her selfe according as her husband had commanded her, and came vnto the City of Silo where *Achias* dwelt: and as she was vpon entring his house (notwithstanding he had lost his sight through age) God appeared vnto him, and certified him in these two points: first, that *Ieroboams* wife came K

Ieroboams sonne falleth sicke, his mother is sent to Achias the Prophet.

cc vnto him; and next, all that he should answer to her demand. At such time therefore as she entred into his house, after the guise of a common and strange woman, *Achias* cried with a loude cc voice; Enter, thou wife of *Ieroboam*, wherefore hidest thou thy selfe? Thou canst not hide thy cc selfe from God, who hath certified me of thy comming, and hath informed me what answer I shall giue vnto thee. He therefore said vnto her, that she should returne vnto her husband, and certifie him of Gods answer to this effect: Of little and nothing that thou wert, I haue made thee great; and hauing dismembred the kingdome from *Dauids* posteritie, I haue giuen it vnto thee: but thou hast forgotten the same; and hauing forsaken my seruice, hast molten downe new gods, whom thou honorest: so also will I exterminate thee, and abolish all thy posterity, and cast cc them off for a prey vnto dogs, and fowles of the aire. For I will constitute a King ouer my peo- L cc ple, that shal leaue no one of *Ieroboams* race aliue. The people also shall haue part of this punishcc ment, and shall be depriued of this their fruitfull countrey, and be scattered among the regions cc on the other side of Euphrates, because they haue followed the impieties of their King, and acc doring those gods that were forged by him, haue giuen ouer my sacrifice. And, as concerning cc thy selfe (O woman) haste thee, and certifie thy husband of these things. For thou shalt finde cc thy sonne dead; for no sooner shalt thou enter into the City, but he shall finish his dayes. Hee cc shall be buried with the lamentation of the whole people in generall. For he onely was good of cc all the race of *Ieroboam*.

The punishment of Ieroboam, and the misery of the people foreprophecied.

When *Achias* had finished his prophecy, the woman started backe, sore troubled and dismaied through the danger of her sonne, and went lamenting onward on her way, wounded with M the future death of him, and by reason of her so earnest affection, she was afflicted with incredible torments. The haste which she vsed was importunate, because of her son whom she should see dead; by so much the sooner she hasted homeward, but it behoued her to vse expedition in the behalfe of her husband. When as therefore she was arriued, she found her sonne expiring, as the Prophet had foretold her, and recited the rest vnto *Ieroboam*.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The yeere of the world, 2988. before Christs Natiuitie, 976.

IEROBOAMS *expedition against the sonne of* ROBOAM, *the ouerthrow of his armie, and how* BASANES *rooted out the whole posteritie of* IEROBOAM, *and made himselfe King.*

Alias chap. 6. The expedition of Ieroboam against Abias King of Iuda.

Abias leuied an armie against Ieroboam.

BVT *Ieroboam* was nothing mooued therewith, but leuied a great armie, with an intent to make warre against *Abias* the sonne of *Roboam*, who had obtained his fathers kingdome ouer the two tribes. For he despised him because he was young in yeeres. This notwithstanding, the yong King was no whit dismaid (although he vnderstood of *Ieroboams* comming) but with greater wisedome then was incident to his yeeres, and beyond all expectation of his forward aduersary, hee leuied an army of two tribes, with which hee encountred *Ieroboam* at the mountaine of Samaria; where incamping his host neere vnto him, hee prouided all things in a readinesse that were requisit for the battell, and had with him foure hundreth thousand fighting men, but *Ieroboam* had twice as many. Now when the armies were arranged, and expected to giue the allarum and charge, *Abias* stood vp in a certaine high place from whence he might bee seene and heard, and making a signe with his hand, hee required that *Ieroboam* and the people would first of all heare him peaceably: which granted to him, and each one attending in silence, he brake out into these words; There is none of you but knoweth, that God hath promised the kingdome to *Dauid* and his posteritie for euer; I therefore greatly admire how you haue reuolted from my father, to submit your selues to *Ieroboam* his seruant, whom at this present you accompany to warre against those whom God hath ordained to raigne, and to take the kingdome from them, the greater part whereof *Ieroboam* vsurpeth vniustly euen at this day, and which, as I suppose, he shall not enioy long time. For he shall be punished by God, and shall cease to contradict his lawes, and to dishonour them as he doth continually, in perswading you to doe the like.

Abias Oration to the Hebrewes, wherin he vpbraideth them of their superstition, and forsaking of their religion.

" You haue receiued no iniury at my fathers hands; but by reason that he was mis-led by the sinister counsels of certaine wicked persons, and spake vnto you certaine words which in appearance " seemed vnfitting in your eares, you haue forsaken him in your displeasure: but in effect, you haue " separated your selues from God and his Commandements. Truly you should haue pardoned a " young man vntrained and vntaught in Oratory, not onely for the rude words which he vsed, but " although his youth and ignorance should haue mooued him to commit some churlish and indiscreet action and errour, yet should you haue indured the same. For the fathers demerits ought to " serue and satisfie the childrens defects. But you haue had no regard of all this, neither then nor " at this present, but lead forth a great army against vs. But whereupon ground you the hope of " your victory? Is it on your calues of gold? Is it on your Altars on the mountaines, which are " witnesses of your impietie and irreligion? Is it your great number that surpasseth ours by far, that " maketh you confident? Truly, the force of many thousands is of no value, whereas the army " fighteth in an vniust quarrell. For in onely iustice and pietie towards God, consisteth the most assured hope of obtaining victory ouer a mans enemies: which must needs be on our side, who " obserue at all times the ordinances and seruices of our God, whom mens hands haue not fashioned of corruptible matter, nor the subtiltie of a cunning King could not forge to deceiue a communaltie, but such a one, whose worke is the beginning and ending of all things. I therefore aduise you, that presently you repent your selues, and that taking a better way, you desist from your " warre, and acknowledge the lawes of your forefathers; finally, those ordinances, which haue aduanced you to so great felicitie.

Thus spake *Abias* to the people. But whilst he yet continued his discourse, *Ieroboam* sent certaine of his souldiers by by-waies to inclose *Abias* within 2. streights, before his followers could discouer them. Now when *Abias* was thus inclosed in the midst of his enemies, his army began to be discomforted, and to lose their courage: but hee incouraged them, and exhorted them to put their trust in God, who could not be inclosed by his enemies: so that all together hauing called vpon God to assist them, and after that the Priests had sounded the trumpet, they thrust in amongst their enemies with a great shout, and God so blinded the vnderstanding, and abated the force of *Ieroboams* souldiers, that they fled, & those on *Abias* side had the vpper hand. Neuer was there war recorded by the historians either amongst the Greeks or Barbarians, that was pursued with so great a slaughter as the army of *Ieroboam*: whereby it appeared that this wonderfull and admirable victory came from God. For they discomfited fiue hundred thousand of their enemies, and tooke their most defenced places by force and spoiled them. Bethel & Ithan also with their lands

lands and ſigniories belonging vnto them: ſo that as long as *Abias* liued, *Ieroboam* was neuer after of force to raiſe any power ſince the loſſe he receiued. *Abias* ſuruiued after this his victory, onely for the ſpace of three yeeres; and was buried in Ieruſalem, in the Sepulcher of his anceſtors, leauing twenty two ſonnes and ſixteene daughters behind him, all which he begat on ſixteene women. His ſonne *Aſa* ſucceeded him in the kingdome, whoſe mother was called *Maacha*: vnder his gouernment the countrey of Iſrael enioyed a firme peace for the ſpace of ten yeeres. This is that which we haue obſerued of *Abias*, ſonne of *Roboam*, the ſonne of *Salomon*: *Ieroboam* the King of the ten Tribes died likewiſe, after he had raigned twenty two yeeres, and *Nadab* his ſonne ſucceeded him, at ſuch time as *Aſa* had already raigned two yeeres. The ſonne of *Ieroboam* gouerned two yeeres, reſembling his father in impietie and wickedneſſe. During theſe two yeeres, he made warre againſt Gaban, a Citie of the Philiſtines, and encamped thereabout to ſurprize it by force: but being betrayed by the trechery of a certaine friend of his called *Baaſa*, the ſonne of *Machil*, he died. This *Baaſa* taking poſſeſſion of the kingdome, exterminated all the poſteritie of *Ieroboam*: and it came to paſſe that they of *Ieroboams* race that dyed in the Citie, were torne in pieces, and deuoured by dogges; and they that were in the fields, were made a prey vnto birds, according as Gods Prophet had pronounced. By this meanes the houſe of *Ieroboam* ſuffered a deſerued puniſhment, for their impietie and wickedneſſe.

The yeere of the world, 2988. before Chriſts Natiuity, 976.

The death of Abias.

3. *Reg.* 15.

Aſa King of Iuda.

The yeere of the world, 2991. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 973.

The yeere of the world, 2992. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 972.

The yeere of the world, 2993. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 971.

CHAP. VI.

The Ethiopians beſiege Ieruſalem during the raigne of ASA, *and are ouercome.*

BVT *Aſa* King of Ieruſalem, was a man of vpright and honeſt life, and ſuch a one as feared God, neither did he, or enterprized he any thing, that had not a naturall relation to piety, and the preſcript of the lawes. He corrected whatſoeuer was vicious and irregular in his kingdome, redreſſing whatſoeuer was erronious in the ſame, and purging it from all impietie. He had an army of three hundred thouſand men of the tribe of Iuda, armed with bucklers & iauelins, and two hundred and fifty thouſand of the tribe of *Beniamin*, bearing bucklers and bowes. After he had raigned ten yeeres, *Zaræus* King of Ethiopia came out againſt him, with a great army of nine hundred thouſand footmen, and one hundred thouſand horſemen with three hundred charriots, and deſtroyed all the land as farre as Mareſa, a Citie of Iuda: in which place *Aſa* came and met with him, and oppoſed army againſt army in the valley of Saphath, not far from the Citie. Where ſeeing the great number of the Ethiopians, he beſought God that he would giue him the victory and ſlaughter of diuers thouſands of his enemies: for he ſaid that he came out againſt *Zareus*, not aſſuring himſelf in any other thing, except onely of Gods aſſiſtance, who had the power to make a handfull of men ſuperiours ouer many, and the feeble to ouercome the mightie.

Hedio & Ruffinus. chap. 12. al. 8.

Aſaes piety.

3 *Reg.* 15.

The Ethiopians warre againſt Aſa.

Whileſt *Aſa* prayed thus vnto God, a certaine ſigne of victory was giuen him; ſo that, reioyced and confirmed in that God had giuen him a token that hee would aſſiſt him, hee aſſailed his enemies, and ſlew a great number of the Ethiopians: as for the reſt that were put to flight, he purſued them as farre as the countrey of Gerar; and after they had conquered their enemies, they ſacked the Citie of Gerar, and brought from thence a great maſſe of gold, and a huge quantitie of bootie, with Camels, Dromedaries, and herds of diuers kinds of cattell.

2. *Paral.* 14.

The yeere of the world, 3000. before Chriſts Natiuity, 964.

Aſas victory.

When *Aſa* and his had thus by this meanes obtained at Gods hands ſuch a victory, & ſo great riches, they returned back againe to Ieruſalem: and when they drew neere vnto the city, the Prophet *Azarias* came out to meet them, who ſtayed them, and began after this manner to ſpeake vnto them: That ſith they had obtained from God ſo notable a victory, they ought to behaue themſelues like vertuous men, and ſuch as feared God, conforming themſelues vnto his will in all things; proteſting that if they perſiſted in the ſame, God would giue them the continuall victory ouer their enemies; and beſides that, happy life: but if they forſooke the ſeruice of God, that all things ſhould fal out contrary vnto them. That the time ſhould come, when neither true Prophet or Prieſt ſhould be found amongſt them, that ſhould inſtruct them in righteouſneſſe, when their Cities ſhould be ouerthrowne, and their nation ſhould be ſcattered ouer the face of the whole earth, and liue like wanderers and vagabonds. In the meane while therefore, while they had time, he counſelled them to liue vprightly, wiſhing them that they would not depriue thẽſelues of that fauour which God bare vnto them. When the King and all the people heard theſe words, they were very ioyfull, and euery one both in generall and particular, were carefull to ſerue God. The

The exhortation of Azarias the Prophet.

2. *Paral.* 15.

King

A Kings alſo ſent out certaine Deputies ouer the countrey, who were charged to ſee the lawes duly obſerued and executed. In this eſtate were the affaires of *Aſa* King of the two Tribes.

The yeere of the world, 3000. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt, 964.

Religion renewed in Iſrael.

Baſaes impietie.

3 Reg. 16. A prophecy againſt Baſa.

Now will I returne to *Baſa* King of the multitude of Iſrael, who (hauing ſlaine *Madad* the ſon of *Ieroboam*) vſurped the kingdome. He made his aboad in the citie of Therſa, and raigned foure and twenty yeeres, ſhewing himſelfe more wicked and impious, then either *Ieroboam* or his ſonne had bin. He plagued the people many waies, & diſhonored God very greatly, who ſent the Prophet *Gimon* vnto him, to foretell him that his whole race ſhould periſh, and that his houſe ſhould be perſecuted with as many miſeries as himſelfe had inflicted on *Ieroboams* poſteritie: becauſe that hauing receiued the gouernment from God, hee ſhewed himſelfe vngratefull vnto him for B his goodneſſe, and gouerned his people impiouſly and vniuſtly: whereas iuſtice & piety are both profitable vnto thoſe that practiſe them, and well-pleaſing vnto God. Further, in that he had conformed himſelfe in life, to the diſſolute courſe that *Ieroboam* vſed, and was wholly contaminated with all his vices, hee might aſſure himſelfe that reſembling him in wickedneſſe, hee ſhould vndoubtedly equall him in puniſhment. When *Baſa* heard all thoſe euils (that ſhould ſhortly fall on him and his poſterity, by reaſon of his wickedneſſe) he redeemed not the time, neither indeuoured himſelfe to gaine the reputation of a reconciled life, or to obtaine pardon at Gods hands, by repenting himſelfe of his forepaſſed ſins: but euen as they that haue a recompence propoſed vnto them to make them more affectionate in exploiting any thing, do diligently indeuour themſelues to performe the ſame: ſo *Baſa*, notwithſtanding the Prophet had fore-told him of that C which ſhould happen, perſiſted in his wickedneſſe as if it had beene in vertue, and became worſe and worſe, to the vtter ruine and confuſion both of him and his houſhold: and daily addicted himſelfe vnto all wickedneſſe, with no leſſe greedineſſe, then if he had enterprized to beare away the honour in ſuch a combat. In the end he aſſembled an army, and aſſailed Ramath once more, which was a great Citie ſome foure leagues diſtant off of Ieruſalem: which he tooke, and determined to leaue a garriſon therein, and fortified the ſame; with a reſolution, from thence to make his roads into *Aſas* kingdome. But *Aſa* fearing the inuaſion of his enemy, and conſidering that the ſouldiers who were left in Ramath, did moſt grieuouſly ſpoile all the dominions that were vnder him, ſent Embaſſadours to the King of Damaſco with gold and ſiluer, to induce him to a ſocietie in warre, and to renue that amitie betweene them, which was confirmed betwixt both D their fathers. Who willingly receiued thoſe treaſures that were ſent him, and made a league with him, and brake the truce which he had with *Baſa*: ſo that he ſent the gouernors of his dominions againſt thoſe cities that were vnder *Baſaes* ſubiection, with commandement to deſtroy them.

Baſa ſurprized Ramath, and fortified it.

The yeere of the world, 3006. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 958.

Aſa inciteth thoſe of Damaſco to inuade Baſa.

Of theſe they burned ſome, and ranſackt other ſome, amongſt which were Elon, Dan, and Abellane. Which when the King of Iſrael vnderſtood, he gaue ouer the fortifying of Ramath, and with all expedition turned to yeeld thoſe of his ſubiects his aſſiſtance, who were vtterly diſtracted. But *Aſa* in the meane while builded two ſtrong townes, Gabath and Maſpha, of that ſtuffe which *Baſa* had prepared to build withall. *Baſa* afterwards (preuented by the common debt of death) had no more opportunitie to make warre againſt *Aſa*. Hee was buried in the Citie E of Arſane, and his ſon *Ela* ſucceeded him in his kingdome: who after he had raigned ſome two yeeres, was traiterouſly ſlaine by *Zimri*, a Captaine of a halfe regiment of horſemen. For whileſt *Ela* banquetted with *Oſa*, who was the Steward of his houſe, *Zamri* wrought effectually, that he perſwaded ſome of his horſemen to aſſault *Ela*, who at that time was alone, & deſtitute of men of warre and Captaines, for that all of them were at the ſiege of Gabathan, a citie of the Philiſtines.

The yeere of the world, 3016. before Chriſts birth, 948.

Alias, chap. 9. The death of Baſa.

CHAP. VII.

BASAES *off-ſpring being extinct amongſt the Iſraelites,* ZAMRI *raigned in Iſrael; and after him* AMRI, *and his ſonne* ACHAB.

AFTER that *Ela* was ſlaine, *Zamri* tooke the kingdome vpon him, and wholly rooted out F *Baſaes* poſteritie (according as the Prophet *Gimon* had foretold.) For after the ſame manner was his family vtterly ouerthrowne for their impietie, as *Ieroboams* progenie was extinguiſhed for their iniquitie (as wee haue to-fore-time declared.) For the army which beſieged Gabathan, hearing newes of the Kings death, and that *Zamri* had murthered him, and ſeized rhe kingdome, they made *Amri* generall of the army, and anointed him for their King: who leuying the ſiege before Gabathan, came before the royall citie of Therſa, which hee beſieged & tooke perforce. *Zamri* ſeeing the city deſtitute of defence, had retired himſelfe into the moſt

The yeere of the world, 3017. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 947.

Baſaes ſtocke deſtroyed.

The yeere of the world, 3017. before Christs birth, 947.

Diuers factions of the people. Amri King of Israel.

The yeere of the world, 3021. before Christs Natiuitie, 943.

Amri dyeth, and Achab his sonne succeedeth him.

The yeere of the world, 3028. before Christs Natiuity, 936.

Alias, chap. 10 Asa dyeth, Iosaphat succeedeth him.

The yeere of the world, 3031. before Christs Natiuitie. 933.

Iezabel. 3. *Reg.* 17. The dearth of victuals prophecied to the Israelites.

The yeere of the world, 3037. before Christs Natiuitie. 927.

Crowes feede Elias. The widow of Sareptha entertaining Elias, neither flowre nor oyle faile.

Menander of the famine during the time of Elias.

moſt ſecret and retired place of the palace; where ſetting it on fire, he burned both himſelfe and it, after he had raigned ſeuen daies. Suddenly after this, the Iſraelites fell at controuerſie amongſt themſelues, becauſe that ſome of them ſought to preferre *Thaman* to the kingdome, and others were wholly addicted to *Amri*; but they of *Amries* ſide had the better, and being of the better ſort, ſlew *Thaman*, and made *Amri* ſoueraigne ouer the people. The thirteenth yeere of *Asa*, *Amri* began his raigne, and was King for twelue yeeres ſpace; ſixe yeere gouerned he in Therſa, and ſixe in Mareon (which the Greekes call Samaria) himſelfe impoſed this name of Samaria, calling it by the name of Samar, who had giuen him the land on which he builded this Citie. He differed in nothing from the other Kings his predeceſſors, but in that he was worſer then any of them: for all of them buſied their heads on this thing onely, that by daily impieties they might alien the people from God. For which cauſe God being diſpleaſed, cauſed the one of them to cut off the other; and finally extinguiſhed both the poſteritie and name of one another. This *Amri* dyed in Samaria, and *Achab* his ſonne was his ſucceſſor.

Hereby a man may truly and eaſily perceiue, what care the diuine Maieſtie hath of humane affaires, and how he loueth the vertuous, and vtterly rooteth out the vicious. For the Kings of Iſrael, through their impietie, in a ſhort and ſucceſſiue courſe the one after the other, were cut off and confounded with all their families. But *Asa* (King of Ieruſalem and the two Tribes) liuing happily in the fauour of God, for his piety and iuſtice attained to a reuerend and old age: and after he had raigned one and forty yeeres, he died a good death. And after his death; *Ioſaphat* his ſonne (whom he begat on his mother *Abida*) ſucceeded him; who in all things that concerned either piety or fortitude, ſeemed to emulate and equall his grandfather *Dauid*, according as it ſhal be declared hereafter. But *Achab* King of Iſrael made his aboad in Samaria, and gouerned the kingdome for the ſpace of twenty two yeeres, without any alteration of thoſe ordinances which his progenitors Kings of Iſrael had eſtabliſhed; but that he exceeded them daily in complotting worſer wickedneſſes. For he imitated all their impieties and wickednes (but eſpecially the Apoſtaſie of *Ieroboam*) for he adored thoſe calues that were erected by him; and beſides that, hee added farre worſe impieties then the former. He tooke to wife *Iezabel* the daughter of *Ithobal* King of the Tyrians and Sidonians, of whom he learned to adore the gods of her nation: for ſhee was a buſie and audacious woman, and of ſuch immeaſurable madneſſe, that ſhe feared not to build a temple in honour of *Bell* the god of the Tyrians, and to plant a wood furniſhed with all kinde of trees, and to ordaine prieſts and falſe prophets alſo in honour of that god. The King alſo tooke delight to haue theſe kinds of men oftentimes about him, exceeding all other Kings before him in madneſſe and malice. To him came a certaine Prophet ſent by the Almightie God, that was borne in Thesbon in Galaad, telling him that he foreprophecied, that neither deaw nor raine ſhould fall on the earth a long time, vntill that himſelfe, who was prepared to depart from him, ſhould appeare againe vnto him: and binding the ſame with an oath (for the better confirmation thereof) he retired himſelfe to the Southward, where he liued by a certaine riuer, from whence he fetcht his drinke: for his meat was daily brought him by certaine Crowes.

Now when the riuer through want of raine was waxen dry, God commanded him to repaire vnto Sareptha (a City not farre from Sidon and Tyre, and ſituate in the midſt betweene them both) where hee ſhould find a widdow-woman, who would furniſh him with food. As ſoone therefore as he drew neere vnto the gate, he ſaw a woman that liued by her labour, gathering of ſticks; and God gaue him to vnderſtand that it was ſhee who ſhould nouriſh him. Whereupon he came vnto her and ſaluted her, praying her that ſhe would bring him ſome water to coole his thirſt; and as ſhee was ready to depart, hee called her backe againe, and willed her to bring him ſome bread alſo. Whereupon ſhee ſwore that ſhee had nothing in her houſe, but a handfull of flower and a little oyle, and that ſhe was come forth to gather ſticks, to the end ſhe might bake the ſame, and make bread for her ſelfe and her ſonne, and when they had eaten the ſame, they muſt needly periſh through famine, becauſe they had not any thing more left them. Go, ſaid the Prophet, and be of good courage, and conceiue better hopes, and when thou haſt prepared meat for me, bring it mee: for I tell thee, that thy pitcher of meale ſhall neither faile, nor thy pot of oyle be empty, vntill that God ſend raine vpon the earth. When the Prophet had ſpoken thus, ſhee approched neere vnto him, and performed that which he commanded, and ſhee her ſelfe had ſufficient to feede vpon, and ſhee gaue the reſt vnto her ſonne and to the Prophet: ſo that they wanted nothing ſo long as the drought continued.

Menander maketh mention of this default of raine, in the acts of *Ithobal* King of the Tyrians, ſpeaking after this manner: In this time there was a ſeaſon without raine, from the moneth of October

October vntill October in the next yeere after, but vpon his supplication and request there fell great store of thunder. He builded the citie of Botris in Phenicia and Auzate in Libya. Doubtlesse he expressed hereby the drought that hapned in *Achabs* time: for about that time *Ithobale* raigned ouer the Tyrians, as *Menander* testifieth in his history. The woman (of whom we haue spoken heretofore, that nourished the Prophet) seeing her sonne false sicke, and lying senseless, as if he had bin already dead, or yeelding vp of the ghost; wept, and brake out into such passionate laments, as were answerable to her desolate estate; and said, that the cause of her misfortune was, in that the Prophet was come into her house, and had discouered her sinnes, and that for the same cause her sonne was dead. But he recomforted her, and willed her to be of a good courage, and commanded her to bring the childe vnto him, assuring her that he would restore him to life.

The yeere of the world, 2037. before Christs Nativitie, 927.

Now when she had brought him, he tooke the childe and bare him into his lodging where he remained, and laid him on his bed, and cryed out vnto God, saying, that he had but slenderly recompenced her that had receiued and nourished him, if so be her son should be taken from her: he therefore besought him, that he would returne the soule into the body, and restore life vnto the infant. Whereupon, God hauing compassion on the mother, and being willing to gratifie the Prophet, and to the intent that no man might suppose that he came vnto her to endomage her; he restored the childe to life beyond all expectation. For which the mother gaue thankes vnto the Prophet, saying, that by this meanes she was thorowly perswaded, that God had spoken vnto him. Not long after, he sought out *Achab*, according as God had commanded him, to let him vnderstand that he should haue raine. At that time the famine raigned ouer the whole countrey, and there was great want of necessary victuals; so that men did not onely faint for want of bread; but the earth also for want of raine, could not bring forth that which was requisit for the sustenance of horses and other cattell. The King therefore calling *Obediah* vnto him (who was the master of his heards) he commanded him that he should each way seeke out for fountaines and brookes, willing him that if he found out any grasse, he should mowe the same, and giue it to his cattell for their sustenance. And whereas by his command the Prophet *Elias* was sought in diuers places, and could not be found: he willed *Obediah* also to follow him. So taking both of them seuerall waies, the King followed one, and the master of the cattell another.

Elias restoreth the widdowes sonne to life. 3. *King.* 18.

Elias is sent by God to prophecie raine to Achab.

The yeere of the world, 3040. before Christs Nativitie. 924.

This *Obediah* was a godly and vertuous man, who when the Prophets were put to death, hid one hundred of them in dens, and sustained them with bread and water. After this man was departed from the King, *Elias* met with him and asked him what he was: which when he had certified him, he humbled himselfe on his face before him. *Elias* commanded him to repaire vnto the King, and to certifie him that he was hard at hand. *Obediah* asked him wherein he had offended him, that he would make him a minister and messenger vnto him, who had sought to kill him, and had by-laid the countrey to apprehend him? For there was not any streight, whither he sent not some of his men to finde out *Elias*, with charge, that if they found him, they should put him to death. Now it may so be (said he) that whilest I repaire vnto the King, the Spirit of God wherewith thou art fulfilled, will carry thee away, and the King not finding thee heere, and frustrate of his desire, will reuenge himselfe on my head. Be thou not therefore so secure by my danger, whereas thou maist know how carefull I am of such holy men as thou art, who haue deliuered a hundred Prophets from *Iezabels* fury, and now at this time conceale and sustaine them in secret places. Notwithstanding all these words, *Elias* commanded him to repaire vnto the King, and to cast off all feare, swearing vnto him by an oath, how that day he would make himselfe seene and knowne vnto *Achab*.

Achab seeketh for Elias. Obediah concealeth and sustaineth a hundred Prophets.

When *Obediah* had certified the King that *Elias* was at hand, *Achab* went out to meet him, and being fraught with indignation, said vnto him, Is it thou that heapest so much mischiefe on the Hebrewes heads? Art thou the man that art the cause of this sterilitie? To whom *Elias* replied without flattering him any waies, that it was he & his race that were the occasions of these mischiefes, because they had brought strange gods into their countrey; whom they adored, and had forsaken the true God, who was and is onely to be worshipped. He therefore willed him presently to assemble all the people on the mount Carmel, and bring with him his wife and her prophets, whose number he reckoned vp: the prophets likewise of the woods, who were in number foure hundred. When as therefore all of them being summoned by the King, were gathered together in that place: *Elias* stood vp in the midst of them and said; How long will you liue thus, hauing both your soules and opinions dismembred and diuided? For if you thinke that the Hebrewes God is the true and onely God, why follow you him not? and why keepe you not his Commandements? But if you thinke that the honour belongeth not to him, but to forraine gods,

Achab accuseth Elias of impiety.

Elias reprooueth the superstition of the people.

The yeere of the world, 3040. before Christs birth, 924.

gods, follow you them. When *Elias* perceiued that the people replyed nothing hereunto, hee prayed them (in confirmation of that infinite and distinct power of God from that of strange gods) that whereas he was but one onely Prophet of the true GOD at that time present, and the other were foure hundred that worshipped the false; that hee might take an Oxe and kill the same, and lay it vpon wood, without putting any fire thereto to consume the sacrifice; and that they also might doe the like, and call vpon their gods, and beseech them to send downe fire to consume their sacrifice: which if they should doe and confirme the same by miracle, that then the true nature of their gods should be knowne.

This counsell of his was generally allowed. Whereupon, *Elias* commanded the false prophets first of all to chuse themselues an Oxe, and to kill the same, and afterwards to call vpon the assistance of their gods: and when it manifestly appeared that their prayer and inuocation was of no force, *Elias* began to mocke them, saying, Why call you not out vpon your gods with a loud voice? for it may be they are on some voyage, or else haply they sleepe. Whilest thus they had inuocated from the morning vntill mid-day (cutting themselues with kniues and lances, according to the custome of their countrey) *Elias* that was to make his sacrifice, commanded the false prophets to stand aside, willing the people to draw neere vnto him, and obserue, for feare lest secretly he should conuey fire vnder the wood. When the people were approched, he tooke 12. stones, according to the number of the 12. tribes of Israel, and made an Altar, and digged a deepe trench round about the same; and afterwards heaping wood vpon the Altar, and laying his sacrifice thereupon, he commanded them to fill foure tunnes with fountain water, and to powre it vpon the Altar, in such sort as the trench might receiue and drinke vp the water. Which done, hee began to pray and call vpon God, beseeching him that it might please him to manifest his power vnto his people, who had so long time run astray: no sooner had he finished his prayer, but fire fell from heauen vpon the Altar in the sight of all the people, and consumed all the sacrifice; so that the water was consumed, and the place dried vp. Which when the Israelites beheld, they fell downe on their faces vpon the earth, adoring one onely God: confessing him to be the most mighty and only true God, and auowing that all other were but forged names, and fruits of an euill and truthlesse opinion; and laying hands themselues vpon their false prophets, they slew them by the commandement of *Elias*. He willed the King also to depart, & take his refection, and to take care for nothing, because he should very shortly see that God would send him raine; and thus departed *Achab* from him. But *Elias* ascended the top of the mount Carmel, and sate him downe on the earth, leaning his head vpon his knees: whilest thus he sate, he commanded his seruant also to get vp vpon a certaine rock, and to looke towards the Sea, & to tell him if he saw any clouds arise in any part (for till that time the ayre had bin alwaies cleere.) His seruant hauing often ascended the rocke, and returned him answer that he saw nothing: at length mounting vp the seuenth time, in descending he returned him this newes; that he saw some blacke appearance in the ayre, not much vnlike to a mans footstep. When *Elias* vnderstood this, he sent vnto *Achab*, wishing him to retire himselfe within the Citie before the raine fell: who had no sooner recouered the citie of Iezrael, but that the ayre was presently clouded and couered with a showre, and a vehement wind intermixed with raine, fel vpon the earth, and the Prophet seized by the Spirit of God, ranne with the Kings chariot as far as Iezrael a citie of Asser. When *Iezebel, Achabs* wife, had notice what wonders *Elias* had performed, and how he had slaine her prophets, she was sore displeased, and sent messengers vnto him, threatning him in like sort to reuenge her selfe on him, as he had slaine her prophets. Which for that *Elias* feared, he fled into the citie of Bersabe, which is vpon the borders of the tribe of Iuda, bounding vpon Idumæa: in which place he left his seruant, and retired himselfe into the desart: where, whilest he prayed God that he would take him out of the world, by reason he was no better then others, for which cause he should desire to liue after them; he fell asleepe vnder a certaine tree, and after that some one had awaked him, he arose and found bread and water ready prepared by him. When as therefore he had eaten and was recomforted, he went vnto the Mount Sinai (where it is said that *Moses* receiued the Lawes from God) where finding out a hollow caue, he entred into it, and remained therein. And being demanded by a certaine voice which spake vnto him, he knew not from whence, wherefore he remained in that place, and forsooke the citie; He answered, for that he had slaine the prophets of the false gods, and for that he had perswaded the people that there was but one onely God, who ought to be honoured by all men; and that for this cause hee was sought for by the Kings wife, that he might be done to death. The voice replyed againe, and commanded him to shew himselfe openly, assuring him that he should vnderstand that which it behoued him to performe.

Hereupon,

Elias doctrine and office confirmed by miracle.

Fire from heauen deuoureth the sacrifice.

Bels priests slaine.

Elias foreprophecieth raine.

3. *Reg.* 10.

Elias flyeth from Iezebel.

Gods care for his seruants.

God speaketh to Elias in the desart.

Hereupon as ſoone as it was day, he forſooke the caue, hee heard an earthquake, and ſaw a light: and after all things were appeaſed, the heauenly voice which proceeded he knew not from whence, willed him, that he ſhould in no waies be diſcomforted with that which he ſaw: for that no one of his enemies ſhould haue power to hurt him; charging him to returne vnto his houſe, to the intent to proclaime *Iehu* the ſon of *Nimſi* King of the people, and *Azael* of Damaſco King of the Syrians; certifying him that in his place, *Elizeus* of the citie of Abela ſhould be Prophet; and that the wicked people ſhould be deſtroyed, the one by *Azael*, and the other by *Iehu*. When *Elias* had heard theſe things, he returned into the countrey of the Hebrewes, and met *Elizeus* the ſon of *Saphat* at the cart, and with him diuers others driuing before them twelue couple of oxen: him did he approach, and caſt vpon him his garment, who inſtantly began thereupon to prophetize, ſo that forſaking his oxen, he followed *Elias*. Yet required he him, that before his departure, he might take leaue of his parents; which licence when he had obtained, he committed them vnto God and followed *Elias*, attending on him during all the terme of his life like his diſciple and ſeruant. This iſſue had the affaires of this ſo excellent a Prophet. But a certaine Citizen called *Naboth* of the Citie of Azar, had a vineyard neere vnto the lands of *Achab*, who required him that he would ſell him the ſame, at what price he thought conuenient at his owne election, to the intent he might annexe the ſame to his owne lands, and make them all but one poſſeſſion: wiſhing him, that if he would not ſell it him for ſiluer, to chooſe in exchange thereof, any one field of his that beſt liked him. *Naboth* anſwered him, that he would not doe it, but that he intended to gather the fruit of his owne land himſelfe, which hee had receiued as an inheritance from his father. The King no leſſe tormented then if he had loſt his owne inheritance (in that he might not bee maſter of another mans patrimony) would neither waſh nor receiue any ſuſtenance. For which cauſe *Iezabel* his wife queſtioned with him as touching the cauſe of his diſcontent, and how it came to paſſe that he neither waſht, din'd, nor ſupt: who told her of *Naboths* rude behauiour, and how hauing vſed all iuſt and reaſonable compoſition vnto him, in abaſing himſelfe more then his royall authoritie permitted, he had beene outraged by him, in that he obtained not the thing which he requeſted at his hands. Hereupon *Iezabel* willed him to be of good cheere, aduiſing him, that diſmiſſing his diſpleaſure, he ſhould continue his ordinary entertainment, becauſe ſhee her ſelfe would take vpon her to reuenge him on *Naboth*. Whereupon ſhe preſently ſent Letters in *Achabs* name to the gouernours of the countrey, whereby ſhee inioyned them to celebrate a faſt, and to aſſemble the people, charging them that in that place *Naboth* ſhould haue a ſeat prepared for him, by reaſon of his birth and nobilitie; willing them afterwards, that ſuborning three impudent and falſe witneſſes to depoſe againſt him, that hee had blaſphemed againſt God and the King: they ſhould by this meanes and for this occaſion, cauſe him to be ſtoned and put to death by the people. All which was performed, according as the Queene had written, and *Naboth* (conuinced by falſe witneſſe, for ſcandalizing both God and the King) was ſtoned by the people and put to death. When *Iezabel* had tidings hereof, ſhee repaired to the Kings preſence, and told him that hee ſhould enioy *Naboths* vineyard, and diſburſe nothing for the ſame.

The yeere of the world, 3040. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 924.

Iehu King of Iſrael.

Elizeus calling.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 14. al. 11.

3. *King.* 21. The ſtory of Naboth, who was ſtoned to death for denying Achab his vineyard.

But God diſpleaſed with this her wickedneſſe, ſent the Prophet *Elias* purpoſely to meet with *Achab* in *Naboths* ground, and to tell him that hee iniuſtly poſſeſſed the lawfull inheritance of a legitimate heire, whom he had done to death. As ſoone as the King perceiued that he came vnto him, ſuppoſing it to be vnſeemely for a King to be reproued, he firſt of all confeſſed the fault, and offered him to make reſtitution according to his arbitrement. Then did the Prophet foretell him, that in the ſame place where *Naboths* carcaſſe was conſumed by dogs, that both his and his Queenes blood ſhould be ſhed, and that all his race ſhould be deſtroyed, for that they durſt commit ſuch an impiety, and ſo wickedly ſlaughter (againſt all law) ſo good and guiltleſſe a Citizen. At length *Achab* vpon theſe words was ſeized with diſpleaſure, and repented for the offence he had committed: ſo that apparelling himſelfe in ſackcloth, and walking barefoot, hee taſted not any meat, but confeſſed his ſinnes, vnder hope to appeaſe Gods wrath. For which cauſe God certified him by the Prophet, that during his life-time the puniſhment of his race ſhould be deferred, becauſe he had repented him of his miſdeeds: but that the threats and menaces ſhould take effect in his ſonnes time; all which *Elias* ſignified vnto the King.

Elias propheſieth what reuenge God will take of Achab and Iezabel.

Achabs repentance.

The yeere of the world, 3040. before Christs Nativity, 924.

CHAP. VIII.

ADAD *King of Damasco and Syria, fighteth at two seuerall times with* ACHAB, *and is ouerthrowne by him.*

3. Reg. 20. Adads warre against Achab.

WHILEST *Achabs* affaires were after this manner disposed, the sonne of *Adad* (that raigned ouer the Syrians, and those of Damasco) assembled the forces of his whole countrey, and associated with himselfe two and thirtie other Kings, with whom he came and made warre against *Achab*. Who being farre inferiour to him in forces, came not out into the open field to bid him battell, but closing vp his souldiers in his strongest Cities, he himselfe retired into Samaria (which was begirt with a very strong wall, and generally very hard to be surprized.) For which cause the Syrian (taking his army with him) resorted to Samaria, and encamping before the same, intended to scale and batter the Citie. But first of all he sent a Herald to *Achab*, to require him to giue audience to his Embassadours which he would send vnto him, by whom he should be certified what his resolution was. As soone as the King of Israel had granted them free accesse, the Embassadours came, and (according to the Kings directions) required that *Achabs* goods, his children and wife should be at *Adads* command: which if he would confesse, and suffer him to seize so many of them as best liked him, hee would leuy the siege, and batter the Citie no more. *Achab* gaue the Embassadours commission to certifie the King of Syria, that both himselfe, and all whatsoeuer was his, was at his command. Vpon which answer the King sent a second message vnto *Achab*, enioyning him the next day to admit such of his seruants as he should send vnto him, to search his royall palace, and the houses of his friends and kinsmen, and take from thence that which was best liking, and in greatest estimate with them, and leaue the rest with him whereof they made least reckoning.

The Syrians Embassage to Achab.

Achab amazed at this second Embassage of the King of Syria, assembled his people, and certified them, that he was ready to deliuer vp into the enemies hands his wiues and children, for their safetie and repose; and to abandon all that likewise which was in his possession (for that the Syrian had demanded no lesse at his hands in his first Embassage: But that now he required that his seruants might be admitted to ransacke all their houses, to the end they may leaue nothing therin that was worthy regard; willing by this meanes to take a pretext of making warre, knowing well (said he) that I will spare nothing that is mine for your safetie. At this present he proffereth and seeketh occasion of hostility, proposing vnto you a thing, which is vnpleasing to you all, as touching your goods: notwithstanding, I will doe whatsoeuer you shall thinke good of. To this the people answered, that they could not endure that any of his demands should be listned vnto, or respected; but that the King should prepare for war. Whereupon he called for the Embassadors and dismissed them with this answer, That they should report vnto their Master, that *Achab* persisted in those things, which of all were required by him (because he had a desire of the conseruation of his subiects:) but as touching his second demand, that hee would no waies condescend thereunto: and thus sent he them away. When *Adad* heard this answer, he was sore mooued and sent vnto *Achab* the third time, threatning him that his souldiers should make a bulwarke more high then the walles (hee so much trusted in) yea though onely each of them should bring but a handfull of earth, with them (which boast he vsed towards him to terrifie him, and to expresse thereby how great a multitude of men he had to oppose against him.) But *Achab* answered, that he ought not to glory in his army, but that his true glory was, when he had the better in the battell. When the Embassadors were returned backe, they found the King at dinner with 32. Kings his allies, to whom they made report of *Achabs* answer. Hereupon *Adad* gaue commandement to begirt the Citie with Palliſadoes, and to raise bulwarks of earth, and busily to intend the siege. Whilest these things were in hand, *Achab* was grieuously troubled, and all the people with him: but at length he grew confident, and cast off all his feare, through the arriuall of a certaine Prophet, who said vnto him, that God promised to deliuer all those thousands of souldiers, and his boastfull enemies which he beheld, into his hands. The same Prophet being afterwards demanded by him, by whose meanes this victory might be gained: Hee said, that it should be by the sonnes of the gouernors, whom the King himselfe should lead forth, by reason of their vnexperience. *Achab* therfore calling vnto him the gouernours sonnes, found that their number amounted to two hundreth thirtie and two: and hauing notice that the Syrians intended nought else but pleasure and banquetting, hee opened the Citie gates, and sent these young men out against the. Now when the sentinels of the aduerse part had discouered them, they certified *Adad* thereof,

His answer to the Legates.

Adads confidence in his souldiers.

The Israelites God promiseth victory against the Syrians.

of, who ſent out certaine ſouldiers againſt them, commanding them that if they were come out in warlike ſort to bid the battell, they ſhould bring them vnto him faſt bound; and if they came in peace, they ſhould doe the like. Now had *Achab* within the Citie, arranged another army, and kept them in a readineſſe. When as therefore the young men had charged the Syrian guard, and ſlaine a great number of them, and had purſued the reſt euen vnto their owne campe, *Achab* ſpying his preſent victory and aduantage, cauſed his whole army to breake forth; who giuing an vnexpected charge vpon the enemies, diſcomfited the Syrians (who little expected for ſuch a ſtratageme from the Hebrewes) and aſſailed them diſarmed and drunken: ſo that they left both armour and weapon behind them; and fled from their campe; and their King likewiſe was ſo hotly purſued, that he ſcarcely had opportunitie to ſaue himſelfe by the ſwiftneſſe of his horſe. *Achab* made a long chace in following the Syrians, and ſlaughtering them that fled; hee ſpoiled their campe likewiſe; and carried thence great riches, and a huge quantitie of gold and ſiluer. He tooke *Adads* charriots and horſes alſo, and with them returned backe into the Citie.

The yeere of the world, 3040. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 924.

Achabs victory againſt the Syrians.

But whereas by the aduice of the ſaid Prophet, he was perſwaded to prepare and keepe an army in readines againſt the next yeer (for that the Syrians were like, nay rather reſolued to charge him againe) the King intermitted no preparation that concerned the warre. For *Adad* (being eſcaped from the fight with thoſe few forces that remained after the battell) conſulted with his friends, how he might war againſt the Iſraelites. Who aduiſed him from thenceforth neuer more to fight with them in mountainous places, for that their God was powerfull vpon the mountaines, and for that cauſe they had beene ouercome by them: but if he fought with them in the Plaine, both he and his ſhould bee aſſured to haue the vpper hand. Moreouer they counſelled him, that he ſhould diſmiſſe thoſe Kings that he had confederated with him, to the end that each of them might returne into his owne countrey, and that in their ſtead he ſhould retaine their forces, ouer which hee ſhould ordaine Chiefetaines; beſides (to ſupply their places that were loſt) they aduiſed him to leuy horſmen & chariots thorow all his countrey. *Adad* ſuppoſing that they had diſcreetly counſelled him in this matter, ordered and leuied his army according as they had aduiſed him. And as ſoone as the ſpring-time was come, he aſſembled his army, & led them forth againſt the Iſraelites; and arriuing neere vnto the city of Aphec, he incamped in a plaine field. But *Achab* with his forces (marching out to meet with him) pitched his tents and arranged his battell neere vnto him (although he were farre inferiour both in force and number.) To him the Prophet appeared anew, telling him that God would once more haue the victory, to make it knowne that his power was not onely in the mountaines (as the Syrians perſwaded themſelues) but in the Plaines alſo. Thus continued both the armies, oppoſed and incamped the one againſt the other, for the ſpace of ſixe daies. On the ſeuenth, when the enemy forſooke their trenches early in the morning, and placed themſelues in battell ray; *Achab* drew out his army and affronted them, and preſently charged them: where after a long and dangerous fight betweene them, the enemies were put to flight, and many of them ſlaine in the chace. For ſome of them were intangled with their owne charriots, otherſome ſlew one another pell-mell; and ſome few of them found the meanes to flie vnto their city of Aphec, who periſhed likewiſe to the number of ſeuen and twentie thouſand (being ſlaine by the ruine of the walles that fell vpon them) beſides one hundreth thouſand men that gaue vp the ghoſt in that fight. But *Adad* attended by ſome of his faithfull friends, went and hid himſelfe in a certaine caue vnder the ground: who proteſting vnto him, and concluding amongſt themſelues, that the Kings of Iſrael were courteous and mercifull, and that there was hope of pardon to be had (if after the manner of ſuppliants they might be attired and ſent vnto him) *Adad* permitted them: Whereupon they incontinently preſented themſelues to *Achab* cloathed in ſackecloth, and hauing their neckes wreathed about with cords (according to the manner of ſuppliants amongſt the Syrians, telling him that *Adad* beſought his maieſty to grant him his life; promiſing on his behalfe, that from thencefoorth he would alwaies continue his ſeruant, and acknowledge his fauour. *Achab* anſwered them, that it highly contented him that their King was as yet aliue, and had eſcaped from the fury of the fight, offering him by them that good will and honor, which one brother ought to ſhew vnto another. After this they drew an oath from *Achab*, that he ſhould offer him no wrong, if ſo be he diſcouered himſelfe vnto him, and withall preſently reſorted vnto *Adad*; whom they drew out of the place where he was hidden, & afterwards brought him vnto *Achab*, who was mounted vpon a charriot. *Adad* proſtrated himſelfe before him: but *Achab* ſtretching out his hand, made him incontinently mount vp with him into his charriot, and kiſſed him, willing him to be of good courage, aſſuring him that hee ſhould receiue neither iniury nor iniuſtice at his hands. Hereupon *Adad* gaue him thanks, proteſting

Adads ſecond expedition againſt the Iſraelites.

The yeere of the world, 3041. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt, 923.

Adad is receiued into fauour by Achab, and diſmiſſed vpon condition.

The yeere of the world, 3041. before Christs birth, 923.

testing that during his life-time he would neuer be forgetfull of his fauors: promising him moreouer to restore vnto him those cities which his predecessors, Kings of Syria, had taken from the Israelites. He likewise gaue him power to come into Damasco (in like manner as before-time his ancestors had the credit to repaire vnto Samaria.) When these accords were made & confirmed by oath, *Achab* gaue him many worthy presents, and sent him backe into his kingdome. Thus ended the war betwixt *Adad* and the King of the Israelites. After this, a certaine Prophet called *Micheas*, came vnto another Israelite, commanding him to wound him vpon the head, assuring him that God was so pleased, and had so commanded him. When as this Istaelite would in no sort condescend hereunto, hee prophecied vnto him, that since he had disobeyed Gods Commandement, he should meet with a Lyon, which should rent him in pieces. Which comming to passe, according as it was foretold, the Prophet addressed himselfe againe vnto another, commanding him to doe the like: and when he had wounded him in the head, he bound vp the wound and came vnto the King, telling him that he had beene in warre, and had receiued a prisoner in charge from his Captaines hands: and how that (his prisoner being fled from him) hee feared lest he that had committed him to his charge, should for that cause take his life from him; the rather for that he had threatned no lesse. *Achab* answered him, that he was iustly condemned. Whereupon *Micheas* discouered his head, and made it knowne who he was. And to this intent vsed the Prophet this policy, that his words might be of greater force and value. For hee told the King that God would bend himselfe against him, because he had permitted the blasphemer *Adad* to depart vnpunished; assuring him, that God would cause him to be slaine by *Adad*, and suffer the people of Israel to be slaughtered by the Syrian army. The King displeased with the libertie and free speech of the Prophet, commanded him to be cast into prison: and being vehemently affrighted with this his prediction, he departed home vnto his house.

Achab was reproued for dismissing Adad.

The reward of learned preachers.

Chap. IX.

of Iosaphat *King of Ierusalem.*

The yeere of the world, 3042. before Christs Natiuity, 924.

HITHERTO haue we spoken of *Achabs* estate: but now I must returne vnto *Iosaphat* King of Ierusalem; who hauing inlarged his kingdome, & planted garrisons in those cities that were subiect vnto him (and in those likewise which his grandfather *Abiah* had possessed in the portion of *Ephraim*, at such time as *Ieroboam* raigned ouer the ten tribes. The King had perpetuall assistance and fauour at Gods hands, in that he was a iust and vertuous Prince, studying day & night for nothing more, then how he might please and honor God. The Kings his neighbors round about him honored him with presents: so that his riches were great, and his honours excellent. In the third yeere of his raigne he assembled the Gouernors & Priests of his country, enioyning them to ride their circuit about the prouinces, and to teach the inhabitants of euery citie the Law of *Moses*, training them vp in the obseruance thereof, and in the study of pietie. Which all the Citizens imbraced and intertained so willingly, that they seemed to emulate and striue the one with the other, which of them should exceed the rest in the seruice of God. The Nations likewise that dwelt round about him, loued *Iosaphat*, and were at peace with him. The Philistines also payed those tributes which were imposed on them. And the Arabians furnished him euery yeere with sixe hundreth and threescore lambes, and the like number of horses. He fortified also other great cities of importance, and made preparation of munition of war and armes against the enemy. He mustered in the tribe of *Iuda* three hundred thousand men, ouer whom he placed *Edraus* Generall, & two hundred thousand vnder the conduct of *Iohanan*. Who besides these had two hundred thousand Archers on foot of the tribe of *Beniamin*. Another Chieftaine called *Ochobat* leuied and led for the King one hundred and fourescore thousand men armed at assay (besides those which hee sent into defenced cities.) Hee married his sonne *Ioram* to *Athalia* the daughter of *Achab* King of the ten tribes. And not long after (resorting to Samaria) *Achab* receiued him very courteously, and magnificently entertained his army with bread, wine, and flesh in all aboundance; requiring him to yeeld him his assistance against the King of Syria, to the intent he might recouer the city of Ramath in the country of Galaad, which *Adads* father had wonne and conquered from his father. *Iosaphat* promised to assist him: and being no waies inferiour vnto him in force, he sent his army from Ierusalem to Samaria. When these two Kings were departed out of the city, and each of them were seated vpon their thrones, they distributed their pay to euery one of their souldiers. At that time *Iosaphat* commanded, that if at that present there were as yet any Prophets amongst them, they might be sent for, to giue

Iosaphats pietie. 3. *Paral.* 17.

The peace in Iosaphats time.

Iosaphats army.

Iosaphats expedition with Achab against the Syrians, 3. *Reg.* 21.

notice

notice what the iſſue ſhould be of this their warre againſt the Syrians;and whether they thought it good to make warre againſt them, by reaſon that at that time there was amitie and peace betwixt *Achab* and the Syrians,confirmed for the ſpace of three yeeres,ſince the time that he tooke *Adad* priſoner and deliuered him, to that preſent. *The yeere of the world, 3047. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 917.*

CHAP. X.

ACHAB *fighteth againſt the Syrians, and is ouercome and ſlaine in the battell.*

HEREVPON *Achab* called for the prophets (who were in number foure hundreth)and commanded them to enquire of God, whether hee would giue him the victory in that battell which hee enterprized againſt *Adad* or no, and whether hee ſhould recouer the Citie which he intended to beſiege? Who anſwered and counſelled him to hazzard the battell,in that he ſhould haue the vpper hand ouer the Syrian,and ſhould take him priſoner as he had done beforetime. *Ioſaphat* vnderſtanding by their words that they were falſe prophets,asked *Achab* if he had not any other Prophet of God,who might more exactly certifie him of that which might ſucceed. *Achab* anſwered,that he had one as yet remaining,but that he hated him becauſe he prophecied nought elſe but miſ-hap & miſery vnto him,and had foretold him that if he ſhould fight againſt the Syrian,he ſhould be ouercome and ſlaine; and for that cauſe he held him at that time in priſon, ſignifying vnto him that his name was *Micheas* the ſonne of *Imlah*. *Ioſaphat* required that he might be brought into his preſence(which was accordingly performed by one of his Eunuchs; who by the way certified *Micheas*,that all the other prophets had prophecied to the King victory.)But *Micheas* told him that it was not lawfull for him to lie againſt God,but that it concerned him to ſpeake that which God ſhould informe him of,concerning the King. As ſoone as he came before *Achab*,and was adiured to ſpeake the truth,he ſaid that God had ſhewed him the Iſraelites put to flight,and diſperſed by the Syrians, that purſued them no otherwiſe then ſheepe without their ſhepheard. All which ſignifieth no leſſe (ſaid he) but that the reſt of the people returning home in ſafetie, *Achab* onely ſhould be ſlaine in the battell. When *Micheas* had ſpoken after this manner; *Achab* turning himſelfe towards *Ioſaphat*,ſaid vnto him,I told you before this, how this fellow was affected towards mee. But *Micheas* conſtantly auowed,that he prophecied nothing but that which God had commanded him to ſpeake, aſſuring *Achab* that he was ſollicited by the falſe prophets vnto warre vnder hope of victory,whereas he ſhould aſſuredly periſh in the battell. Theſe words of his made *Achab* much diſcomforted. But *Sedechias* one of the falſe prophets ſtepped forth, and exhorted him to ſet light by *Micheas* words, the rather for that hee ſpake vntruly. And in confirmation of this his allegation hee alleadged *Elias*, (who was a farre more skilfull Prophet in foretelling things to come, then *Micheas* was) yet that the ſame *Elias* had foretold that the dogs ſhould lick *Achabs* blood in the citie of Iezrael in the field of *Naboth*, becauſe *Naboth* had beene ſtoned to death by the inſtance of *Achab*. Whereby it appeared manifeſtly,that ſince he contradicted a Prophet ſo excellent as he was,he lyed in ſaying that the King ſhould die within three daies. Moreouer (ſaid he)it ſhall appeare whether he be truly ſent from God or no,if as ſoone as he ſhall receiue a buffet from me,he cauſe my hand to wither,according as *Iadon* made *Ieroboams* hand ſhrinke,at ſuch time as he thought to apprehend him. For I thinke (ſaid he) O King,that thou art aſſuredly informed hereof: which ſaid, hee ſtrooke him, and for that no inconuenient fell vpon him,by reaſon of that his audacious attempt, *Achab* aſſured himſelfe,and recouered his courage,and forwardly ſet forth againſt the Aſſyrian army. For as it is to be ſuppoſed,the wil of God was of ſuch power,that it cauſed the falſe prophets to triumph ouer the true: which was the cauſe that the falſe prophets were truſted more then the true, to the intent that Gods preordained will might be fulfilled. But *Sedechias* made him yron hornes,and ſaid vnto *Achab*, that God by them ſignified vnto him that he ſhould ruinate all Syria. But *Micheas* prophecied to the contrary,that within very few daies *Sedechias* ſhould walke from caue to caue to hide himſelfe,and auoid the puniſhment of his falſhood. *Achab* diſpleaſed hereat,commanded that he ſhould be led thence,and kept priſoner with *Achmon* the Gouernour of the citie,yeelding him no other allowance but bread and water for his ſuſtenance. Thus marched theſe two Kings with their armies againſt Ramath which is in Galaad: which whē the King of Syria vnderſtood, he drew his army into the field, and came out to meet with them,and incamped neere vnto Ramath. Now was it concluded betwixt theſe two confederate Kings, that *Achab* ſhould enter the battell in a priuate habit, and *Ioſaphat* ſhould be inueſted with the royall ornaments, and ſupply

The falſe prophets prophecie plauſibly.

Micheas the true Propher.

Hedio & Ruffinus,chap.15.

3.*Reg.*22.*al.*12. Achab and Ioſaphats war againſt the Syrians.

Achabs perſon in the battell, to the intent that *Micheas* prediction might be made fruſtrate. But notwithſtanding this popular diſguiſe, Gods iuſtice preuented him: For *Adad* King of Syria commanded his army, that they ſhould put no one of the enemie to the ſword, but onely the King of Iſrael.

The yeere of the world, 3047. before Chriſts birth, 917.

As ſoone as charge was giuen, the Syrians perceiuing *Ioſaphat* in the front of the army, and coniecturing that it was *Achab*, they made head altogether againſt him, and hauing inuironed and preſſed him very neerely, they perceiued that it was not he: for which cauſe they retyred backe againe. But although they had fought from the morning vntill the euening, and had the vpper hand; yet ſlew they no man (becauſe they ſought after no other but *Achab* to put him to the ſword) whom notwithſtanding they could by no meanes meete withall. At length one of *Adads* ſeruants called *Aman*, ſhot at random amongſt the enemies, and by fortune hurt *Achab* in the breſt, and ſhot him thorow the lungs. This hurt of his concealed he from his ſouldiers, for feare leſt they ſhould be diſcomforted. For which cauſe hee commanded his Coachman to driue his Charriot out of the battell, for that he felt himſelfe grieuouſly and mortally wounded: and although he were terribly pained, yet ſate he in his Charriot vntill Sun-ſet; at which time his heart failed him, and he gaue vp the ghoſt. When night came, the Syrian army withdrew themſelues into their campe: and receiuing tidings by an Herauld, that *Achab* was dead, euery one retired home vnto his houſe: but *Achabs* body was conueyed to Samaria, and interred in that place. As for his charriot, it was waſhed in the fountaine of Iezrael, becauſe it had beene bebloodied, by reaſon of the Kings hurt: whereby the truth of *Elias* prediction was ratified, and confirmed: for the dogs lickt his blood; and from that time forward the common women continually waſhed themſelues in that fountaine. He dyed alſo in Ramath (according as *Micheas* had foreprophecied.) Whereas therefore all things befortuned *Achab*, according as two Prophets had foretold him, it appeareth that we ought to honour and magnifie the Maieſtie of God in all places, and to reuerence his prophecies deliuered by them, and to aſcribe alwaies more credit vnto them, then to the vaine and plauſible ſpeech of ſuch as curry fauour; and no leſſe to reſpect them, then things of infinit profit, ſince by them we are diuinely admoniſhed what wee ought to take heed of. It behooueth vs alſo to conſider what force the ordinance of God is of, by examining thoſe things which befell *Achab*. For it is impoſſible to auoid the preordinance of God, notwithſtanding that men flatter and nouriſh themſelues with vaine hopes, which inueigle them ſo farre, that finally they are ouertaken in the ſnares thereof. For this careleſſe inconſideration was fatall to King *Achab*, in that he beleeued not his death which was foretold him; but being deceiued by the flattering perſwaſions of falſe prophets, ranne headlong vpon his owne danger and death. After him ſucceeded his ſonne *Ochozias*.

Achab wounded by an arrow in the battell, dyeth.

The dogges licke Achabs blood according to Elias prediction.

The oracles of the Prophets are to be reuerenced.

The match-leſſe neceſſitie of fate.

THE NINTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES: WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the ninth Booke.

1 Ioram Achabs *ſonne ouercommeth the Moabites in battell.*
2 Ioram *King of Ieruſalem obtaining the Crowne, killeth his brothers and his fathers friends.*
3 Iorams *armie is ouerthrowne by his enemies, and his ſonnes are ſlaine, onely one excepted, at length he himſelfe dyeth a miſerable death.*
4 *The King of Damaſco warreth againſt the King of Iſrael.*
5 Ioram *with all his poſteritie is ſlaine by* Iehu, Ochozias *King of Ieruſalem is ſlaine alſo.*
6 Iehu *raigneth amongſt the Iſraelites in Samaria, and his poſteritie after him till the fourth generation.*
7 Athalia *raigneth fiue yeeres in Ieruſalem: and after ſhee is ſlaine by the high Prieſt,* Ioas Ochozias *ſonne is proclaimed King.*
8 Azael *King of Damaſco gathereth an armie, firſt againſt the Iſraelites, and afterwards againſt Ieruſalem.*

9 Amaſias

9 Amasias *King of Ierusalem maketh warre against the Idumæans and Amalechites, and obtaineth the victory.*
10 Amasias *making warre against* Ioas, *King of the Israelites, is ouercome.*
11 Ozias *ouercommeth the nation round about him.*
12 Rasin *or* Rabe *King of Damasco vexeth the inhabitants of Ierusalem with warre.* Achar *their King is compelled to call the King of Assyria to assist him.*
13 *The King of Assyria taketh Damasco by force, and slaieth the King, and translateth the people into Media, and planteth other Colonies in the same.*
14 Salmanazar *taking the King of Israel captiue, translateth ten of the twelue Tribes into Media, and causeth the Cuthæans to inhabite their region.*

CHAP. I.

IORAM ACHABS *sonne, ouercommeth the Moabites in battell.*

The yeere of the world, 3048. before Christs Natiuitie, 916.

AS soone as King *Iosaphat* was returned backe againe to Ierusalem (from the warre wherein he had giuen succour to *Achab* against *Adad* the King of Syria, as we haue heretofore declared) the Prophet *Iehu* (in his returne) came forth and met him, and reproued him, becausse he had giuen *Achab* (who had bin a man both impious and wicked) his assistance, assuring him that God was displeased with that his confederacy; yet notwithstanding that he of his goodnesse had deliuered him from his enemies, although contrary vnto his dutie, he had demeaned himselfe vniustly. After this admonition, *Iosaphat* began to celebrate sacrifices, and to offer vp thankesgiuings and peace offerings vnto God: Which done, he rode in progresse and circuit round about those countries that were vnder his dominion, giuing order that the people should be instructed in those ordinances which were deliuered from God by the hands of *Moses*, and exhorted his subiects to the practice of piety, contained in the same. He planted Iudges likewise in euery city, cõmanding them to execute iustice vnto the people, without respect of any thing, but only iustice. He charged them likewise, that they should not be corrupted with rewards, or seduced by dignity, riches, or nobility, but that they should doe iustice indifferently vnto all men, knowing that God seeth all things, how secretly soeuer they be carried or contriued. Hauing in this sort ordered euery thing in each City of the two Tribes, he returned again into Ierusalem, where he likewise chose Iudges from amongst the Priests and Leuites, and the Elders among the people, exhorting them in all things to giue vpright and exact iudgement. And if they of other cities had any causes of greater consequence (which should be referred to their finall determination) he charged them with earnest industry, to decide them with as vpright and iust measure as might be: for that it was very conuenient that the most exact and accomplished sentences should be deliuered in that City, whereas God had his Temple, and the King made his ordinary abode. Ouer all these he placed his two friends, *Amasias* the Priest, and *Zabadias* of the tribe of *Iuda*. After this manner did the King dispose of his estate.

4. Reg. 4. 2. Paral. 19. 20. Iehu the Prophet reprehended Iosaphat for helping Achab. Iosaphat reneweth the true seruice of God. Iosaphat placed Iudges and Magistrates in euery City.

About this very time the Moabites and Ammonites (and with them their confederates a great number of Arabians) assaulted and assembled themselues against him, and encamped themselues neere vnto Engaddi (a City situate neere vnto the lake Asphaltites, and distant from Ierusalem some three hundred stounds) in which place flourish those goodly & wholesome Palme-trees, whence distilleth the pure and perfect liquor of Balme. When *Iosaphat* had intelligence that the enemies had past the lake, and were already farre entred into his countrey, he was afraid, and assembled the people of Ierusalem in the Temple, and standing vpright, and turning his face toward the propitiatorie, he besought and requested God that he would giue him power and force to ouercome his enemies. For such had beene the forme of their supplication, who in times past builded the Temple: namely, that it might please him to fight for that City, and oppose himselfe against those that durst attempt or assault that place, to the intent to dispossesse them of that country which he himself had giuen them in possession; and in pronouncing this praier he wept: and all the people likewise, both men, women and children made their request vnto God. Presently vpon this, a certaine Prophet called *Iaziel* arose vp in the midst of the congregation, and cryed out, and certified both the people and the King, that God had heard their praiers, & promised them to fight for them against their enemies, enioyning them the next day to sally out in armes, and go & make head against their aduersaries, whom they should encounter in the mountaine

The Moabites and Ammonites war against Iosaphat.

Iosaphats prayer in the Temple of Ierusalem for victory.

Iaziel the Prophet assureth them of victory.

The yeere of the world, 3048. before Christs Natiuitie, 916.

taine ſituate betwixt Ieruſalem and Engaddi, in a place called the hillocke of *Sis* (which place in Hebrew ſignifieth Eminency) willing them not to fight againſt them, but onely to arreſt in that place, and ſee how God would fight and make warre for them. When the Prophet had ſpoken theſe words, the King and all the people proſtrated themſelues vpon their faces, giuing thanks vnto God and adoring: meane while the Leuites ſung continuall hymnes, with inſtruments and voices. About the beginning of the day, the King departed into the deſart that is vnder the city of Thecoa, aduiſing the people to beleeue all that which the Prophet had ſaid vnto them, and not to arrange themſelues in battell ray: he commanded the Prieſts to march before them with their Trumpets, and the Leuites that they ſhould ſing hymnes and thankſgiuing vnto God, as if (ſaid he) our countrey were already deliuered from our enemies.

The manner and weapons whereby Ioſaphat ouercame his enemies.

This aduice of the Kings ſeemed pleaſing vnto them al; ſo that they performed whatſoeuer he counſelled them. But God ſent a great terror & diſorder among the Barbarians: ſo that ſuppoſing themſelues to be enemies the one againſt the other, they ſlew one another in ſuch ſort, that of ſo great & huge an hoſt, there was not one that eſcaped. But *Ioſaphat* looking down into the valley (wherin the enemies had pitcht their tents) and ſeeing it full of dead men, reioyced greatly at the vnexpected ſuccors that God had ſent him, who had giuen them the victory, not by the dint of their owne ſwords, but by his prouidence and power onely. He therefore permitted his army to make pillage of the enemies camp, and to ſpoile the dead; & ſo great was the multitude of them that were ſlaine, that ſcarcely they could gather the ſpoiles of them in three dayes ſpace. On the fourth day, the people aſſembled together in a valley and hollow place, where they bleſſed God for the power and ſuccours he had ſent them, by reaſon whereof the place was called the valley of Benediction. From thence the King led backe his army into Ieruſalem, and for diuers daies he ſpent the time in offering ſacrifices and making feaſts. After this diſcomfiture of his enemies was publiſhed abroad in the eares of forrain nations, they were al of them afraid, ſuppoſing that God did manifeſtly expreſſe his power, and extend his fauour towards him. And from that time forwards, *Ioſaphat* liued in great glory, in iuſtice, and piety. He likewiſe was a friend to the King of Iſrael that raigned at that time, who was *Achabs* ſon, with whom he aduentured in a voyage by ſea, intending to traffique with certaine Merchants of Tharſis, but he had a great loſſe: for his ſhips were caſt away by reaſon, they were ouer-great; and for this cauſe he had neuer more mind to exerciſe nauigation. Hitherto haue we ſpoken of *Ioſaphat* King of Ieruſalem.

The Ammonites & their confederates kill one another.

The ſpoiles of the Ammonites.

The fame and praiſe of Ioſaphat in euery place.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 2.

Ochozias Achabs ſonne king of Iſrael.

But as touching *Ochozias*, *Achabs* ſonne, who raigned ouer Iſrael, and was reſident in Samaria, he was a wicked man, and reſembled his father and mother euery way in his impieties, and was nothing inferiour to *Ieroboam* in wickednes, who firſt fell from God, and made the Iſraelites reuolt from him. The tenth yeer of his raign, the King of the Moabites rebelled againſt him, and denied to pay him thoſe tributes which he was wont to pay vnto *Achab* his father. But it came to paſſe that as *Ochozias* aſcended the ſtaires of his palace, he fell downe from the top thereof: and being ſicke of the fall, he ſent to Accaron vnto the god called the Myiodis or Flie, to inquire whether he ſhould recouer that ſickneſſe or no. But the God of the Hebrewes appeared to *Elias* the Prophet, and commanded him to goe and meet thoſe meſſengers that were ſent by *Ochozias*, and to aske them if the people of the Iſraelites had not a God, but that the King ſent to forraine gods to enquire of his health? and to charge them to returne and declare vnto their King, that he ſhould not eſcape that ſickneſſe. *Elias* did that which God had ordained; and the meſſengers of the King hauing vnderſtood that which was declared vnto them, returned backe againe with all expedition vnto him.

4. *Reg.* 1. Ochozias hauing a grieuous fall, ſeeketh to be informed of a falſe Oracle, and is reproued by Elias.

Ochozias maruailing much at their ſudden repaire, asked them the cauſe thereof: who anſwered him, that a certaine man came vnto them, who forbad them to paſſe any further, but to ſhorten their way, to let your Maieſtie know (ſaid they) from God, that your ſicknes ſhall waxe worſe and worſe. Hereupon the King commanded them to deſcribe what manner of man he was that ſpake theſe words vnto them: who anſwered, that he was a hairy man, girded with a leatherne belt. And vnderſtanding hereby that it was *Elias*, he ſent a Captaine with fiftie ſouldiers vnto him, commanding him to bring the Prophet priſoner vnto him. This Captaine that was ſent, perceiuing *Elias* ſitting on the top of a mountaine, commanded him to come downe and repaire vnto the King, who had ſent for him; which if he performed not preſently and willingly, hee threatned him to make him doe it perforce. *Elias* anſwered and ſaid vnto him, To the end thou maiſt know by thine owne experience that I am a true Prophet, I will pray that fire may fall from heauen, and conſume both thee and thy ſouldiers. And incontinently after *Elias* had prayed, lightning fell downe from heauen, and conſumed both the Captaine and his ſouldiers.

Elias forme and habit.

Ochozias ſouldiers ſent to fetch Elias, are conſumed with lightning.

When

A When the King had tidings of this losse, he was sore displeased, and sent another Captain to *Elias*, with the like number of souldiers as the first had, who threatned the Prophet that if he wold not willingly come downe, he would violently pull him thence; but *Elias* praied that fire might fall from heauen, and incontinently both he and his were consumed in like manner as the first. When the King had vnderstanding likewise how his second messengers had sped, he sent a third vnto him, who being a discreet man, and courteous in condition, arriuing in the place where by chance *Elias* was, he saluted him very courteously, and said vnto him, that contrary to his owne will, and to no other purpose but to fulfill the Kings pleasure, he was come vnto him; and that they that were sent with him, came not thither voluntarily, but by the same command: He therB fore required him to haue compassion both of him and of his souldiers, and to vouchsafe to come downe, and to come after them vnto the King. *Elias* tooke pleasure in this his discreet and courteous demeanour, so as he descended and followed him. As soone as he came before the Kings presence, he prophecied, and told him that God said, that sith he had despised him, and so lightly accounted of him as if he had bin no God, or else such a one as had no power to foretell him any truth as touching his sicknes; but that he had sent to the gods of the Accaronites, to demand of them as touching the successe of his sicknes: Know (said he) that thou shalt die. And not long time after (according to the prophecy) he died in such manner as *Elias* had foretold him, and his brother *Ioram* succeeded him in the Kingdome, because he departed without issue.

This *Ioram* was a wicked man also, and as impious as his father: for, abandoning the seruice C of the true God, he restored strange gods. In al things else he was a man of execution. In his time *Elias* was no more seen amongst men, and vntill this day no man knoweth what his end was. But he left a disciple behind him called *Elizeus* (as we haue heretofore declared.) It is written in holy writ as touching *Elias*, and *Enoch* who was before the Deluge, that they vanished: for no man hath knowne of their deaths. After that *Ioram* had taken possession of the Kingdome, he resolued to make war vpon *Misa* the King of the Moabites (who paid *Achab* his father before him the tribute of two hundred thousand sheepe bearing wooll.) When as therefore he had assembled his forces, he sent vnto *Iosaphat*, requiring him that sith he had been his fathers friend, he would likewise second and send him aide in his intended warre against the Moabites, who had as then newly reuolted from his gouernment. *Iosaphat* not onely promised him to yeeld him succours, D but moreouer he assured him that he would draw the king of Idumæa (who was his subiect) into their association. When *Ioram* vnderstood these things by those whom he had sent vnto *Iosaphat*, he tooke his army with him and repaired to Ierusalem, where he was magnificently receiued and entertained by the King of that City: where, after they had concluded to march thorow the desart of Idumæa, and that way to charge the enemy (in that they expected nothing lesse then to bee endangered on that side) these three Kings departed together from Ierusalem, namely, the King of Ierusalem, the King of Samaria, and the King of Idumæa. Now when they had marched some seuen daies iourney, they found a great scarcity of water amongst them, both to water their horses, & to refresh their whole army, by reason that their guides had led them astray out of the high way: so that they were in great want, and in especiall *Ioram*, who by reason of the necessity E wherewith he was pressed, cried vnto God, expostulating with him for what offence of his hee would betray three such Kings as were there present, into the hands of the king of Moab without stroke strooken. But *Iosaphat*, who was a vertuous man, encouraged him, and sent into the armie to know whether there were any Prophet of God that had followed them to the battell, to the intent (said he) that we may vnderstand by God what we ought to doe: and whereas one of the seruants of *Ioram* said, that he had seene *Elizeus* the sonne of *Saphat*, the disciple of *Elias*, all the three Kings (by the sollicitation of *Iosaphat*) resorted vnto him. Now when they drew neere vnto the Prophets tent (which he had pitched apart from the rest of the company) they asked him what should become of the army? and *Ioram* in especiall questioned with him. To whom *Elizeus* answered, that he had no reason to sollicite him in this sort, but to repaire vnto his fathers and mothers prophets, who would certifie him the truth. Notwithstanding, *Ioram* intreated him F that he would prophecy, and continue the preseruation of the army, and the defence of his life: but *Elizeus* sware by the liuing God, that he would answer him nothing, except for *Iosaphats* sake, who was an vpright man, and such a one as feared God. Afterwards calling vnto them a certaine man that could cunningly play vpon instruments (for so had the Prophet commanded) whilst he sung, *Elizeus* was rauished with a diuine spirit, and enioyned the Kings to make certain trenches in the channell of the riuer: for (said hee) you shall see the riuer full of water without either winde, cloud, or raine: so that both the whole Army and all their Cattell shall be saued, and

The yeere of the world, 3048. before Christs Natiuitie, 916.

The yeere of the world, 3049. before the Natiuitie of Christ, 915.

Ochozias dying without issue, Ioram his brother raigned in his steade.

Elias, according as Enoch, was taken from the sight of men. Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 3. 4. *King.* 3. Elizeus. Ioram asketh aide against the Moabites.

Want of water in the Hebrew armie.

The Kings seeke for counsell at Elizeus hands.

Elizeus foreprophecieth store of water, and their victory.

The yeere of the world, 3049. before Christs Natiuitie, 915.

and ſufficiently ſuſtained: and God wil not onely beſtow theſe benefits on you, but will giue you the vpper hand of your enemies alſo; and you ſhall ſurprize the faireſt and ſtrongeſt Cities of the Moabites; and you ſhall cut downe their trees, ruinate their countrey, and fill vp their fountaines and riuers. When the Prophet had ſpoken thus, the next day before Sun-riſe the riuer flowed aboundantly with water: for ſome three daies iourney off, God had ſuffered a very ſtrong and ſettled raine to fall in Idumæa; ſo that both the ſouldiers and their horſes were ſufficiently refreſhed and watered. When the Moabites were informed that the three Kings came out againſt them, and tooke their way thorow the deſart, their King preſently aſſembled his army, and commanded them to keepe the paſſages of the mountaines, to the end they might hinder the enemy from entring their countrey vnawares. Who beholding about the Sunne-riſe, that the water of the riuer was blood red (for at that time it aroſe in the countrey of Moab, and at this houre the water is red) they conceiued a falſe opinion, that the three Kings being preſſed by thirſt, had ſlaine one another, and that the riuer flowed with their blood. Being in this ſort ſeduced with this imagination, they beſought the King to giue them leaue to gather their enemies ſpoiles: which when they had obtained, they altogether conſiderately marched forth as if to a prey already prepared for them, and came vnto the Kings camps vnder hope to finde no man to reſiſt them. But their hope deceiued them: for their enemies enuironed them round about, and ſome of them were cut in pieces, the reſt turned backe and fled towards their owne countrey, and the three Kings entring into the territories of the Moabites, deſtroyed their Cities, pillaged the champaine countrey, disfigured their incloſures, filling them with ſtones and mud taken out of the riuer, cut downe their faireſt trees, ſtopped vp the ſources of their waters, and leuelled their walles with the ground. The King of the Moabites himſelfe, ſeeing himſelfe purſued and beſieged, and that his Citie was in danger to be taken perforce, ſallied out very valiantly with ſeuen hundred men, hoping by the ſwiftneſſe of his horſe, to breake thorow the Iſraelites campe on that ſide where he thought it was leaſt defenced. Which when he had attempted and could not execute, becauſe he charged on that ſide which was beſt defended, hee returned backe againe into the Citie, and committed a deſperate and hatefull action: for he tooke his eldeſt ſonne, who ought in right to ſucceed him in the kingdome, and ſet him on the wall of the Citie, and in the ſight of all his enemies offered him for a burnt ſacrifice vnto God. The Kings beholding this wofull ſpectacle, were mooued with compaſſion of his neceſſity, and ouercome with humanitie and mercy, left the ſiege, and returned backe againe into their countries. After that *Ioſaphat* was returned into Ieruſalem, he enioyed a peaceable gouernment, but liued not long time after this exploit, but died when he was threeſcore yeeres old, in the fiue and twentieth yeere of his raigne, and was magnificently buried in Ieruſalem, according as the ſucceſſour of *Dauids* vertue and kingdome ought to be entombed.

A wonderfull blindneſſe of the enemy grounded on the redneſſe of the water that flowed.

The victory of the Hebrewes againſt the Moabites.

The King of the Moabites ſacrificeth his owne ſonne.

Ioſaphats death.

CHAP. II.

IORAM *obtaining the kingdome of Ieruſalem, ſlew his brothers and his fathers friends.*

The yeere of the world, 3050. before Christs Natiuitie, 914.

HE left behind him diuers children, the eldeſt of whom he appointed his ſucceſſor in the kingdome, who was called *Ioram* (as his vncle was, who was his mothers brother and *Achabs* ſonne whilome King of Iſrael.) The King of the ten tribes turning backe vnto Samaria, kept with him the Prophet *Elizeus*, whoſe actiõs I will here recite, becauſe they are notable & deſerue to be regiſtred in writing, according as we haue gathered thẽ out of holy Scriptures. *Obedias* wife (who was ſometime ſteward of *Achabs* houſe) came vnto him & told him, that he was not ignorant that in that perſecution wherein *Iezabel* ſought to murther the Prophets, how her husband ſaued one hundreth of them, for whoſe priuate maintenance he had borrowed much money of other men; and that now being dead, his creditors ſtroue to draw both her & her children into ſeruitude. For which cauſe ſhe beſought him in conſideration of this act, to haue compaſſion on her husband, and to yeeld her ſome ſuccour. Hereon *Elizeus* asked her if ſhe had any thing in her houſe: who anſwered him, that ſhe had nothing but a very little oyle left her in an earthen pot. Whereupon the Prophet commanded her to depart, and to borrow diuers emptie veſſels of her neighbour: that done, he willed her to locke vp her doores, and to powre oyle into the veſſels, in that it was Gods pleaſure to fill them all. The woman did according as he had commanded her, and all the veſſels were found full, ſo as none of them were emptie: whereof when ſhe had certified the Prophet, he aduiſed her to go and deliuer her oyle, and pay her debts, and

Ioram Ioſaphats ſonne King of Ieruſalem. 4. Reg. 4.

Elizeus commandeth the widdow to fill her emptie veſſels with oyle.

A and when all was paid, hee assured her that there would be some remainder, that might serue to sustaine both her and her children.

The yeere of the world, 3050. before Christs Natiuitie, 924.

By this meanes *Elizeus* discharged the widow of her debts, and that trouble which her creditors intended against her. He admonished *Ioram* likewise, by certaine messengers, that he should take heed of a certaine place wherein the Syrians lay in ambush, intending to slay him: by meanes of which admonition the King went not out on hunting. But *Adad* being sore displeased, because his ambushment was discouered, began to suspect his owne followers: whereupon calling vnto him his houshold seruants, hee maliciously tearmed them traitors; and furthermore threatned them with death, for that they had discouered a matter, which was only committed to their

Elizeus aduiseth Ioram to auoid Adads ambush, who lay in wait to kill him.

B trust, vnto his enemy. Whereupon one of the assistants told him, that he ought not to conceiue that false opinion of them, neither suspect that they had discouered his intended ambush to cut off his enemy: but rather that hee ought to conceiue, that the Prophet *Elizeus* had discouered and discoursed all that which was intended against him. Whereupon hee sent out his souldiers with an expresse charge, to know in what City *Elizeus* made his ordinary aboad: who returning backe, brought him newes that he remained in Dothaim: For which cause *Adad* sent a great number of horsemen and charriots to Dothaim to lay hold on *Elizeus*, who begirt the Citie by night, and laid watch round about the walles, that no man might escape them. Early in the morning when the Prophets seruant had notice hereof, and was aduertised that the enemies sought to surprize *Elizeus*, he fearefully hasted and discouered their intent to his master, who encoura-

4 Reg. 6. Elizeus is besieged in Dothaim by his enemy.

C ged him and commanded him to shake off his feare, for that he held himselfe both secured and assured of Gods helpe: whereupon he prayed God that at that present he would shew his power & assistance both toward the reliefe of his necessitie, & the confirmation & incouragement of his seruant. At that time God hearing his prayer, presented to the Prophets seruants sight, a number of charriots, and horsemen that inuironed *Elizeus*; so that he laid his feare aside, and was assured when he perceiued these succours. That done, *Elizeus* besought God againe that he would blind his enemies eyes, and cause a thicke cloud to fall vpon them, to the end they might not discouer him. Which done, he presently thrust himselfe amongst the thickest of his enemies, demanding of them, whom they came to seeke for? They answered him that they sought for the Prophet *Elizeus*: he promised them to deliuer him into their hands, if so be they would come with

The Angels about Elizeus the Prophet.

D him into the City where he was. They blinded in eyes, and depraued in vnderstanding by God, followed the Prophet willingly, who marched before them. When as therefore *Elizeus* had brought them into Samaria, he willed King *Ioram* to locke the gates, and to inuiron the Syrians with his souldiers. This performed, he prayed God that he would cleere the Syrians sight, and take away the cloud that obscured their eies, who being deliuered from their blindnesse, perceiued that they were in the midst of their enemies. Whereat being sore astonied, and vncertaine whence this diuine and vnexpected act had befallen them, King *Ioram* asked the Prophet whether he should kill them with darts. But *Elizeus* forbad him to doe so: for (said he) it is a iust and conuenient matter, that they who are taken by order of warre, should lose their life, but that they had done no euill vnto his countrey; but by Gods prouidence came thither without their

Elizeus leadeth the Syrians blinded into Samaria, where by his perswasion they are courteously entertained and presented by Ioram, and sent home.

E owne knowledge: for which cause he counselled him to giue them presents, and present them meate, and afterwards to suffer them to depart without any iniurie.

Ioram giuing credit to the Prophets words, entertained the Syrians magnificently and with great humanity, and sent them backe vnto *Adad* their King, to whom vpon their arriuall they declared all that which had hapned vnto them. *Adad* astonished at this vnexpected euent, and wondring at the apparition and power of the God of the Israelites; lastly admiring the Prophet whom God so wondrously assisted; he concluded from that time forward, neuer more to attempt the King of Israel in secret, because he feared *Elizeus*; but concluded to make open war against him, hoping to haue the vpper hand of his enemies, by meanes of the great number and force of his army: So that he issued out with a mighty power against *Ioram*; who supposing himselfe to be ouermatched by the Syrian army, locked himselfe vp within Samaria, putting his trust

Hedio & Russinus. chap. 4.

F and confidence in the fortification and strength of the wals thereof. *Adad* hoping to surprize the city, if not by engins, at least wise by famine & default of things necessary, drew neer vnto Samaria to besiege it. But *Ioram* was so destitute of conuenient supplies, that by reason of the incredible want of victuals, an Asses head was sold in Samaria for eightie pieces of siluer, and a measure of pigeons dung at fiue pieces of siluer, which they vsed in stead of salt: neither was there any thing that more troubled the King, then that hee feared lest some one constrained by famine, should deliuer or betray the City vnto the enemy. For which cause hee euery day walked the round

Samaria besieged by the Syrians.

The yeere of the world, 3050. before the Natiuitie of Christ, 914.

round about the walls, and visited the Sentinels of the city, for feare lest any one should lye hid- G
den within: and with all care and diligence he gaue order, that if any one had such a sinister intent, the meanes to execute the same should be taken from him. And whereas a certaine woman cryed out vnto him, Haue mercy vpon me, O King; he incensed with wrath, and supposing that she asked him some meat, began to raile on her, telling her that he had neither grange nor presse whereby he might any wayes supply her necessity.

The woman answered him, that she had no neede thereof, and that she was not troubled for want of food, but onely desired that he would determine a debate betwixt her and another woman: Whereupon he commanded her to expresse and declare what shee required. Hereupon she said, that she had made an accord with another woman her neighbour and friend, that sith the H
famine and scarcity was such, as they could find no redresse for the same, that they should kill their children (for each of them had one) and in this sort should nourish one another euery day. As for my self (said she) I haue first of all strangled mine, and we haue both of vs yesterday eaten thereof: but now she will not do the like, but breaketh the accord betwixt vs, and concealeth her child. *Ioram* was grieuously tormented to heare these words, and rent his garments, and cried out with a loud voice, and afterwards wholly enraged against the Prophet, he deuised in his heart to put him to death, because he praied not vnto God to grant him meanes to escape those euils that inuironed them round about: so that he sent a man presently to cut off his head; who prepared himselfe with all expedition to the slaughter. But *Elizeus* was not ignorant of this resolution of the Kings: for sitting at home with his disciples in his house, he told them that *Ioram* the murtherers sonne sent a man to take away his head: but (said he) when as he that hath the matter in I
charge shall come hither, suffer him not to enter, but make him attend & stay at the gate; for the King will follow him, & will resort to me in his owne person, hauing altered his resolution: and they according as they were commanded, shut him out of the doores whom the King had sent. *Ioram* repenting himselfe of that displeasure which he had conceiued against the Prophet, and fearing lest he that had the commission to murther him should speedily execute the same, hasted himselfe all that he might to hinder the slaughter, and saue *Elizeus*. When as therefore he came into his presence, he accused him, for that he had not besought God to deliuer them from those many euils which they suffered; considering that he himselfe was an eye-witnesse, they were miserably consumed by them. *Elizeus* promised him the next day (about the same houre that the K
King came vnto him) that he should haue so great aboundance of victuals, that two measures of barley should be sold in the market for a sicle, and a measure of flower for a sicle.

The famine so great in Samaria, that women eate their owne children.

Ioram threateneth Elizeus death. 3 *Reg.* 7.

By these words of his, the King with all his attendants were wonderfully comforted, and made no difficultie to beleeue the Prophet, because that before-time they had beene ascertained by their experience of the truth of his prophecies; and the expectation of this day, was the cause that the necessitie and misery of the present was more patiently endured. But a certaine friend of the Kings, and the Gouernour of the third part of his army (on whose shoulder the King at that time hapned familiarly to leane) spake vnto him after this manner: Prophet, thou tellest vs incredible matters: for as it is impossible that God should raine downe heapes of barley & flowre from heauen, so cannot that which thou speakest come to passe. To whom the Prophet replyed: Thou L
thy selfe (said he) shalt see the issue hereof, but shalt partake no part thereof. Which prediction of his had a most certaine effect, according as hereafter it appeareth.

3 *Reg.* 7.

It was a custome in Samaria, that they that were defiled with a leprosie, should liue without the Citie walles, for feare lest their conuersation might infect others: and at that time also there were some who for this cause had their dwelling without the gate. These, for that (by reason of the extreme famine that raigned within the City) they receiued no reliefe or sustenance out of the same, & whether they had licence to returne into the City, or whether they contained themselues in their houses, they knew that they should assuredly perish by famine; decreed amongst themselues to submit themselues to the enemies mercy, to the end that if they spared them, they might liue; and if it hapned otherwise, that they might die with lesse torture. Now hauing resol- M
ued vpon this deliberation amongst themselues, they repaired by night vnto the enemies campe. At that time God began to terrifie and trouble the Syrians, and to fill their eares with a noise of charriots and armes, as if an army had violently charged them. Whereupon they grew suspicious and were so moued, that they forsooke their tents, and ranne vnto *Adad*, and told him that *Ioram* King of the Israelites had entertained the King of Egypt, & the King of the Iles for his confederates, whom he led out against them, & how already they had heard the noise of thē that approched to bid them the battell. *Adad* (whose eares were filled with no lesse rumor then those of the people)

The enemies flight by reason of a terror that God sent among them.

people) was amated and amazed at their ſayings: ſo that all of them abandoned their campe, their horſes,beaſts of carriage,and riches,and betooke them to flight with diſorder & confuſion. Thoſe Lepers that were retired from Samaria into the enemies campe (and of whom wee haue heretofore made ſome mention)being neer vnto the camp,perceiued that there was great ſilence in the ſame,and no leſſe aboundance of all things: for which cauſe approching the ſame,and entring into a tent,they found no body therin:for which cauſe they fell to eating and drinking,and that done,to beare away a quantity of rayment,and gold which they hid without the camp. Afterward reſorting to another tent, they bare away likewiſe that which was therein, and did the like by foure others without any encountry or contradiction of any man:and coniecturing therby that the enemies were retired, they began to accuſe themſelues, becauſe they had not giuen notice thereof to *Ioram*,and the inhabitants of Samaria. For which cauſe drawing neere vnto the walles of the City,they cried out vnto the watch, giuing them to vnderſtand in what eſtate they had found the enemies campe, who ſignified no leſſe to *Ioramꝰ* guard,ſo that at laſt it came vnto his eares. Whereupon he preſently ſent for his friends and Captains, and told them that the departure of the Syrians made him ſuſpect ſome ſtratageme or ambuſh: for they (ſaid he) hauing loſt their hope to ſurprize vs by famine,are retired vnder an intent, that when we ſhall iſſue and fall a ſpoyling of their campe,they may come vpon vs, and kill vs; and afterwards take our city without any ſtroke ſtrooken. For which cauſe (ſaid he) I aduiſe you to keepe good guard within the City, and let this retreat of our enemies make vs the more conſiderate. Some one of his Councell praiſed this aduice of his,& allowed his foreſight,aduiſing him to ſend out two ſcouts vpon horſebacke,to ſearch euery quarter betwixt that and Iordan, to the end that if they ſhould be taken and ſlaine by the enemies ambuſhment,their fall might be a preſident to the whole army to ſtand vpon their guard (for feare leſt they ſhould be ſurprized in like manner:)vrging this for a concluſion, that the loſſe of two horſemen ſhould not be very great, ſince perhaps they might otherwaies haue beene cut off by famine. This aduice of his was allowed by the King,and ratified by his aſſiſtants:ſo that preſently there were two ſpies ſent out,who rode along without encountring any enemy; but they met with great quantity of victuals, and armes caſt away and abandoned by the Syrians, to the intent they might flie away the more lightly. Which when the King vnderſtood, hee ſuffered the people to iſſue out, and ſpoile the campe, who recouered things of no ſmall value therein,but much gold and ſiluer,and troupes of all ſorts of cattell: and beſides that,they found ſo great a quantity of wheat and barley,that had they dreamed thereof, they could not hope or imagine the like. Thus were they deliuered from all their precedent afflictions: for there was ſo great quantity of corne, that two meaſures of barley were ſold but for one ſicle,and a meaſure of wheat-flower for a ſicle;according as *Elizeus* had prophecied. Now the meaſure which we call Sat, containeth an Italian buſhell and the halfe. But the Captaine of the third part of the army,was he onely that enioyed no part of this benefit:for being appointed by the King to haue the keeping of the gate,and to reſtraine the multitude from headlong preſſing out, for feare leſt thruſting one another, ſome of them ſhould be trodden vnder foote and ſlaine,he himſelfe was trodden vpon and ſlaine (according as the Prophet had foretold) for that he onely amongſt the reſt,would not giue credit to that which he had ſaid,as touching the great aboundance of victuals that ſhould happen.

The yeere of the world, 3050. before Chriſts Nativitie,914.

The Lepers certifie the Samaritans of the ſight of their enemies.

Spies ſent abroad.

The enemies campe ſpoiled by the Samaritans.

The truth of Gods oracles. The puniſhment of increduility. 4. *King.*8.

When *Adad* King of the Syrians was ſafely returned to Damaſco, and knew that God had ſuffered ſuch a confuſion and feare to fall both on him and his army, and that it had not hapned by reaſon that the enemy ſallied out vpon him; he was ſore diſcouraged to ſee that God was ſo diſpleaſed with him, and through anguiſh and agony of minde fell ſicke: And for that (at that very time) *Elizeus* was come into Damaſco; *Adad* vnderſtanding thereof, ſent *Azael* (who was one of his moſt truſty ſeruants)vnto him,to preſent him,and conſult with him vpon his ſickneſſe,whether he ſhould recouer or no.

Hereupon *Azael* loaded forty Camels with the moſt faireſt and moſt honourableſt preſents, that either Damaſco, or the Princes royall Court affoorded; and repairing to *Elizeus*, ſaluted him very courteouſly,telling him that he was ſent vnto him by King *Adad*, firſt of all to preſent him, and afterwards to aske counſell of him as touching his malady, whether hee might eaſily be healed. The Prophet commanding the meſſenger to carry no euill tidings vnto the King,did notwithſtanding tell him that he ſhould die. *Azael* hearing thereof was ſore grieued,and *Elizeus* himſelfe began to weepe,ſo that the teares fell from his eyes aboundantly,in that he foreſaw how many euils the people ſhould ſuffer after the deceaſe of *Adad*. And when as *Azael* demandedhim the cauſe wherefore he was ſo diſcomforted;I weepe (ſaid he)for the compaſſion that I

Elizeus is ſent vnto by Adad, to enquire counſell of him as touching his ſickneſſe.

haue of the people of Israel, by reason of those calamities which they shal indure by thy means. For thou shalt kill the better sort of them, and shalt burne their strongest cities: thou shalt murther their infants, and dash them against the stones, and shalt open the womens wombes that are with child. *Azael* answered, What force is there in me to execute these things? *Elizeus* said vnto him, that God had certified him that he should be King of Syria. When *Azael* was returned backe vnto *Adad*, hee signified nothing vnto him but glad tidings, as touching his sickenesse: but the next day he cast a wet net vpon him and strangled him, and seized the Kingdome into his owne hands. This Prince was a man of execution, and well beloued among the Syrians, and common people of Damasco, who euen vntill this day honour *Adad* and *Azael* his successour as gods, by reason of their benefits and those Temples which were builded by them, which adorne the Citie of Damasco. For euery day doe they celebrate feasts in memory of these Kings, and honour of them, by reason of their antiquitie, not knowing that they were moderne, and such as raigned not past eleuen hundreth yeeres since. But *Ioram* King of Israel hearing of the death of *Adad*, began to giue ouer his feare, and cast off that suspicion which he had conceiued of him, reioycing that yet at last he might haue libertie to liue in peace. The other *Ioram* King of Ierusalem (for he likewise was so called, as we haue heretofore declared) by murthering of his brethren and his fathers friends, who were Gouernours, obtained the kingdome, and became so wicked and impious, as hee differed in nothing from the Kings of Israel, who transgressed the first lawes and ordinances of the Hebrewes, and peruerted the seruice of God. For *Athalia Achabs* daughter his wife taught him to execute diuers mischiefes, and amongst the rest to adore strange gods. This notwithstanding God would not altogether abolish his race, by reason of his promise made vnto *Dauid*: yet intermitted hee not daily to introduce new impieties; and soile the ancient lawes of his forefathers with new corruptions. Meane-while, it came to passe that the Idumæans reuolted and slue their King, who had beene before-time subiect vnto *Iosaphat Ioram*s father, and in his place established another to their owne liking. For which cause *Ioram* inuaded Idumæa by night with his horses and charriots, and spoyled the countrey round about his kingdome, without passing any farther: yet profited he nothing in so doing; for all of them reuolted from him, and amongst the rest the inhabitants of the countrey of Labina.

The yeere of the world, 3055. before Christs Natiuitie, 909.

The prophecy of Adads death, and Azaels gouernment.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 5.

4 *Reg* 8.

Iorams impiety.

The yeere of the world, 3057. before the Natiuitie of christ, 907.

The Idumæans reuolt.

But so great was the fury of this man, that hee constrained the people to ascend the high mountaines, and adore strange gods. Yet whilest hee behaued himselfe in this manner, and vtterly rooted out of his thought the lawes of his forefathers, there was a Letter brought vnto him from the Prophet *Elias*, which certified him that God would doe great iustice vpon him, because hee had forsaken the waies of his forefathers, and followed the impieties of the Kings of Israel, constraining the Tribe of *Iuda* and the inhabitants of Ierusalem to forsake the pure seruice of their God, to serue Idols, as *Achab* had constrained the Israelites to doe: Furthermore, because he had murthered his brethren, and slaine vpright and vertuous men. The Prophet likewise certified him by Letters, what punishment he should endure, namely, the ruine of his people, the death of his wiues and children, and lastly his owne death: which should happen vnto him by a sickenesse in his belly, wherewith hee should bee so tormented, that his entrailes strangely rotting within him, should drop out of his belly, and that he himselfe should see his misery, which should be such as neither might be recouered by medicine, or should euer leaue him vntill hee had finished his dayes. These things did *Elias* denounce vnto him by his Letters.

Iorams wickednes reproued by Elias letters.

CHAP. III.

IORAMS *armie is discomfited, his sonnes are slaine, except one: and himselfe finally dyeth a miserable death.*

NOr long after, the Arabian army, that dwell towards Æthiopia, cõfederating themselues with other Barbarians, inuaded *Iorams* countrey, and spoiled the same, and ransacked the Kings house, and slew his sons and daughters, and left him but one onely son called *Ochozias*, who escaped from his enemies hands. After this aduersitie, he himselfe was strooken with a long sicknes, according as the Prophet had foretold him; for God powred his displeasure vpon his entrailes: whereupon he died miserably, seeing them fall out of his belly. The people likewise handled his body ignominiously; supposing, I thinke, that beeing cut off in that sort by Gods displeasure

The expedition of the Arabians against Ioram. 2 *Paral.* 21.

The yeere of the world, 3060. before Christs Natiuity, 904.

displeasure, hee was vnworthy of royall funerall, for he was not buried in the sepulcher of the Kings, neither was there any honour done vnto him. He liued fortie yeeres, and raigned eight: and they of Ierusalem made his sonne *Ochozias* King.

The yeere of the world, 3060. before Christs Nativitie, 904.

Chap. IIII.

The King of Damasco warreth against the King of Israel.

Ioram King of Israel, hoping after the death of *Adad* to recouer Ramath in Galaad from the Assyrians, after he had made greater preparation and apparation for the war, he led his army against the same. In this siege he was hurt by an arrow which was shot by a certaine Syrian, but not vnto the death, and retired himselfe into the Citie of Iezrael, vntill he were recouered of his wounds (leauing behind him his whole army at the siege of Ramath, vnder the conduct of *Iehu* the sonne of *Nimsi*, who tooke the Citie by force) intending vpon his recouery to make warre against the Syrians. But the Prophet *Elizeus* sent one of his disciples to Ramath, and gaue him the holy oyle, and willed him to anoint *Iehu*, and to say vnto him that God had chosen and anointed him for King: and after he had informed him likewise in certaine other instructions, he commanded him to depart after the manner of one that flieth, making no man priuy of his departure. When this disciple of his came vnto the appointed Citie, he found *Iehu* sitting in the midst of the Captaines at warre (according as *Elizeus* had told him) and drawing neere vnto him, he told him that he would communicate certaine secrets with him, for which cause he arose and followed him into his chamber. Whereupon the young man taking out the oyle, powred it on his head, saying, that God had chosen him to exterminate the race of *Achab*, and reuenge the blood of the Prophets vniustly murthered by *Iezabel*: and that both he and his house might be brought to nought in like sort, as the sonnes of *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Nabat*, and the children of *Basa* were extinguished for their impietie; so that no one of the race of *Achab* might suruiue in the world. As soone as he had spoken thus, he issued out of the chamber with all speed, endeuouring that he might not be discouered by any of the army. Now when as *Iehu* was come out, he returned to his place where he sate with his Captaines, who demanded of him, and besought him to declare vnto them, wherefore the young man came vnto him (alledging that they supposed him to be out of his wits.) Truly (said he) you haue diuined well: for hee hath talked vnto mee after the manner of a mad man: wherein (they desirous to vnderstand wherefore he came, and beseeching him to expresse the cause) hee told them what he had said vnto him, namely, how God had chosen him to be King ouer the people.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap 6. Iorams expedition against Ramath. 4. Reg. 9.

Iehu by Gods Commandement anointed King.

As soone as he had spoken these words, euery one of them cast off their garments and spred them before him, and sounding a trumpet, they proclaimed *Iehu* King; who assembling his army, determined to conduct them toward the Citie of Iezrael against *Ioram* (who lay there to recouer his wound which he had receiued at the siege of Ramath in Galaad, as we haue heretofore declared.) Thither also was resorted in the way of friendship and consanguinitie, *Ochozias* King of Ierusalem, both to visit *Ioram*, and to see how he was recouered of his wound: for hee was his nephew and sonne vnto his sister, as we haue said before. *Iehu* desirous to surprize *Ioram* and his followers on the sudden, made an ordinance, by which he prohibited that none of the souldiers should runne before to giue any intelligence of his repaire vnto *Ioram*; alledging that it should be a manifest demonstration of their good will towards him: whereas contrariwise, they that did otherwise, declared that they held him not for their King.

Chap. V.

Ioram *with all his race is slaine by* Iehv: Ochozias *King of Ierusalem is likewise slaine with him.*

The men of war were very ioyfull to execute this his ordinance, and guarded the waies, to the intent that no man might secretly steale into Iezrael, and beare tidings to the inhabitants of that which had hapned. Meane-while, *Iehu* attended by certaine of his choisest horsemen, and mounted in his owne person vpon a charriot, marched towards Iezrael. And when as he drew neere vnto the Citie, the Sentinell that was appointed by *Ioram* to discouer those that repaired to the Citie, perceiued *Iehu* resorting thither with a multitude of attendants, and told *Ioram* that a troupe of horsemen were at hand. Whereupon a Scout was sent out to discouer

The yeere of the world, 3060. before Christs Natiuitie, 904.

who they were; who drawing neere vnto *Iehu*, asked him what newes there was in the army, telling him that the King was desirous to know the same. *Iehu* willed him to take no care thereof, but to follow after him. The Sentinell perceiuing this, certified *Ioram* that the messenger whom he had sent, trouped along with them that came, and followed their Generall. Whereupon the King set out a messenger the second time; and *Iehu* commanded him to attend him as he did the first: which the Sentinell signified to *Ioram* likewise, who finally mounted his Charriot to goe out to meet them, accompanied with *Ochozias* King of Ierusalem, who (as wee haue said) was come into the city, to see how the King recouered vpon his hurt, because he was neerely allied vnto him. But *Iehu* marched on softly and in goodly array, till *Ioram* meeting with him in the field of *Naboth*, asked him how the army did? Who in stead of answer, reuiled him bitterly, and called him the sonne of a poysoner and of a harlot. For which cause *Ioram* (fearing his turbulent spirit, and suspecting lest he hammered vpon some sinister intent) turned his backe, and fled away as swiftly as his charriot could be driuen; telling *Ochozias*, that they were both of them craftily surprized by treason: but *Iehu* flung a dart at him and pierced him thorow, and cleft his heart. For which cause *Ioram* instantly fell vpon his knees, and died. Hereupon *Iehu* commanded *Badac* (who gouerned the third part of his army) to cast *Iorams* body into *Naboths* field, remembring him of the prophecy of *Elias* foretold by him to *Achab*, who murthered *Naboth*: namely, that he and his race should die in that field. For sitting behind *Achabs* charriot, he heard these words pronounced by the Prophet: In effect it so fell out as he had prophecied. When *Ioram* was fallen downe, *Ochozias* was afraid to be slaine: for which cause he turned his charriot to take another way, hoping that *Iehu* would not discouer him. But he was pursued and ouertaken in a certaine steepy way, and was hurt with an arrow: whereupon he forsooke his charriot, and being mounted vpon a swift horse, he posted to Maggedo, where after his wounds had beene searched and dressed some few daies, he deceased, and was carried to Ierusalem and buried there, after he had raigned one yeere, and surpassed his father in wickednesse.

Iorams slaughter.

The truth of Elias prophecie.

The death of Ochozias King of Ierusalem, and his buriall.

CHAP. VI.

IEHV *raigneth ouer Israel, and keepeth his Court in Samaria; and after him his progeny to the fourth generation.*

A famous example of Gods iudgement.

AT such time as *Iehu* arriued at Iezrael, *Iezabel* being on the top of a tower in her princely robes, cryed out: O trusty seruant (said shee) that hath slaine his Master! Hee looking vpward, asked her what she was, commanding her to come downe vnto him: at length he charged her Eunuches to cast her downe from the top of the tower; who in her falling bebloodied the walles: and no sooner fell she vpon the ground, but that her body was trampled vnder the horses feete, vntill she died. That done, *Iehu* repaired to the Palace with his friends, and reposed himselfe therein, commanding his seruants that they should bury *Iezabel* (in respect of the royall race from whence she was descended) but they to whom the charge of the obsequies were committed, found no part of her body, but her hands and head, for all the rest was deuoured by dogs. *Iehu* certified hereof, wondred at the prophecy of *Elias*, who had foretold that *Iezabel* should die in that sort in Iezrael.

4 *Reg.* 10.

Now in that *Achabs* seuenty sonnes were brought vp in Samaria, *Iehu* sent two letters, the one vnto the Masters of the infants, the others to the Gouernours of the City, giuing them to vnderstand, that they should choose one of the most vertuous amongst *Achabs* children, to raign as King ouer them, because they had a multitude of strong chariots, horses, armour, men, and strong Cities; to the end that in so doing, they might take reuenge on those that slew their Lord and Master. (This did he vnder a colour to sound how the Samaritans were affected towards him.) When the Gouernours and Tutors had receiued these letters, they were afraid, & made account that they could preuaile nothing against him, who had preuailed already against two mighty Kings. For which cause they wrote backe vnto him, acknowledging him for their Soueraigne; and offering themselues in all dutie, to be vnder his subiection. Whereupon *Iehu* sent backe vnto them againe, commanding them, that (to expresse their obedience) they should send him the heads of *Achabs* children, diuided from their shoulders. Which command of his they failed not to execute, but presently packed vp the heads in panniers, and sent them vnto him to Iezrael. As soone as they were brought thither, tidings thereof was carried to *Iehu*, as he sate at supper with his friends, who cõmanded that they should be laid in two heapes, at the city gates on either side thereof. Which done, he issued out as soone as it was day, to see them; and beholding them, hee

Achabs 70. children slain in Samaria.

began

began to tell thoſe that accompanied him, that he had voluntarily armed himſelf againſt his maſter, and ſlew him: but as touching thoſe whom they ſaw there, he had no waies laid hands on them. His onely intent was, that all men ſhould know, that all that which hapned vnto *Achabs* race, was done by the ordinance of God, and that his houſe was deſtroyed according as *Elias* had foretold. And after he had ſlain and diſpatched both theſe and all thoſe that were found to be of *Achabs* race amongſt the Iſraelites, he went vnto Samaria: and meeting by the way with *Ochozias* houſhold ſeruants (who was King of Ieruſalem) he asked them whither they went? who anſwered him, that they went to ſalute *Ioram* and their king *Ochozias* (for they knew not as yet that they were both of them ſlaine.) Hereupon *Iehu* commanded his ſeruants to lay hands on them, and put them to the ſword, notwithſtanding they were forty two in number. After them he met with a vertuous man called *Ionadab* (who in times paſt had beene his ancient friend) who embracing him, praiſed his forwardneſſe, in that he had performed all things according to the will of God, in aboliſhing *Achabs* houſe. *Iehu* cauſed him to mount vp with him in his charriot, and accompany him to Samaria, telling him that he ſhould well perceiue, that he would ſpare no one wicked man, but would puniſh all the falſe prophets, and tellers of lies, and abuſers of the people, who had made them forſake the true ſeruice of God, and adore ſtrange gods: becauſe the moſt laudable and allowed ſpectacle that might encounter a good mans eie, was, to ſee the puniſhment of the wicked. *Ionadab* perſwaded by theſe words, mounted vp into his charriot, and went with him to Samaria; and after *Iehu* had ſought out *Achabs* kinred, he put them to death: and intending that no one of his falſe prophets and prieſts ſhould eſcape his hands, he aſſembled them together by a ſubtill policy. For gathering the people together, he proteſted that he would haue twice as many gods as *Achab* had had: willing that all the prieſts and miniſters that belonged vnto them, ſhould preſent themſelues, for that he intended to celebrate rich and magnificent ſacrifices to *Achabs* gods; proteſting that whatſoeuer prieſt ſhould be abſent, hee ſhould loſe his head. Now this god whom *Achab* honoured, was called *Baal*. Hauing in this ſort aſſigned a day wherin he would offer ſacrifice, he ſent thorow all the countrey of Iſrael, charging all *Baals* prieſts to repaire vnto him, and commanding that each of them might haue their veſtments giuen them. As ſoone as they were apparelled, he reſorted to his lodging, accompanied with his friend *Ionadab*, and commanded that a ſearch ſhould be made amongſt them, to eſpie whether any one of contrary quality or condition were meddled with them; for that he intended that no ſtranger ſhould be amongſt the prieſts. When as therefore he vnderſtood that none but the prieſts were in that aſſembly, euen at ſuch time as they began to offer ſacrifice, hee cauſed them to be inclozed by foureſcore ſouldiers (whom he eſteemed to be moſt truſty) whom he commanded to kil the falſe prophets, and to puniſh them according to the cuſtome of their forefathers, which had already too long time beene neglected; dreadfully threatning all thoſe, who ſhould any waies intermit to roote out the name and memory of theſe wretches out of the world. They therefore ſlew all theſe prieſts, and inuironed the Kings Palace; and in ſo doing cleered Samaria of forraine gods. This *Baal* was the god of the Tyrians (for whom *Achab* builded a temple in Samaria, intending thereby to content *Ithobaal* the King of the Tyrians and Sidonians) to whom he aſſigned prieſts, and honoured him with all ſorts of ſacrifice. After this Idol was exterminated, *Iehu* ſuffered the Iſraelites to adore golden calues. When this execution was performed in puniſhing the wicked, God (to whom this action of his was acceptable) told *Iehu* by his Prophet, that his children ſhould obtaine the Kingdome of Iſrael to the fourth generation. This was *Iehues* eſtate.

The yeere of the world, 3061. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 904.

The rooting out of Achabs line.

The ſlaughter of Ochozias ſeruants. Ionadab.

The ſlaughter of Baals prieſts.

Baal god of the Tyrians. The kingdome promiſed to Iehues poſterity.

CHAP. VII.

ATHALIA *raigned fiue yeeres in Ieruſalem: and after ſhe was ſlaine by the High Prieſt,* IOAS *is proclaimed King.*

Hedio & Ruffinus. chap. 7. 4 Reg. 11. Athalia rooteth out all the royall blood, onely Ioas Ochozi. as ſon is ſaued

ATHALIA *Achabs* daughter, hearing newes of the death of her brother *Ioram*, and her ſon *Ochozias*, together with the vtter ruine of all the royal poſterity, bethought her ſelfe to extinguiſh *Dauids* memory, and in ſuch ſort to root it out, that no one of that line ſhould remaine aliue to enioy the Kingdome hereafter: which when ſhe had concluded in her heart, ſhe began to put it in execution. Yet notwithſtanding one of *Ochozias* ſons eſcaped her bloody hands, by this meanes that inſueth. *Ochozias* had a ſiſter by his fathers ſide, whoſe name was *Ioſabetha*, who was married to *Ioiada* the high Prieſt; who entring into the Kings Palace, and finding *Ioas* at that time but one yeere of age, hidden with his nurſe amongſt the dead, ſhe tooke both him and his nurſe, and locked them vp in a clozet within the temple, where *Ioiada* her husband and ſhe did

The yeere of the world, 3060. before Christs Nativity, 904.

secretly nourish them for the space of fiue yeeres, during which time *Athalia* raigned in Ierusalem ouer the two Tribes.

Ioas by Ioiadas meanes, who was the High Priest, is created King.

About the seuenth yeere, *Ioiada* entred into discourse with fiue Centurions, and perswaded them to oppose themselues with mutuall consent against *Athalias* proceedings, and to assure the Kingdome to little *Ioas*. Whereupon giuing and receiuing faithfull promises of secrecy the one vnto the other, they confidently addressed themselues to execute their intended purposes, after this manner: They whom the High Priest had chosen to execute this act, went thorow all the country, and gathered the Priests and Leuites together, with all the Gouernours of the tribes, and afterwards returned and brought them to Ierusalem to the High Priest, who made them sweare an oath, that they would keepe secret that which he should enforme them of, as a thing that required silence, and men of execution to performe the same. As soone as he had assured them by oath, he brought forth the little childe whom he had nourished (who was of *Dauids* line) and said vnto them: Behold your King, who is of that race which (as you know) was chosen by God to raigne ouer you for euer: I therefore thinke it fit that the third part of your guard shall keepe him within the Temple, and that the fourth make their watch round about the same. Another company shall haue the guard of the great gate that leadeth to the Palace: as for the rest of the people, let them remaine disarmed within the Temple, and suffer no armed man to enter therein-to, except the Priest onely. Hee appointed also another company of Priests and Leuites to be about the King, with Iauelins, and drawn swords, charging them that whosoeuer durst be so bold to enter the temple armed, they should presently put him to the sword; and laying all feare aside, to attend the safety and guard of the Kings person. They being obedient to that which the high Priest had commanded them, in effect expressed their readinesse: whereupon *Ioiada* opening the Arcenall, (which in times past was prepared by *Dauid*) distributed amongst the Centurions, Leuites and Priests, all the iauelins, quiuers, and all other sort of armes that were therin, and disposed all them that were armed, round about the people, ioyned hand in hand to impeach any one from entring in amongst them that were not of that faction. Afterwards bringing out the Infant *Ioas* into the midst of the company, they set the royall Crowne on his head, and *Ioiada*, after he had anointed him with oyle, proclaimed him King: whereupon all the people reioyced, and clapping their hands, cried out, God saue the King.

The yeere of the world, 3067. before Christs Nativitie. 897.

Athalia hearing this noise and applause, beyond all hope, was grealy troubled, and with those souldiers which she had about her, she hastily issued out of the Palace, & arriuing in the Temple, the Priests admitted her: as for the rest of the men of war that followed her, they that by the high Priests ordinance circuited the Temple, would not suffer them to enter with her. Now when *Athalia* saw the child standing before the Tabernacle with the royall Crowne on his head, she rent her garments, & storming through despite, she cried out and commanded that the traitor should be slaine, that had thus betrayed her and sought to dispossesse her of her Kingdome. But *Ioiada* called the Centurions, and commanded them to carry *Athalia* out vnto the brooke Cedron, and there to kill her (because he would not permit that the Temple should be defiled with her cursed blood.) Moreouer he charged them, that if any one should attempt to rescue her, they should kil them likewise. Hereupon, they (that were appointed to execute this his command) tooke her, and led her without the gates of the Kings Mules, and there slew her. After that *Athalia* was in this manner executed, *Ioiada* assembled the people and the men of warre in the Temple, binding them all by an oath, to yeeld the King their faithfull seruice, and to procure the prosperity and increase of his kingdome. Secondly, he made the King sweare in like maner, that he would maintaine the seruice of God, and in no manner disannull *Moses* lawes. That done, they ranne vnto *Baals* temple (which *Athalia* and her husband *Ioram* had built to the dishonour of God, and their forefathers, and for the honour of *Achab*) and leuelled it with the ground, and put to death their high Priest called *Mathan*. The charge and guard of the Temple, *Ioiada* committed to the Priests and Leuites, according to the order establisht by *Dauid*, with cõmandement twice a day to offer their ordinary burnt offerings, and consequently to make perfumes according to the law. He appointed also certaine of the Leuites to be porters to guard the Temple, to the intent that no vncleane thing should enter the same vnespied: and after he had ordained these things, with the Centurions & Gouernors and with all the people, he tooke *Ioas* and led him out of the Temple, and attended him to the Palace, and hauing placed him in his royall throne, all the people cried, God saue the King, and banquetted and feasted for diuers daies. Thus after the death of *Athalia* the citie was in quiet. *Ioas* was 7. yeeres old at such time as he was made King, his mother was called *Sabia*, & was of the towne Bersabe. He carefully obserued the lawes, & highly affected the

Athalias punishment.

The King and the people ioyned by oath to serue God.

The restoring of Gods seruice.

Ioas piety during Ioiadas time.

A the seruice of God all his life time: and when hee grew to mans estate, he married two wiues, which the high Priest gaue him, by whom he had sonnes and daughters. This is all that I haue thought good to declare as concerning *Ioas*, both how he escaped *Athalias* treasons, and obtained the kingdome.

The yeere of the world, 3067. before Christs Natiuitie. 877.

4 Reg. 12.

CHAP. VIII.

AZAEL *King of Damasco leuyeth an army, and first of all assaulteth the Israelites, and after marcheth forward against Ierusalem.*

B BVT *Azael* King of Syria making warre against the Israelites, and against their King *Iehu*, destroyed the countrey on the other side of Iordan, and all the Easterne tract inhabited by the Rubenites, Gadites, and Manassites. Furthermore, he burnt and spoiled Galaad, and Bathanæa, violenting and outraging all those that he met withall. For *Iehu* went not out against him to resist him, but (being become a contemner of God, and a despiser of pietie, and his lawes) he died after he had raigned seuen and twenty yeeres ouer the Israelites: he was buried in Samaria, and left behind him *Ioas* his sonne to succeed him in his kingdome. But *Ioas* King of Ierusalem conceiued a certaine desire to renew the Temple: for which cause, calling vnto him *Ioiada* the high Priest, he commanded him to send thorow all the countrey the Leuites and Priests, and C to leuie vpon euery one of their heads halfe a sicle of siluer for the building and reparation of the Temple, which was falne to decay in *Ioram*, *Athalia*, and her followers times. But the high Priest would not obey him herein, knowing well that no man would willingly disburse money. But in the three and twentieth yeere of his raigne, the King sent both for *Ioiada*, and the Leuites also, and expostulated with them for disobeying his commandement, enioyning them from that time foorth to prouide for the building of the Temple. Whereupon the high Priest vsed present dispatch in leuying the money, wherewith the people were highly contented. He therefore made a chest of wood closed on euery side (except that on the vpper lid thereof, there was a little cranie left open) which he placed neere vnto the Altar, commanding that euery one should offer according to his deuotion, and put in his offering thorow the cranny into the coffer, to be imployD ed in the repairing of the Temple; whereunto all the people shewed themselues affectionate: so that they gathered together a great quantitie of gold and siluer, with great zeale; and when the coffer was filled, it was emptied, and the account thereof taken & sum'd vp by the Secretary, and high Priest in the Kings presence, and afterwards was brought together into one assigned place: which order was obserued euery day. And when as it was supposed that there was sufficient money gathered, the high Priest *Ioiada* and King *Ioas* hired Masons, and Carpenters, and prepared great beames of excellent Timber.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 8. 4. Reg. 12. 13. The warre betweene Azael and Iehu.

The yeere of the world, 3089. before Christs Natiuitie, 975.

The restoring of the Temple.

After that the Temple was repaired, they imployed the remainder of gold and siluer (which was of no small quantity) to make cups, pots, and vessels, and other vtensils: and euery day offered they sacrifice of great value vpon the Altar, and this custome was continued so long as *Ioiada* E liued. But after his decease (which hapned in the hundred and thirtieth yeere of his age, after he had liued a iust and vpright life, & was interred in the sepulcher of *Dauid* in Ierusalem, because he had established the kingdome in *Dauids* posterity) King *Ioas* had no more care to serue God, and with him the rest of the Gouernours of the people were corrupted in contradiction of the lawes and ordinances, which they knew were very conuenient for them. For which cause God being prouoked by this change, and incensed against the King & the rest, sent his Prophets vnto them, to protest, to expostulate with them for their offences, & to withdraw them from their iniquity. But they pursued sin the more vehemently; so that neither the punishments, by which they, who had offended GOD before-times, had beene plagued, with all their posterities; neither all the aduertisements giuen them by the Prophets, could induce them to amend, or to forsake those F sins wherein they were engaged: but that which is worst; King *Ioas* stoned *Zachary Ioiadas* son, and put him to death in the Temple, forgetting himselfe most vngratefully of the benefits he had receiued by his father. And the occasiõ was, for that *Zachary* hauing receiued a charge from God to prophecy, came into the midst of the people, & counselled both them & him to follow iustice, foretelling them that they should be grieuously punished except they did beleeue. This *Zachary* did at his death call God to witnesse & iudge of those calamities he endured, in dying grieuously and violently for the good counsell which he had giuen them, and the benefits which his father had in times past done vnto *Ioas*. But many daies passed not, before the King suffred due punishment

Ioas impietie after Ioiadas death, & how he was reproued by the Prophet. 2. *Paral.* 28.

Zachary stoned to death.

The yeere of the world, 3089. before Chriſts birth, 875.

niſhment for theſe miſdeeds. For *Azael* King of the Syrians inuaded his countrey, and after he had firſt of all ruinated Girta, he marched forward with an intent to beſiege him at laſt in Ieruſalem. *Ioas* deſperate of all ſuccours, emptied all the treaſures of God, and thoſe of the Kings, and tooke away the preſents that were hung vp in the Temple, and ſent them to the Syrian, redeeming the ſiege by this meanes, leſt he ſhould be drawne into hazzard to loſe all. The Syrian pacified with ſuch and ſo great riches, and aboundant treaſure, ſuffered not his army to paſſe to Ieruſalem. After this, *Ioas* was ſeized with a grieuous ſickneſſe, and (to the intent that the death of *Zachary* the ſonne of *Ioiada* might not eſcape vnreuenged) his friends conſpired againſt him, and he dyed by their hands. He was entombed in Ieruſalem, but not in the ſepulcher of his anceſtors, becauſe he had falne from God: He liued ſeuen and forty yeeres.

The ſpoile of the Temple. Ioas death.

The yeere of the world, 3105. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 859.

CHAP. IX.

AMASIAS *King of Ieruſalem made warre againſt the Idumæans and Amalechites, and obtained the victory.*

4. *Reg.* 14. Amaſias King of Ieruſalem.

AMASIAS his ſonne ſucceeded him in the kingdome. But in the 21. yeere of *Ioas* raigne, *Ioachas*, the ſonne of *Iehu*, tooke poſſeſſion of the kingdome of Iſrael in Samaria, and was ſeized thereof for the ſpace of ſeuenteene yeeres. But he followed not his fathers ſteps, but rather behauing himſelfe impiouſly, according as his predeceſſors in the kingdome, and contemners of God had done: For which cauſe the King of Syria ſubdued him, and cut off a great part of his dominions, and tooke his greateſt cities from him, and defeated his armies: ſo that at length he had but ten thouſand footmen, and fiue hundred horſemen. All which hapned to the Iſraelites (according to the prophecy of *Elizeus*, which he foretold vnto *Azael* at ſuch time as he prophecied vnto him, that he ſhould raigne ouer the Syrians, and them of Damaſco, after that he had murthered his maſter. *Ioachas* being in this extremitie, had his recourſe to God in prayer and ſupplication, beſeeching him that it might pleaſe him to deliuer him from the hands of *Azael*, and not ſuffer him to be vnder ſubiection and thraldome vnto him.

The forces of Iſrael weakned and reſtored by God.

The yeere of the world, 3089. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 875.

God (that reſpecteth the repentant, as if they had bin innocent, and that gently checketh thoſe whom he might vtterly exterminate, if he ſo pleaſed) gaue him aſſurance againſt the warre and danger, ſo that the countrey (hauing obtained peace) recouered preſently her former eſtate and proſperitie. When *Ioachas* was dead, his ſonne ſucceeded him in the gouernment, and began to raigne ouer the Iſraelites in Samaria, in the 37. yeere of *Ioas* King of Iuda. (For this King of Iſrael was called *Ioas*, as well as hee that raigned in Ieruſalem) hee gouerned the kingdome ſixteene yeeres. He was a good man, and had no correſpondence with his father in diſpoſition. About this time *Elizeus* the Prophet was very old, and fell ſicke: to him reſorted the King of Iſrael to viſit him, and finding him in the extremitie, and paſt hope of recouery, hee began to weepe and lament himſelfe, calling him his father, and his armour, becauſe that during his life, he had neuer occaſion to vſe the ſword againſt the enemy; but that by meanes of his predictions, he had alwaies the vpper hand of them without ſtroke ſtriking: that now he departed this life, and left him diſarmed to the mercy of the Syrians, and other his enemies; ſo that he had neither ſecuritie of libertie, nor life, but that he rather wiſhed to die with him, then to liue in thoſe dangers.

Ioas King of Iſrael and Samaria.

The yeere of the world, 3103. before Chriſts Natiuity, 861.

Elizeus being mooued with theſe complaints, comforted the King that lamented in this ſort, and commanding him to draw his bowe that he had brought with him (for the King had bent the ſame) *Elizeus* ſaid vnto him, Draw: and he ſhot three arrowes, and gaue ouer at the fourth. Oh ſaid *Elizeus*, if thou hadſt ſhot more arrowes, thou hadſt vtterly ruinated the kingdome of the Syrians: and ſith thou haſt contented thy ſelfe with three ſhoots onely, thou ſhalt ouerthrow the Syrians in three battels, which thou ſhalt fight againſt them, and ſhalt recouer the countrey they haue taken from thy father. After the King vnderſtood theſe things, he departed, (and not long after the Prophet died) who was renowned for his iuſtice, and manifeſtly beloued of GOD, who ſhewed miraculous and incredible workes by his prophecies, and ſuch and ſo worthy as the Hebrewes ought to keepe them in perpetuall remembrance, and was buried magnificently, according as it behooued a man, who was ſo highly fauoured by God as himſelfe.

Elizeus foretelleth that Ioas ſhould ouercome the Syrians thrice. Elizeus death & the raiſing of a dead man to life that was caſt into his tombe.

It chanced about that time, that certaine theeues hauing caſt the body of a man that was murthered by thē, vpon the body of the Prophet where he lay buried, the dead body returned to life. This is all that we haue to ſpeak as touching *Elizeus*, both in reſpect of his prophecies during his life time, as of that which hapned after his death, in witneſſe of his diuine power. After the death of *Azael* King of Syria, *Adad* his ſonne obtained the kingdome, againſt whom *Ioas* King of Iſrael made

Ioas trebble victory.

made warre, and hauing ouercome him three times, he recouered all that countrey, thoſe Cities, and townes of the countrey of Iſrael, that *Azael* his father had conquered before him.) All which came to paſſe according as *Elizeus* had prophecied.) After that *Ioas* had forſaken this world for another, the kingdome fell to *Ieroboam* his ſonne. *The yeere of the world, 3103. before Chriſt's Natiuitie, 861.*

CHAP. X.

AMASIAS *making warre againſt* IOAS *King of Iſrael, is ouercome.*

THE tenth yeere of the raigne of *Ioas* King of Iſrael, *Amaſias* raigned ouer the Tribe of *Iuda* in Ieruſalem: his mother was called *Iudah*, and was a citizen of Ieruſalem. Hee was wondrouſly carefull to maintaine iuſtice (notwithſtanding hee was very young.) And hauing taken vpon him the gouernment of the kingdome, hee reſolued with himſelfe, that hee ought firſt of all to reuenge the death of his father *Ioas*, who was traiterouſly ſlaine by his friends: he therefore laid hands on them, and put them all to the ſword (yet extended he not his diſpleaſure to their children, but conformed his actions according to the lawes of *Moſes*; which ſaith, that it is not lawfull to puniſh the children for their fathers offences.) He afterwards leuyed an army of the tribes of Iuda & Beniamin, and choſe the men that were in their flowring yeeres, and about twenty yeeres of age: the number of whom amounted to three hundred thouſand men, whom he diuided into Centuries. Hee ſent alſo to the King of Iſrael, and waged a hundred thouſand of his armed men for a hundred talents of ſiluer, becauſe hee intended to make war vpon the Amalechites, Idumæans, and Gabelites. Now whileſt he made this preparation, and was in a readines to vndertake this exploit; a certaine prophet counſelled him to diſmiſſe the Iſraelites that he had with him, becauſe they had no piety in them, ſignifying vnto him from God, that if he were followed by them in that war, he ſhould be ouercome: and contrariwiſe, that he ſhould haue the vpper hand ouer his enemies, if he fought with a few men, according to Gods direction. Hereupon the King was ſore mooued (becauſe hee had already payed the Iſraelites their wages) but the Prophet ceaſed not to exhort him to doe that which was pleaſant in Gods ſight, who would giue him ſiluer in aboundance. For this cauſe hee diſmiſſed them, telling them that he freely gaue them their pay; and hee with the forces of his kingdome marched out againſt thoſe nations, and fought with them, and ouercame them, and ſlew ten thouſand of them, and tooke no leſſe number of priſoners aliue (whom he afterwards cauſed to be led to a high rocke that bounded vpon Arabia, and from thence caſt them downe headlong) and from all theſe nations he recouered a great bootie, and brought home much riches.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 9. Amaſias King of Ieruſalem. 4 *Reg.* 14. *Deut.* 24. *The yeere of the world, 3106. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt, 858.* The diſmiſſion of the Iſraelites. 2. *Paral.* 25. Amaſias victory ouer the Amalechites.

Whileſt *Amaſias* ſtood vpon theſe tearmes, the Iſraelites (that had taken wages of him, and were caſhired by him) conceiued a diſpleaſure againſt him, ſuppoſing themſelues to be iniured by him, as if he had diſmiſſed them for men of ſmal reſolution. For which cauſe they inuaded his countrey, and ſpoiled it as farre as *Bethſemer*, and carried away a great quantity of cattell, and ſlew three thouſand men. This victory and proſperitie made *Amaſias* proud, ſo that he began to forget God, who was the author thereof, and continued the honor of thoſe gods which he brought from the countrey of the Amalechites. For which cauſe a Prophet came vnto him and ſaid, that he wondred that he ſhould eſteeme them for gods, who had ſo little auailed them who honored them, and had deliuered them into his hands; ſo that diuers of them were put to death, and diuers led away priſoners, which they themſelues had brought vnto Ieruſalem, according to the cuſtome of war. Theſe words moued the King vnto diſpleaſure, ſo that he commanded the Prophet to ſilence, threatning him to puniſh him, if he intermedled with his affaires any more. Who anſwered him, that he would no further vrge him; yet withall he foreprophecied vnto him, that God would not ſuffer this his innouation to reſt vnpuniſhed. Anon after, *Amaſias* (not able to keepe a moderation amidſt his affluence & proſperity: but waxing more inſolent againſt almightie God, by whom he poſſeſſed the bleſſings he inioyed) in height of his pride wrote to *Ioas* King of Iſrael, commanding him and his to yeeld him homage, according as in times paſt the Iſraelites were ſubiect to *Dauid* and *Salomon*; threatning him, that if he refuſed to doe him voluntary ſeruice, he would enforce him to decide the different by armes: to whom the Iſraelite replyed thus: King *Ioas* to King *Amaſias*. There was in the mountain of Libanus a Cypres tree of great height, to whom a little thiſtle wrote, demanding of him his daughter in marriage for his ſon. But during this interparlee betwixt them, there came a certaine wild beaſt, that troad downe the thiſtle. Let this example admoniſh and diſſwade thee from attempting of too mighty matters, neither growing

Amaſias is reprehended by a Prophet for his idolatry.

The yeere of the world, 3106. before Christs Nativity, 858.

ing proud of thy last victory against the Amalechites, lest through thy presumption thou expose both thy life and fortune to the incertaine hazzard of warre. When *Amasias* had perused this answer of his, he was the more whetted vnto warre (God also as it seemed pricked him forward, to the intent to chastise those iniquities that were committed by him.) When as therefore he had drawne his army into the field, and both the armies were vpon the point to wage the battell, a sudden feare and discouragement seized him (such as God in his displeasure is accustomed to inflict) which made *Amasias* armie turne their backs: so that (by the apprehension they had conceiued) they were scattered before they came to handy strokes; and *Amasias* being left alone, was taken prisoner. Him did *Ioas* threaten, that except he perswaded the inhabitants of Ierusalem to open their gates, and to receiue both him and his armie into the city, hee would put him to death. For which cause *Amasias* (constrained by necessity and feare of death) wrought so much as his enemies were receiued into Ierusalem, who made a breach of three hundred cubits in their wall; and there-thorow *Amasias* was led captiue into Ierusalem. In this manner was *Ioas* made master of the City, who afterwards carried away the treasures of the Temple, and tooke away the gold and siluer that *Amasias* had in his Palace: and hauing in this sort ransomed him from captiuity, he returned backe againe into Samaria. This hapned in the fourteenth yeer of the raigne of *Amasias*, who afterwards fled into the Citie of *Lachis*, to auoide the conspiracy of his domesticall friends, by whom notwithstanding hee was surprized, and slaine by them that were sent to doe the deed: his body was brought and royally entombed in Ierusalem. Thus died *Amasias* for introducing inuocations in contempt of God; he liued fiftie foure yeeres, and raigned twenty and nine: his sonne *Ozias* succeeded him in the kingdome.

Amasias expedition against Ioas King of Israel.

Amasias taken prisoner by the King of Israel. Ierusalem ruinated. The Temple spoiled.

Amasias slaine.

innovations

CHAP. XI.

How OZIAS *ouercame his neighbour Nations.*

The yeere of the world, 3120. before Christs Nativitie. 844.

BVT in the fifteenth yeere of the raigne of *Amasias*, *Ieroboam*, *Ioas* sonne, began to raigne ouer the Israelites in Samaria, and enioyed the Kingdome for the space of fortie yeeres. This King dishonoured God, and offended him grieuously in obseruance of Idols, and diuers absurd and strange actions, by which he heaped ten thousand mischiefes and miseries on the Israelites heads. To him came there a certaine Prophet called *Ionas*, who prophecied vnto him, that he should make war against the Syrians, and that he should ouercome them, and enlarge his kingdome to the Northward, as farre as the City of Amatha; and to the Southward as farre as the lake Asphaltites (for these in times past were the limits of the countrey of Chanaan, according as the General *Iosuah* had confined them.) *Ieroboam* encouraged by this prophecy, led foorth his army against the Syrians, and spoiled all their country (according to the prophecy of *Ionas*.) And for that I haue promised to yeeld an exact history in writing of all those things that hapned in our nation, me thinks it shall not be amisse to declare that, which I haue found written of this Prophet in our Hebrew Chronicles. This man (being commanded by God to repaire vnto the kingdome of *Ninus*, and to proclaime that which should happen to the city of Niniuie; namely, thar the gouernment therof should be abolished) through feare which he conceiued repaired not thither, but fled from Gods presence into a city called Ioppa; where finding a shippe, he entred the same and sailed towards Tharsis in Cicilia. But there arose so vehement a tempest vpon the sea, that the vessell was ready to be drowned, and both the Mariners, Master, and Owners of the ship, made their vow of thankesgiuing vnto God, if they might escape from this tempest: but *Ionas* hid himselfe, and couered his face, performing no such matter as the rest had done. Whereas therefore the turbulent waues incensed by violent winds, increased more and more; the Mariners and passengers began to imagine amongst themselues, that some one of them in that Barke had caused that tempest: whereupon they agreed amongst themselues to cast lots, to know which of them were the occasion of their danger. Which done, the lot fell vpon *Ionas*: who being demanded whence he was, and for what businesse he trauelled: answered them, that he was an Hebrew by Nation, and a Prophet of the most high God; and counselled them, that if they would be warranted from that danger, they should cast him into the sea, because it was hee onely that was the cause of that tempest. Notwithstanding this confession of his, they durst not performe that which he desired, supposing that it would be an act of great impiety, in that sort to thrust a stranger into that manifest perdition, whose life had beene committed to their trust. But for that the storme more and more increased, and grew so vehement, that they wanted very little of imminent shippewracke; and being besides that incited by *Ionas* himselfe, and whetted on

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 11. 4 Reg. 14. The enlargement of the kingdome of Israel.

Ionas 1. Ionas sent vnto Niniuie, flieth the presence of God, and ascending a ship, is cast in a storme into the Sea.

likewise

likewiſe by the feare they conceiued, to loſe their liues, they caſt him into the Sea: whereupon ſuddenly the ſtorme ceaſed. It is likewiſe ſaid, that being ſwallowed vp by a great fiſh (for the ſpace of three daies and three nights) he was at the laſt vomited out, and caſt by the ſame fiſh vpon the ſhore of the Euxine Sea aliue, and without any maime in any of his members. There beſought he GOD that hee would pardon him the ſinne which he had committed: and afterwards he reſorted to the Citie of Niniuie, where aſcending a place from whence he might bee heard, hee publiſhed with a loud voice vnto them, that they ſhould loſe the Empire of Aſia: which after he had pronounced, he returned backe againe. This recitall haue I made according as I haue found it regiſtred in writing.

The yeere of the world, 3120. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 944.

Ionas caſt into the Sea, is deuoured by a Whale, and caſt vpon the coaſt of Niniuie, foretelleth them of the loſſe of their Empire. *Ionas* 2. 3. 4. *Reg.* 14. 15. Ieroboams death. Ozias King of Iuda.

King *Ieroboam* hauing paſſed all his life time in proſperitie, and raigned for the ſpace of forty yeeres, departed this life, and was intombed in Samaria, and *Zachary* his ſonne ſucceeded him in his kingdome. At the ſame time, *Ozias* the ſonne of *Amaſias* raigned in Ieruſalem ouer the two tribes, after that *Ieroboam* had already raigned foureteene yeeres; his mother was called *Achia*, and was of the City of Ieruſalem. He was a man of a good nature, and ſuch a one as loued iuſtice, of noble courage, and very laborious in prouiding for all occurrences: he made warre againſt the Philiſtines, and after that he had ouercome them in battell, he tooke Ita, and Amnia, two of their ſtrong forts, and raced them. This exploit done, he ſet vpon the Arabians that neighboured vpon Ægypt, and after that (hauing built a citie vpon the red Sea) he planted a garriſon therein. He afterwards diſcomfited the Ammonites, conſtraining them to pay him tribute, and ſubdued all as farre as the marſhes of Ægypt. After that, he began to prouide for the citie of Ieruſalem: for he built it anew, and repaired the walles thereof, that had beene beaten downe or decaied, either by continuance of time, or by the negligence of thoſe Kings who were his predeceſſors: he repaired thoſe alſo which the King of Iſrael had beaten downe, at ſuch time as hauing taken *Amaſias* priſoner, hee rode in triumph into the Citie. Beſides this, he erected a number of towers, each of them one hundred and fiftie cubits high. Theſe incloſed he with walles to ſet garriſons therein, and in diuers barren places he cauſed diuers fountaine heads to be made: for hee had an infinite multitude of beaſts of carriage and other cattell, in that the countrey was fit for paſture. He tooke pleaſure alſo in tillage, for which cauſe he was often buſied about his land, ſowing, and planting the ſame. He had about him a choſen army, to the number of three hundred and ſeuentie thouſand fighting men, whoſe Generals, Conductors, and Captaines, were valiant and inuincible men, and were in number two thouſand.

The yeere of the world, 3136. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 828.

Ozias expedition, and the repairing of the Citie. 2 *Paral.* 26.

The yeere of the world, 3156. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 814.

Ozias riches and army.

He taught his ſouldiers to march in a ſquare battell (inmanner of the Macedonian Phalanx) arming each of them with ſwords, targets, and corſelets of braſſe, with arrowes and darts. Hee made alſo great preparation of diuers engins to batter Cities, and to ſhoot ſtones and darts, beſides diuers hookes, and other ſuch like inſtruments. But whileſt hee was intent on theſe ſtudies and preparations, he grew inſolent and proud, and being puffed vp with mortall arrogance, hee contemned the immortall force, which endureth for euer (which is pietie towards God, and the obſeruation of his commandements.) For which cauſe he was ouerthrowne by his proſperitie, and fell into his fathers ſins, through the happineſſe and greatneſſe of his eſtate, wherein he could not moderately containe himſelfe. So that vpon a certaine ſolemne feaſt day wherein all the people were aſſembled together, he attired himſelfe in the high Prieſts veſtments, and entred into the Temple to offer ſacrifice vnto God vpon the golden Altar; which notwithſtanding the high Prieſt *Azarias* (accompanied with foureſcore Prieſts) inhibited him the ſame, telling him that it was not lawfull for him to ſacrifice, in that it was onely allowed in thoſe that were of the poſteritie of the high Prieſt *Aaron*.

The yeere of the world, 3170. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 794.

Ozias tranſgreſſeth his vocation, and is puniſhed with a leproſie, and compelled to depart out of the Citie.

Whileſt after this manner *Azarias* expoſtulated with him, commanding him to goe out of the Temple, and not to contradict the ordinances of God; the King waxed wroth, and threatned to take his life from him, except he kept himſelfe quiet. Whereupon there fell a great trembling and earth-quake, and the Temple cleft in twaine, and a great light of the Sunne entred thereinto, and reflected on the Kings face in ſuch manner, that all his body was inſtantly couered with a leproſie, and before the Citie (in a place called Eroge) the halfe of a mountaine (that ſtood to the Eaſtward) brake and fell, and rowled and remooued for the ſpace of foure ſtadia, towards the Orientall mountaine, where it reſted: ſo that the publike waies were ſhut vp, and choaked, and the Kings gardens of pleaſure were wholly ruinated & disfigured. When the Prieſts beheld the Kings face couered with a leproſie, they told him what inconuenient had hapned vnto him, and enioyned him to depart out of the towne, according to the cuſtome of men that were polluted. Whereupon he (wholly confuſed at ſo grieuous an accident, and hauing no more audacitie to ſpeake) obeyed

The yeere of the world, 3170. before Chriſts Natiuity, 794.

obeyed the commandement that was giuen him, enduring a pittifull and lamentable puniſhment for being elate and proud more then became humanitie, and for that he committed ſuch impietie againſt God. He therefore remained without the Citie for a certaine time, and led a priuate life, and his ſonne *Iotham* ſucceeded him in the kingdome. Finally, he died through griefe and diſcontent, after he had accompliſhed threeſcore and eight yeeres, whereof he raigned fiftie two, and was onely buried in his garden.

Zacharias ſlaughter. 4. *Reg.* 35.

Zachary, *Ieroboams* ſonne, hauing raigned ſixe moneths ouer the Iſraelites, was ſlaine by Treaſon complotted againſt him by a familiar friend of his called *Sellum*, the ſonne of *Iabes*, who poſſeſſing the kingdome after him, enioyed not the ſame aboue thirtie daies. For the Generall *Manahem*, being at that time in the Citie of Tharſa, and vnderſtanding of that which had hapned to *Zachary*, departed thence with all his force, and came to Samaria, and in a battell which hee fought, he ſlew *Sellum*: And afterwards obtaining the Crowne, he went from thence towards the Citie of Tapſa, the inhabitants whereof locked & barred their gates againſt him, and would not receiue him: in reuenge whereof he ſpoiled all the countrey round about, and tooke the Citie by force, and (being highly incenſed againſt the Tapſians for their inſolence) he put them all to the ſword, not ſparing their little children (which was an incredible and barbarous crueltie in him.) *Manahem* raigned in this manner for the ſpace of ten yeeres, continuing a moſt cruell and vnbridled tyranny ouer the people. Afterwards being aſſailed by *Phul* King of the Syrians, hee went not out againſt him, neither practiſed to reſiſt him, but procured his peace for the ſum of a thouſand talents of ſiluer, which in way of compoſition he paid vnto him. The people furniſhed *Manahem* with this ſumme, in way of contribution, paying fiftie drachmes apiece.

Manahem King of Iſrael.

The yeere of the world, 3174. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 790.

The Tapſians ſlaughter.

Peace bought with money.

Anon after he died, and was buried in Samaria, leauing behind him a ſonne to ſucceed him in the kingdome, whoſe name was *Phaceias*, who imitating his fathers crueltie, poſſeſſed the Soueraigntie but two yeeres: for he was ſlaine at a feaſt in the midſt of his friends, by a Treaſon practiſed againſt him by *Phaceias* the ſonne of *Romelias*, who inioyed the kingdome for the ſpace of 20. yeeres, addicting himſelfe to all impietie and wickedneſſe. But *Teglaphalaſſer* King of Aſſyria, led forth his army againſt the Iſraelites, and ſpoiled all the countrey of Galaad, and that beyond Iordan, and Galilee, Cydida and Aſor alſo, and led all the inhabitants thereof priſoners, and tranſported the kingdome to himſelfe. This is that which wee haue thought good to write as touching the King of Aſſyria.

The yeere of the world, 3185. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 779.

Phaceias. The tranſlation of the Iſraelites.

Iotham the ſonne of *Ozias* raigned in Ieruſalem ouer the tribe of *Iuda*: he was the ſonne of a daughter of Ieruſalem called *Ieresa*. There was no vertue deficient in this King, for he was deuout towards God, iuſt towards men, and carefull to repaire the Citie: for he willingly imployed himſelfe in reſtoring that which had need of reparation and ornament. He built galleries and porches about the Temple, and repaired the walles that were falne downe: he erected huge and impregnable towers: in a word, he reſtored all that which was deficient in his kingdome. Hee made warre vpon the Ammonites; and ouercomming them in battell, he made all their nation tributary, and conſtrained them to pay him yeerely a hundred talents, and ten thouſand Cores of Wheat, and as many of Barley: and his kingdome in ſuch ſort increaſed, as he was redoubted abroad, and happy at home. Now about the ſame time there liued a certaine Prophet called *Naum*, who prophecied the ouerthrow of the Aſſyrians, and of the Citie of Niniue, and ſpake to this effect. All the people thereof ſhall be toſſed and troubled, and be put to flight; and ſhall ſay the one vnto the other: Stay and abide, take gold and ſiluer, and there ſhall be none that will receiue it. For they ſhall haue more care to ſaue their bodies, then their goods: for there ſhall be a great debate amongſt them with lamentation: their members ſhall loſe their vigour, and their faces ſhall bee altogether ſwart through feare: where ſhall the repaire of Lyons be? or where ſhall the mother of Lyons whelpe reſt her? Niniue (God ſaith vnto thee) I will deſtroy thee, neither ſhall the Lyons that iſſue from thee, gouerne the world any more. To this effect did he prophecy, and ſpake many other things to this intent, which it concerneth not to repeate. For I haue omitted it purpoſely, becauſe I would not be troubleſome to the Readers. But all thoſe things which hee foreſpoke as touching Niniue, came to paſſe one hundred and fifteene yeeres after. But this is ſufficient for the manifeſtation of this matter.

The yeere of the world, 3187. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 777.

Iothams pietie.

Hedio & Ruffinus. chap. 7. The prophecie of the deſtruction of Niniue. Naum. 2.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The yeere of the world, 3204. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 760.

RASIN *King of Damaſco maketh warre againſt Ieruſalem:* ACHAZ *ſendeth for the King of Aſſyria to aſſiſt him.*

AFTER that *Iotham* had liued one and forty yeeres, and raigned ſixteene, he died, and was buried in the ſepulcher of the Kings: after him the kingdome fell to *Achaz* his ſonne, who was a contemner of God, and a tranſgreſſour of the ordinances of his forefathers, and conformed himſelfe to the cuſtomes of the Kings of Iſrael: for he erected Altars in the Citie of Ieruſalem, and ſacrificed vnto idols, offering vp his owne ſonne vnto them (after the manner of the Chanaanites) and perpetrated diuers ſuch like offences. During theſe impious idolatries of his, *Raſin* King of Syria and Damaſco, and *Phaceias* King of Iſrael made warre againſt him: (for theſe two were confederates) leading therefore both their armies againſt Ieruſalem, they beſieged it a long time, yet profited nothing, by reaſon the walles were very ſtrong. But the King of Syria hauing ſeized the Citie of Elath, neere vnto the red Sea, and ſlaine all the inhabitants thereof, planted Syrians therein, putting all the garriſons likewiſe to the ſword, and all the Iewes round about, and carried away with him a great bootie into Damaſco, and afterwards returned home with his army. The King of Ieruſalem vnderſtanding that the Syrians were retyred, and ſuppoſing himſelfe to be ſufficient to fight againſt the King of Iſrael, led foorth his forces againſt him, and was ouercome in battell (becauſe that God was incenſed againſt him for his wickedneſſes, which were both deteſtable and infinite.) For in that battell the Iſraelites ſlue about ſixeſcore thouſand men: amongſt whom was *Zacharias* the ſonne of *Achaz*, whom the Generall of the armie of the Iſraelites called *Amias*, ſlue, with *Ericam* the Gouernour of the whole Realme, and he tooke *Elcan* the Generall of the tribe of *Iuda* priſoner alſo. They led away likewiſe a great number of women, and children, with a great bootie, and afterwards returned vnto Samaria. At that time there was a certaine Prophet liuing in Samaria, whoſe name was *Obel*, who comming out to meet the armie, cryed with a loud voice vnto the people, that the victory which they had, did not happen vnto them through their valour, but by reaſon of the wrath of God conceiued againſt *Achaz* King of *Iuda*. He furthermore reprooued them, for that not contenting themſelues with the good hap of that victory, they had ſo farre preſumed as to hold them of *Iuda* and *Beniamin* priſoners, who were of their owne alliance: he therefore counſelled them to ſend them backe vnto their houſes, without any iniurie by vniuſtice offered vnto them, threatning them, that if they did the contrary, they might be aſſured that God would puniſh them.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 13. Achaz impietie.

The ſacrifice of his ſonne.

The puniſhment of impietie. *Eſay 7.*

4. *Reg.* 16.

The ſlaughter of the army of Iuda.

After this admonition, the Iſraelites aſſembled themſelues together to conſult vpon this matter, at which time *Barachias*, one of the principall Gouernours of the ſtate, and three others with him alleadged, that it was not lawfull for the Citizens to lead their priſoners into the Citie, for feare (as they ſaid) that God ſhould vtterly extinguiſh them all. For thoſe ſinnes (ſaid they) which we haue already committed, and againſt which the Prophets haue exclaimed, are cauſe enough to incenſe God; ſo that we haue no cauſe to annexe new impieties to the precedent. When the ſouldiers heard theſe words, they permitted them to execute all that which they held conuenient to be done. For which cauſe the aboue-named tooke the priſoners, and diſcharged them, and entertained them courteouſly, and gaue them meanes and money to furniſh them in their iourney, and ſent them home without offence: and beſides that, theſe foure perſons conducted them onwards of their iourney, as farre as Iericho; and when they drew neere vnto Ieruſalem, they returned backe to Samaria.

4. *Reg.* 16. The Iſraelites by the Prophets aduice diſmiſſe thoſe priſoners they had taken of the tribes of Iuda and Beniamin.

CHAP. XIII.

The King of Aſſyria taketh Damaſco by force, killeth their King, tranſlateth the people into Media, and planteth new Colonies in Damaſco.

The yeere of the world, 3207. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 757.

WHEN King *Achaz* had receiued this ouerthrow by the Iſraelites, he ſent vnto *Theglaphalaſar* King of Aſſyria, requiring him to aſſiſt him in the warre, which he intended againſt the Iſraelites, Syrians and them of Damaſco; promiſing to giue him great ſums of money, and at that preſent alſo he ſent him very bountifull preſents. Who after he had conſidered on the Embaſſage, came forth with his army to aſſiſt *Achaz*: and ſpoyling Syria, & ſacking

The yeere of the world, 3207. before Christs Natiuitie, 797.

Damaſco, he ſlew *Raſes* their King alſo, and tranſported them of Damaſco into the higher Media, and ſent certaine people of Aſſyria into Damaſco. He wrought much miſchiefe likewiſe in the countrey of Iſrael, and led away a great number of priſoners from thence. After that the Syrians had beene ſubdued and weakned after this manner, *Achaz* tooke all the gold and ſiluer that was in the Kings treaſury, and in the Temple of God, and carried it vnto Damaſco, and gaue it to the King of Aſſyria, according to thoſe promiſes he had made him, and after much gratuity and thankeſgiuing, he returned backe againe to Ieruſalem.

4. *Reg.* 16.17. The tranſlation of the Iſraelites.

Achaz giueth the gold and ſiluer of the Temple to the King of the Aſſyrians.

Achaz ſhutteth the dores of Gods Temple, and honoreth ſtrange gods.

This King was ſo ſenſeleſſe and ignorant of his owne profit, that although he were ouerpreſſed by warre by the Syrians, yet ceaſed he not to adore their gods, but perſiſted in their honour, as if he expected the victory by their meanes. And although he were ouercome againe, yet intended he the honour of the Aſſyrian gods; chooſing rather to reuerence any, then the true God, whom his forefathers worſhipped: Yea, ſo farre grew he in contempt, and neglect of all true pietie, that at length he ſhut vp the Temple gates, and prohibited the ordinary ſacrifices, hauing before that taken all the precious preſents out of the ſame. After hee had in this ſort committed theſe outrages againſt God, he died, when he was thirty and ſixe yeeres old; and after he had raigned ſixteene yeeres, and left his ſon *Ezechias* to ſucceed him in the kingdome. At that very time died *Phaceias* King of the Iſraelites, by the meanes of a certaine conſpiracy, which *Oſeas* his intended friend wrought againſt him: who held the kingdome for the ſpace of nine yeeres, ſhewing himſelfe both to be wicked, and a contemner of God. Againſt him *Salmanaſar* King of Aſſyria mooued warre, and ouercame him, becauſe God was not fauourable vnto him, neither aſſiſtant in his enterprizes: he was therefore ſubdued, and conſtrained to pay a certaine tribute impoſed vpon him. The fourth yeere of the raigne of *Oſeas*, *Ezechias* the ſonne of *Achaz*, and *Abia* a Citizen of Ieruſalem, raigned ouer the two tribes. He was a man of a vertuous diſpoſition, and one that loued iuſtice and piety: for as ſoone as he came vnto the kingdome, he reſolued with himſelfe firſt of all, that the chiefeſt and moſt neceſſary and moſt profitable thing that might be, was the eſtabliſhment of the ſeruice of God. When as therefore he aſſembled the people, the Prieſts, and the Leuites, he began to diſcourſe and deuiſe with them in theſe or ſuch like words. There

The yeere of the world, 3215. before Christs Natiuitie, 749.

Oſeas impietie and puniſhment.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 14.

4. *Reg.* 17.

„ is no one of you but knoweth, that for my fathers offences, and for your irreuerent regard and
„ ſeruice towards God, ye are falne into many and mightie calamities, becauſe through your ex-
„ treame madneſſe, you haue ſuffered your ſelues to be perſwaded to adore thoſe, whom he eſtee-
„ med to be gods. Since therefore you haue learnt (to your owne miſery) how pernicious a thing
„ impiety is, I exhort you, that (forgetting the ſame) you purifie both your ſelues, your Prieſts, and
„ your Leuites from your former pollutions, that yet at length you may aſſemble together, and
„ open the Temple, and cleanſe the ſame with ordinary ſacrifices, to the end it may be reſtored to
„ the ancient honour which earſt it poſſeſſed: for by this meanes wee ſhall haue God fauourable
vnto vs, when his wrath ſhall be appeaſed that was kindled againſt vs. As ſoone as the King had ſpoken after this manner; the Prieſts opened the Temple, and after they had gathered the ſacred veſſels, and caſt all vncleanneſſe out of the ſame, they offered ſacrifice vpon the Altar, according to the cuſtome. Afterwards the King ſent to all the prouinces vnder his dominion, and gathered together the people of Ieruſalem, to celebrate the feaſt of vnleauened bread (which had beene intermitted a long time through the impietie of the Kings his predeceſſors.) Hee ſent alſo vnto the Iſraelites, exhorting them to forſake the cuſtomes which of long time they had wickedly obſerued, and to returne to the true and ancient manner of ſeruing God, certifying them that he would permit them to repaire to Ieruſalem, to celebrate the feaſt of vnleauened bread, promiſing them that hee himſelfe would ſolemnize the ſame with them alſo: proteſting that hee did this, not in reſpect of his owne profit, but through the deſire hee had to further their felicitie, who ſhould be happy, if they obeyed this his counſell.

Ezechias Embaſſadours, that were ſent to the Iſraelites to exhort them to celebrate the feaſt of vnleauened bread, are ſlain by them.

2 *Paral.* 29.30.

The Word of God is neuer without fruit.

When *Ezechias* Embaſſadours came vnto the Iſraelites, and had deliuered vnto them the meſſage that they had in charge: ſo farre were they from conformity, that they mocked them, and eſteemed them to be mad, and ſpit vpon thoſe Prophets that exhorted them to pietie, and foretold them the euils they ſhould ſuffer, vnleſſe they ſubſcribed to the ſeruice of God; and finally they laid hold on them, and put them to the ſword. And not contenting themſelues with this preſumption, they attempted yet farre worſer things, and neuer gaue ouer vntill that God (in puniſhment of their impiety) made them ſubiects vnder the hands of their enemies, as ſhall appeare manifeſtly hereafter: But diuers of the tribes of *Manaſſe*, *Zabulon*, and *Iſſachar* (reſpecting the good counſels of the Prophets) ſubmitted themſelues to the ſeruice of God, and repaired altogether to Ieruſalem to King *Ezechias* to honour God. As ſoone as they were arriued there,

Ezechias

Ezechias aſcended into the Temple, accompanied with the gouernours and all the people, and offered there ſeuen Bulles, ſeuen Rams, and as many Goates: and after that hee and all the gouernours had laid their hands vpon the heads of the ſacrifice, they deliuered them to the Prieſt, according as it appertained to them, and they ſacrificed and made burnt offerings of them. The Leuites alſo (aſſiſting round about with inſtruments of Muſicke) ſung Hymnes and Songs vnto God, according as they had beene taught by the ordinance of *Dauid*. The other Prieſts had Trumpets, with which they reported to the tune of their Hymnes. Which done, the King & all the people caſt themſelues proſtrate vpon the ground, and adored God; and afterwards ſacrificed ſeuen oxen, a hundred ſheepe, and two hundreth lambes. The King likewiſe beſtowed ſixe hundreth oxen, and three thouſand ſheepe vpon the people to feaſt withall. And when as the Prieſts had ioyfully performed all things (according to the cuſtome contained in the law) the King tooke great pleaſure and banquetted with the people, giuing thanks vnto God. And when the feaſt of vnleauened bread was come, they ſacrificed the Paſſeouer, and during the ſeuen other daies, they offered vp their other ſacrifices. The King gaue in way of gratuitie vnto the people (beſides that which had beene offered) two thouſand oxen, and ſeuen thouſand ſheepe. The Gouernours did the like, and gaue the people a thouſand bulles, and one thouſand foure hundreth ſheepe: and thus was the feaſt ſolemnized, which had not beene ſo magnificently and deuoutly celebrated ſince *Salomons* time. When the ſolemnitie of this feaſt was paſt, they iourneyed and went thorow the countrey, and purified it. They purged the Citie likewiſe of all vncleanneſſe of idols, and the King ordained that the daily ſacrifices ſhould be made according to the law, vpon his charge. He enacted alſo that the people ſhould pay the tenths to the Prieſts and Leuites, with the firſt fruits, to the intent they might wholly intend pietie, and neuer eſtrange themſelues from the ſeruice of God. By which meanes it came to paſſe, that the people brought all kinde of fruit to the Prieſts and Leuites: which the King put vp in certaine ſtore-houſes, which he had built, to be diſtributed to euery one of them, their wiues, and children, and by this meanes they returned againe to their former puritie in religion. After the King had diſpoſed all things in this ſort, he made warre vpon the Philiſtines, and ouercame them, and ſeized all their Cities (betweene Gaza, and Geth.) About this time the King of Aſſyria ſent vnto him, and threatned him, that if hee would not pay him thoſe tributes which his father before him had paid vnto him, he would deſtroy all his countrey. Neuertheleſſe *Ezechias* ſet light by his threats, aſſuring himſelfe in that pietie and zeale he bore towards God, and in the Prophet *Eſay*, by whom he was exactly inſtructed as touching all thoſe things that were to ſucceed. And for this preſent it ſhall ſuffice that we haue ſpoken thus much of this King.

The yeere of the world, 3618. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 746.

Ezechias ſacrifice.

Reformation of Gods Seruice.

The yeere of the world, 3224. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 740.

The King ouercommeth the Philiſtins. Ezechias forſaketh the ſeruice of the King of Aſſyria.

CHAP. XIIII.

SALMANASAR *ſlayeth the King of Iſrael, and leadeth the Iſraelites captiue into the countrey of Media.*

WHEN tydings was brought to *Salmanaſar* King of Aſſyria, that the King of Iſrael had priuily ſent vnto *Soan* King of Ægypt, to requeſt his aſſiſtance in warre againſt the Aſſyrian, he was ſore diſpleaſed, and drew forth his army againſt Samaria, in the ſeuenth yeere of the raigne of *Oſeas*. But the King of Iſrael withſtood his entrance into the city, by which meanes he was beſieged therein for three yeeres ſpace, and finally Samaria was taken by force, in the ninth yeere of *Oſeas*, and the ſeuenth of *Ezechias* raigne. At which time all the kingdome of Iſrael was deſtroyed, and all the people tranſported into the countries of Media, and Perſia; and amongſt the reſt King *Oſeas* was taken priſoner. The King of Aſſyria cauſed certaine Nations of a Countrey, which (by reaſon it abutteth vpon a certaine riuer in Perſia called by that name) was called *Chut*, to remoque their habitation, and to dwell in Samaria, and inhabit the Countrey of Iſrael. As for the ten Tribes of Iſrael, they were tranſported out of their Countrey (nine hundreth forty ſeuen yeeres, ſince their predeceſſors (departing out of Ægypt) poſſeſſed the Country of Chanaan; eight hundreth yeeres after the gouernment of *Ioſuah*; and two hundreth and fortie yeeres, ſeuen moneths, and ſeuen daies, ſince they reuolted from *Roboam Dauids* nephew, to giue the kingdome to *Ieroboam*.) This was the end of the Iſraelites, who tranſgreſſed the lawes, and diſobeyed the Prophets, who foretold them of that calamitie which ſhould happen vnto them, except they repented them of their impieties. The ſedition that they moued againſt *Roboam*, eſtabliſhing his ſeruant for their King, was the originall of their miſchiefes. For *Ieroboam* committing impietie againſt God, and they imitating his wickedneſſe, preuailed ſo much, as the Maieſtie of

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 15.

4 *Reg.* 17.

The Iſraelites remooued from their poſſeſſions, are tranſlated into the Region of the Cuthites.

God grew displeased with them, so that he punished them according as they deserued. But the King of Assyria rauaged and spoiled all Syria and Phœnicia with his army, and his name is found written in the Chronicles of the Tyrians: for he made warre against the Tyrians, at such time as *Elulat* raigned in Tyre, whereof *Menander* maketh mention, who wrote the history of Tyre, and hath translated their Pantarches into the Greeke tongue. The King *Elulat* (said hee) raigned sixe and thirtie yeeres, and pursued the Cutheans that were reuolted from him by Sea, and made them subiect. Against whom the King of Assyria sent forth his army, and inuaded all Phœnicia, and afterwards hauing couenanted a peace with them, hee returned backe againe. The Cities of Sydon, Arce, and Paletyr, and diuers other Cities reuolted from the Tyrians, and submitted themselues to the King of Assyria. For this cause, and for that they of Tyre did not obey him, he drew his army forth once more against them; and he was furnished by the Phœnicians with sixtie ships, and eight hundreth rowers. The Tyrians changing their ships with twelue of their vessels, ouerthrew the Nauy of the Assyrians, and tooke about fiue hundreth men prisoners: which act of theirs, wonderfully increased their honour. But the King of Assyria returning backe againe, planted a garrison vpon the riuer, and fortified the fountaine heads, to the intent the Tyrians might draw no water; which act of his (continuing for the space of fiue yeeres) they were inforced to finde and digge new fountaines to sustaine themselues. These things are written in the Registers of the Tyrians themselues, as also the exploits of the King of Assyria against them. But these Chutheans from the Region of Chut which is in Persia, (where there is a Riuer of that name) for that they were in fiue nations, they brought with them each of them the god whom they honored in their nation, to the number of fiue gods, whom they serued after the manner of their countrey. Whereupon the true and supreme God was grieuously displeased, and prouoked against them: for a plague fell amongst them, that consumed them in such sort, that they could finde no remedie, vntill such time as they had notice that it behooued them to adore the great God, and that therein consisted their safetie. They therefore sent vnto the King of Assyria, requiring him to send them Priests from amongst the Israelites, whom he had led away prisoners in warre. Which done, they learning the law, and the manner of Gods seruice by them, began very diligently to obserue both: by which meanes the plague ceased suddenly. And now euen vnto this day continue they in the same Religion, and are called by the Hebrewes Chutheans, and Samaritans by the Greekes. These as often as they finde the Iewes in prosperitie, call them their cousins (according to the varietie and changes of time) but if they perceiue their fortunes to be on the declining hand, then abiure they consanguinitie, and renounce any lawfull parentage or amitie, and say that they were planted in the countrey, and drawne thither from a forraine nation. But in time and place conuenient, we shall speake of them more amply.

The yeere of the world, 3224. before Christs birth, 740.

The Tyrians Chronicles touching the warres of Salmanazar against the Tyrians, written by Menander.

Gods displeasure against the idolatrous Chuthites.

The Chutheans embrace the seruice of God, and in prosperitie claime kinred of the Iewes.

THE TENTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES: WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the tenth Booke.

1 Senacherib *King of Assyria, besiegeth* Ezechias *in Ierusalem.*
2 Ezechias *hauing liued for a certaine time in peace, dyeth, and leaueth his sonne* Manasses *to succeed him.*
3 *The Kings of the Chaldees and hee of Babylon, warre against* Manasses, *and ledde him away prisoner.*
4 *The History of King* Iosias.
5 Iosias *death in battell, who hindred the King of Aegypt from leading his armie against the Babylonians, and the euent thereof.*
6 *The army of* Nabuchodonosor *commeth into Syria.*
7 Nabuchodonosor *putteth* Ioachim *to death, and maketh* Ioachin *King.*
8 Nabucho-

A Nabuchodonoſor *changeth his purpoſe, beſiegeth* Ioachim, *and is reconciled vnder compoſition.*
S Sedechias *is appointed King ouer Ieruſalem.*
I *Ieruſalem is taken, and the people tranſlated into Babylon by* Nabuchodonoſor.
M *The ſucceſſors of* Nabuchodonoſor: *the deſtruction of Babylon by* Cyrus *King of Perſia.*

The yeere of the world, 3231. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 733.

CHAP. I.

SENACHERIB *King of Aſſyria beſiegeth* EZECHIAS *in Ieruſalem.*

IN the fourteenth yeere of the raigne of *Ezechias* King of the two Tribes, *Senacherib* King of Aſſyria drew forth a huge army againſt him, and ſurprized all the Cities of *Iuda* and *Beniamin* by ſtrong hand. To him *Ezechias* ſent Embaſſadors, promiſing him obedience, and ſuch a tribute, as it ſhould pleaſe him to impoſe. When *Senacherib* had heard and conſidered vpon the Embaſſadours inſtructions, hee reſolued on peace, and accepted *Ezechias* offer, promiſing that he would depart in peace as ſoone as he had receiued three hundreth talents of ſiluer, and thirty talents of gold: ſwearing an oath vnto the Embaſſadours, that vnder theſe conditions hee would depart away without offering any outrage. *Ezechias* giuing credit to theſe words of his, emptied the treaſuries, and ſent the prefixed ſumme to *Senacherib*, hoping to be deliuered from his enemy, and the hazzard wherein his countrey ſtood. But the Aſſyrians hauing receiued the money, ſet light by their promiſes, ſo that *Senacherib* went in perſon to make warre againſt the Ægyptians and Æthiopians, and left *Rapſaces* his Generall in Iudæa with a great power, accompanied with two of his chiefeſt Minions and Courtiers, with commiſſion to ſpoile Ieruſalem: The names of theſe two were *Tharata* and *Anachares*. As ſoone as they were encamped neere vnto the walles, they ſent vnto *Ezechias*, and commanded him to come and ſpeake with them: but he through feare which he had conceiued, went not vnto them, but ſent three of his moſt familiar friends, *Eliacim* the ſuperintendent of his Realme, *Sobna* and *Ioachus* that had the commiſſion of his Regiſters. Theſe three preſented themſelues before the Chiefetaines of the Aſſyrian armie: whom when *Rapſaces* had beheld, hee commanded them to returne vnto their Maſter, and to tell him that the great King *Senacherib* was deſirous to know vnder what hope he thus neglected his gouernment, and obſtinately refuſed to obey him and receiue his army into the Citie? Is it perhaps, becauſe he hopeth the Ægyptians will haue the vpper hand of the Kings armie? If that be his hope, doubtleſſe he is deceiued, ſhewing himſelfe to be like vnto a man that ſtayeth himſelfe vpon a broken reede; by which hee is not onely not ſuſtained, but in his fall alſo, hath his hand pierced therewith. Hee likewiſe wiſhed him to conceiue, that this his expedition was not without the will of God, who, as in times paſt hath giuen them the victory ouer the Iſraelites; ſo now alſo is pleaſed to humble *Ezechias*, and to make both him and his ſubiects ſtoope vnder the Aſſyrian gouernment. Whileſt *Rapſaces* ſpake thus in the Hebrew language (wherein he was very skilfull) *Eliacim* (fearing leſt the multitude ſhould be ſtriken with feare vpon the hearing of theſe words) beſought him to ſpeake in the Syriacke tongue. But he ſufficiently inſtructed what it was that hee feared, anſwered him with a lowder voice in the Hebrew tongue, and told them that they ought to giue eare vnto the Kings commandement, and to yeeld themſelues to his mercy, becauſe it concerned their ſecuritie. I am not ignorant (ſaid he) that both you and your King doe perſwade the people vnder a vaine hope, and fraudulently allure them to beare armes againſt vs. But if your valour be ought at all, and you ſuppoſe that you can leuy the ſiege from your walles, I am ready to furniſh you with two thouſand horſe, giue you vs ſo many horſemen to approoue their valours: but you cannot giue them that you haue not. Why therefore delay you? why yeeld you not to thoſe that are too ſtrong for you? and are able euen in ſpite of your reſiſt to ranſacke your Citie? whereas you know that a willing ſubmiſſion is alwaies ſecure: contrariwiſe whereas dutie is inforced, there wanteth no perill of calamitie.

4 Reg. 18. The deſtruction of Iudæa.

The oath of Senacherib, and his breach thereof.

Rapſaces perſwaſion, to cauſe Ezechias ſubmit.

When both the Embaſſadours and the people had heard that which the Aſſyrian had ſpoken, they reported the ſame to *Ezechias*, who incontinently caſt his royall garments off, and cloathed himſelfe in ſackcloth, carrying the countenance of a diſconſolate man; and caſting himſelfe proſtrate vpon the earth after the manner of their countrey, he beſought God to be aſſiſtant vnto him, ſince all other hope was vaine. Hee ſent alſo certaine of his friends, and ſome Prieſts vnto the Prophet *Eſay*, requiring him to pray vnto God, that ſince the ſacrifice was offered vnto him

4. Reg. 19. Ezechias in aduerſity hath recourſe to God, hee is comforted by Eſay.

The yeere of the world, 3231. before Christs Natiuitie, 733.

for publike securitie, it might please him to frustrate the enemies hopes, and to haue pitie and compassion on his people. When the Prophet had performed no lesse then he required, he receiued an answer from God, by which he assured the King, and all them that were about him, foretelling them that the enemies should be ouercome without stroke strooken, & should retire with shame, and not with that aduantage which they brag'd of at this present, because God had already determined how they should be ouerthrowne. Hee foreprophecied also that *Senacharib* himselfe (the King of Assyria) should faile of his enterprize in Ægypt, and that vpon his returne to his owne Court, he should be slaine. At that very time the Assyrian wrote Letters to *Ezechias*, in which he called him foole and mad man, to thinke that he could warrantize himselfe from being his slaue, yea his in especiall, who had conquered diuers and far greater nations: threatning him with vtter ruine at such time as he should surprize the Citie, if he opened not the gates of Ierusalem willingly, to entertaine his armie. When *Ezechias* had read these Letters, he set light by them, by reason of the confidence he had in God: and hauing opened them, he spred them in the Temple. And whilest he renewed his prayers vnto God for the saluation of the Citie, and his subiects, *Esay* the Prophet told him that his prayer was heard: that hereafter likewise they should manure their lands in peace and security, and should enioy their possessions without feare. Not long after, the King of Assyria hauing but cold successe in his expedition against Ægypt, turned backe againe without doing any thing, for this cause that ensueth. Hee had lost much time in the siege of Pelusium: and at such time as hee had already raised certaine bulwarks as hie as the wall, so that he wanted nothing but to giue the assault; newes was brought him that *Tharsices* King of Æthiopia brought an army to rescue the Ægyptians, with an intent to take his way thorow the desart, and suddenly to charge the Assyrian armie. *Senacharib* troubled with these tidings, speedily departed thence with his army. But *Herodotus* saith, that he made warre with Vulcans priest, especially for that he was both a king and a priest: Besieging Pelusium (said he) for this cause he gaue ouer the siege. The King of Ægypt called to his God for assistance, by whose power the Arabians suffered much misery. But in this also he erreth, in that hee setteth downe the Arabian for the Assyrian. In one night (said he) there was such a multitude of Mice, that they gnew all the enemies bowes and other armes: whence it came to passe that the King being disarmed, withdrew his siege from Pelusium. But *Berosus* a writer among the Chaldees maketh mention of *Senacharib*, and how he raigned among the Assyrians, and troubled both Asia and Ægypt with warre, and declareth the manner in these words: But *Senacharib* returning from the Ægyptian warre came, before Ierusalem, and receiued the army that was there, at the hands of his Gouernour *Rabsace*, and God caused a pestilent sickenesse to fall vpon his army, which was so violent, that the first night of the siege there died an hundreth fourescore and fiue thousand men, with the Gouernours and Chieftaines. With which losse he was so affrighted, and troubled, that fearing to lose his army, he fled with those that remained, and retired himselfe into his kingdome to the Citie called Niniue, where after he had liued for a time, he was traiterously slaine by *Adramelech*, and *Selenar* his two elder sonnes: and being dead, was carried into his owne temple called Arusche, and his children were driuen out of the kingdome for committing the murther, and retired themselues into Armenia, and *Asseradochus* succeeded *Senacharib*. Such was the end of the Assyrian army that came before Ierusalem.

Herodotus of Senacherib.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 11.

The punishment of Senacherib, for displeasing God.

Patricides.

CHAP. II.

EZECHIAS *hauing for a time remained in peace, dieth: and leaueth his sonne* MANASSES *to succeed him.*

KING *Ezechias* (being in this sort beyond all hope deliuered from his feares) offered thankesgiuing and sacrifices vnto God, with all the people, acknowledging that there was no other cause that had slaine part of his enemies, and put the rest to mortall feare, neither that had deliuered Ierusalem from thraldome, but onely Gods succour and assistance. And whilest he altogether intended and was occupied about the seruice of God, he fell sicke of a grieuous disease, so as the Physicians despaired of his health, and his friends expected nothing but his death. This sicknes of his was accompanied with a grieuous care, because he had no children, and saw that he was now to depart the world, & to leaue his house desart, and his kingdom desolate. Being therefore in this sort toyled with discontents, he lamented and besought God, that it would please him to lengthen his life a little time, vntil he had children to succeed him, & that he would vouchsafe that his soule might not be taken from him, before he were the father of a sonne.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 3.

4 *Reg.* 20.

Ezechias sicknesse, and the prolongation of his life assured by miracle.

A ſonne. Hereupon God taking compaſſion of him (and the rather, becauſe he was not grieued for that the pleaſures of his kingdome were taken from him; but for that he ſought for a lawful heire to ſucceede him in the Princedome) he ſent the Prophet *Eſay* vnto him, to aſſure him, that after three dayes he ſhould be recouered of his ſickneſs, and that after he had liued ſome fifteene yeers more, he ſhould depart out of this life, and leaue a lawfull heire behind him. When the Prophet (according as he was commanded) had brought theſe tydings to the King; he doubted both the vnexpected meſſenger, and the mightineſſe of his diſeaſe: for which cauſe he required ſome prodigious ſigne at *Eſaias* hands, to the intent that he might certainely beleeue, that he was ſent as a meſſenger from God vnto him: for the truth of thoſe things, which either exceede our hope, or reaſon, are wont to be confirmed by theſe meanes. Whereupon *Eſay* asketh him what ſigne he required, and it ſhould be giuen him. For which cauſe he requeſted, that ſince the declining ſun had already aduanced his ſhadow ten degrees within the royall lodging, he would cauſe it to returne vnto the place where it was before, and ouerrun againe the ſame lines of ſhadow. On this occaſion the Prophet beſought God, that it would pleaſe him to confirme the King by this miracle: who ſeeing that which he deſired, was ſuddenly deliuered from his ſicknes, and aſcended the Temple to worſhip and praiſe God. At that time it hapned, that the Monarchy of the Aſſyrians was deſtroyed by the Medes, (whereof I will ſpeake in another place.) Anon after, *Balad* King of Babylon ſent an Embaſſadour to *Ezechias* with preſents, calling him his ally and friend: who receiuing his meſſengers, willingly feaſted them, and ſhewed them his treaſures, his arcenall, and C all other magnificence that he had of gold and precious ſtones: and after he had giuen them preſents for *Balad*, he diſmiſſed them. Whereupon the Prophet *Eſay* came vnto him, asking him from whence thoſe Embaſſadours came? To whom *Ezechias* anſwered, that they were of Babylon, and came vnto him from the King, telling the Prophet how he had ſhewed them all that which he had, to the end that hauing ſeene and obſerued his riches and power, they might afterwards certifie the King therof. Whereunto the Prophet replied, ſaying: Know thou, that within a little time thy riches ſhall be tranſported into Babylon, and thy children ſhall be made Eunuchs, and (being no more men) ſhall be ſlaues vnto the King of Babylon. All which God gaue him to vnderſtand before it hapned. For which cauſe *Ezechias* was ſore troubled, to heare theſe tidings, ſaying, that he deſired that his people might not fall into thoſe miſeries: but ſince it was impoſſible to change the decree of God, he required that he might haue peace during his life time. Of this *Balad* King of Babylon, *Beroſus* maketh mention. This Prophet truely diuine, and admirable for the verity of his prophecies, is accounted to haue ſpoken nothing that was vntrue, but to haue left in writing all that which he prophecied: the truth wherof hath afterwards in effect appeared to poſterity. Neither did he alone performe thus much; but beſides him, twelue otherrs haue done the like: and all that which is hapned vnto vs, either good or euill, hath fallen out truly according to their prophecies. But hereafter we will ſpeake of euery one of them. Now when as *Ezechias* had liued his prefixed time (according as wee haue foreſpoken) and gouerned his Kingdome in peace, he died when he was fiftie foure yeeres old, and in the nine and twentieth yeere of his raigne.

The yeere of the world, 3231. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 733.

The Aſſyrian Monarchie deſtroyed.

The embaſſage of the King of Babylon to Ezechias.

The captiuity of Babylon foreprophecied by Eſay.

The yeer of the world, 3232. before Chriſts Natiuity, 732.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 4.

Ezechias death.

CHAP. III.

The Kings of Chaldæa and Babylon warre againſt MANASSES, *and take him priſoner.*

HIs ſon *Manaſſes* (the ſonne of *Achiba*, a woman borne in Ieruſalem) ſucceeded him in the kingdome. This man forſooke his fathers waies, and followed ſiniſter cuſtomes, expreſſing in his manners all kindes of miſchiefe, not omitting any impiety, but addicting himſelfe to all the iniquities of the Iſraelites, who were deſtroyed becauſe of their ſins committed againſt God. He was ſo impudent, as he ſpared not to pollute the very Temple of God, the City and the whole countrey: for making his entry, in deſpite of God, he ſlew afterwards all thoſe that were vertuous men amongſt the Hebrews. And although he had no want of Prophets; yet ſo it is, that he killed euery day ſome: ſo that Ieruſalem was ouerflown with blood. For which cauſe God being prouoked vnto wrath by theſe his ſo hainous offences, ſent diuers Prophets, the one after the other, both to the King and the people, by whom he threatned to inflict the ſame calamities vpon them, which (for contempt of religion) the Iſraelites their brethren had a little before that ſuffered. But they vnwilling to giue truſt to theſe ſpeeches of theirs (whoſe admonitions had they reſpected, they might haue auoided their imminent euils) at length in effect experimented

4 *Reg.* 21. Manaſſes impiety and cruelty.

The yeere of the world, 3247. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 717.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 5. alias, chap. 4.

rimented the truth therof. For whereas they perſeuered in their accuſtomed and diſſolute manners, God incenſed the King of Chaldæa and Babylon againſt them; who ſending his army into Iudæa, and ſpoyling the whole region, at length ſurprized and led away *Manaſſes* priſoner, and made him ſubiect to what puniſhment it ſhould pleaſe them to inflict vpon him. At laſt the wretch (taught by his own miſchiefe) acknowledged his ſin, and humbly beſought God in prayer, that he would make his enemy courteous and mercifull: neither did God ſhew himſelf inexorable; but hauing compaſſion on his miſeries, gaue eare vnto him; and after ſome ſpace of time, the Babylonian ſending him home, reſtored him to his former gouernment. As ſoone as he was returned backe to Ieruſalem, he began (as much as in him lay) to ſhew the fruits of repentance, and to feare God in all things, cleanſing his ſpirit of all thoſe ſinnes, whereunto before-time he was addicted. He purged the Temple alſo, and cleanſed the City; and from that time forward, he addicted himſelfe wholly to thinke how he might giue God thanks, for that he had thus retyred him from ruine, and how he might paſſe all the remnant of his life in his fauour. He taught the people likewiſe to do the like, telling them what miſeries they had endured within a few yeers, for that they had demeaned themſelues impiouſly. He repaired the Altar alſo, and according to *Moſes* preſcript offered thereon ſolemne ſacrifices: and after that he had purueyed thoſe things that concerned the ſeruice of God, as it appertained; he bethought himſelfe likewiſe of the ſecurity of the City of Ieruſalem, and carefully repaired the old and ruined wals, annexing alſo another incloſure thereunto, and erecting high Towers likewiſe, furniſhing the ſame with munition and victuall ſufficient for a City of defence. And ſo much was he changed during the reſt of his life, that he was held moſt happy; and after that time he began to ſerue God, diuers tooke example of vertue by imitating him. After he had liued ſixty and ſeuen yeeres, he dyed in the fiue and fiftieth yeere of his raigne, and was buried in his garden. His kingdome came into the hands of his ſonne *Amos*, the ſon of *Emalſema*, of the City of Iabath; who imitating his fathers youthly courſe, was ſlaine in his owne houſe, by a conſpiracy plotted by his own houſhold ſeruants, after he had accompliſhed the yeers of foure and twenty, and raigned two. After his death the people ſlew his murtherers, and he was buried with his father, and the kingdome was giuen to his ſonne *Ioſias*, who was onely eight yeeres old.

The yeere of the world, 3247. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 717.

Manaſſes ſurprized & led priſoner into Babylon, and after his repentance reſtored to his Kingdome.

The yeere of the world, 3288. before Chriſts Natiuity, 676.

Manaſſes purifieth the City, & conſecrateth the Temple again

The yeere of the world, 3302. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 602.

Manaſſes death.

Amos King of Iuda, a wicked Prince.

CHAP. IIII.

The Hiſtory of IOSIAS.

IOSIAS mother was of the City of Boſceth, and was called *Ieda*: he was a man of a good nature, and of his owne inſtinct inclined to vertue, conforming himſelfe to the cuſtomes and manners of his progenitor *Dauid*, both in the ſcope and rule of all his life. When he grew to be twelue yeeres old, he gaue manifeſt approbation of his pietie and iuſtice: for he drew the people to a conformable courſe of life, and to the deteſtation and aboliſhing of Idols, that were no gods, and to the ſeruice of the onely and true God of their forefathers. And conſidering the actions of his predeceſſors, he began to rectifie them in that wherein they were deficient, with no leſſe circumſpection, then if he had beene an old man; and that which he found to be correſpondent and aduiſedly done by them, that did hee both maintaine and imitate. All theſe things did he both by reaſon of his innated wiſedome, as alſo by the admoniſhments and counſails of the Elders: for following orderly the lawes (both in reſpect of publique policy, as alſo in religion) he walked vprightly, in that by obſeruing them, he could not erre. For circuiting both the City and the whole country, the King razed downe and defaced the woods that were made for ſtrange gods, and ouerthrew their altars; and all thoſe gifts that had been offered vnto them by his predeceſſors, were defaced in a mockerie: and in this manner cauſed he the people to returne to the ſeruice of God, and to forſake the honour they did vnto Idols. Hee offered likewiſe the ordinary ſacrifices and burnt offerings vpon the altar, and eſtabliſhed Iudges and Magiſtrates to determine publike debates, and to doe each man right, charging them to haue no leſſe reſpect of equity, then they had of their owne liues. He ſent alſo thorow all the country, cõmanding all thoſe that would be contributors, either in gold or ſiluer, towards the reparation of the temple, ſhould bring in their beneuolence according to their wils, and faculties. And when all the money was gathered together, hee appointed ſuperintendents, both ouer the Temple, as alſo ouer the charges that were defraied in the reparation thereof: namely, *Amaſias*, who was already Gouernor of the City, & *Saphan* the Secretary, and *Ioata* Committee ouer the Regiſters, with the high Prieſt *Elcia*: who with all expedition and diligence prouided workmen, & all that which

The yeere of the world, 3304. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 660.

Ioſias King of Iuda.

4 Reg. 22.

Ioſias reſtoreth the true ſeruice of God.

The yeere of the world, 3307. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 657.

Ioſias rooteth out Idolatry.

The yeere of the world, 3321. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt, 944.

Iudges.

The zeale of the people in the ſeparation of the Temple

which was requiſite for the building, and began the worke. This ſudden and ſpeedy reparation of the Temple gaue a manifeſt teſtimony of the Kings piety: who when he had attained to the eighteenth yeere of his age, ſent *Elcia* the High Prieſt, and cauſed him to melt downe the remainder of the money that was giuen towards the building of the Temple, and to make veſſels, cups, and ewers, for the ſeruice of the Altar. He commanded alſo, that all the gold and ſiluer that was in the treaſury ſhould be brought forth, and employed after the like manner in cups, and other veſſels. Now whileſt the High Prieſt ſearched the treaſurie, he found the ſacred books of *Moſes* in the Temple, which he brought and deliuered the Scribe *Saphan*; who after he had peruſed the ſame, preſented them vnto the King, giuing him to vnderſtand, that all that which he had commanded, was accompliſhed: beſides that, he read the books vnto him; which when the King had heard, he rent his clothes, and called *Elcia* the High Prieſt vnto him, and the Scribe *Saphan*, with certaine other of his inward friends, and ſent them vnto the Propheteſſe *Olda*, the wife of *Sallum*, a man in high dignity, and famous, by reaſon of his nobility: commanding them that when they came vnto her, they ſhould endeauour to appeaſe Gods wrath, and labour to recouer his fauors, becauſe it was to be feared, that by reaſon that their anceſtors had tranſgreſſed the lawes of *Moſes*, they ſhould be in danger to be diſpoſſeſſed of their countrey; and abandoned by all men, ſhould at length periſh miſerably.

The yeere of the world, 3321. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 643.

Moſes ſacred bookes found in the temple.

Olda the Propheteſſe ſent vnto by Ioſias.

The Prophecy of the Iewes miſery.

When the Propheteſſe had heard the Kings commandement, ſhee willed thoſe that were ſent vnto her, to returne vnto the King, and to certifie him from her, that God had giuen a ſentence againſt them, which might not be reuoked, by any praiers whatſoeuer; namely, that ſince they had tranſgreſſed the law of *Moſes*, the people ſhould periſh, & ſhould be caſt out of their country, and depriued of all their goods that they had, and for that they haue not grown to amendment in ſo long time; notwithſtanding the Prophets had exhorted them to repentance, & had foretold the puniſhment of their impieties, wch ſhould happen vnto them, to the end that they migh teleeue that God is God, & that he failes not in any thing that he hath foretold by his Prophets. Furthermore ſhe ſaid, that he forbore as yet to ſend theſe afflictions vpon them, for *Ioſias* ſake, who was a vertuous man: but that after his deceaſe God would powre his intended puniſhments vpon the people. This prophecy of the woman they ſignified vnto the King: who ſent into all parts, and aſſembled the people in Ieruſalem, commanding the Prieſts and Leuites, and generally all men without diſtinction of age, or perſon, to be preſent in that conuention. Now when they were aſſembled, he firſt of all cauſed the ſacred bookes to be read, and afterwards ſtanding aloft vpon his Throne, he cauſed all the people to ſweare and promiſe that they ſhould ſerue God, and keep *Moſes* lawes. Whereupon all of them did willingly approue whatſoeuer he ſaid, promiſing to doe that whereunto they were exhorted. And therewithall offering vp preſent ſacrifices vnto God, they beſought him to ſhew himſelfe fauourable and mercifull towards them. The King likewiſe commanded the High Prieſt, that if there were any neceſſary in the Temple which were made by his predeceſſors, in honour of idols and ſtrange gods, he ſhould caſt it out. And after that a great quantity was found therein, all of it was gathered together and burnt, and the aſhes afterwards were ſcattered here and there. And as touching the Prieſts (that appertained to idols that were not of the race of *Aaron*) he put them to death. When theſe things were thus executed in Ieruſalem, he came afterwards to the plaine countrey; and all that which *Ieroboam* had erected there in honour of idols, he vtterly defaced it, and the bones of the falſe prophets were burnt vpon the Altar that *Ieroboam* had builded. This had the Prophet foretold that came to *Ieroboam*, at ſuch time as he offered ſacrifice, and told him in the preſence of all the people, all that which ſhould happen: namely, that one of *Dauids* poſterity called *Ioſias*, ſhould doe thoſe abouenamed things: which prophecy tooke effect three hundreth ſixtie and one yeere after. After this, King *Ioſias* tranſported himſelfe to the Iſraelites (who had auoided the captiuity and ſeruitude of the Aſſyrians) and perſwaded them to forſake their impieties, and the ſeruices they had performed to ſtrange gods, and to honour the Soueraigne and true God of their fathers, and to cleaue vnto him. He made a ſearch alſo thorow euery houſe, borough and city, fearing leſt as yet there ſhould be an idoll hidden. He likewiſe ſought out the charriots that were made by his anceſtors, in honour of the Sunne, and all that which was adored whatſoeuer it were, and vtterly aboliſhed the ſame. After he had in this ſort purged the countrey, he aſſembled all the people in Ieruſalem, where he celebrated the feaſt of vnleauened bread, and the ſolemnity of Eaſter. Towards the performance whereof, he gaue the people young kids and lambes, to the number of thirty thouſand, and three thouſand bullockes for burnt offerings: and the chiefe among the Leuites diſtributed amongſt the other Leuites fiue hundreth lambs, and fiue hundreth bullocks,

4 *Reg.* 13. A liuely Image of a godly Prince.

The truth of the diuine oracles. 3 *Reg.* 13.

The celebration of the Paſſeouer.

bullocks. Hauing therefore ſuch an abundance of beaſts, they ſacrificed according to the Law of *Moſes*, (the Prieſts taking charge thereof, and confirming the reſt of the people by their example.) Neither was there euer ſuch a ſolemnity kept by the Hebrewes, ſince the time of *Samuel* the Prophet; becauſe all things were done according to the lawes and ancient cuſtomes, which were obſerued in the time of their fathers. After this, *Ioſias* liued in peace, riches, honour, and eſtimation amongſt all men: and thus finiſhed his life.

The yeere of the world, 3321. before Chriſts Natiuity, 643.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 9. alias chap. 5.

CHAP. V.

Diuers exploits of NECHAO.

The yeere of the world, 3334. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt, 630.

NEchao King of Egypt hauing gathered great forces, conducted his army towards the floud Euphrates, to warre againſt the Medes and Babylonians, who had deſtroyed the Empire of Aſſyria: for *Nechao* affected the gouernment of all Aſia. Now when hee drew neere vnto the City of Mende (which was vnder *Ioſias* ſubiection) King *Ioſias* denyed him paſſage, and would not ſuffer his army to march thorow his countrey. For which cauſe *Nechao* ſent a Herauld vnto him, to let him vnderſtand, that it was not againſt him that he made war, but that he bent his courſe towards Euphrates: for which cauſe he wiſhed him in no ſort to hinder his intended iourney, leſt thereby he ſhould be conſtrained to make warre vpon him. But *Ioſias* reſpected not this demand of his, but reſolued himſelfe to hinder his paſſage thorow his country: And truly I ſuppoſe that the deſtinies pricked him forward to this arrogance, to the end he might haue ſome occaſion to doe ſome thing againſt *Nechao*. For whileſt he diſpoſed his army, and rode from one band to another, being mounted vpon his charriot, he was ſtrooken with an arrow that was ſhot by a certaine Egyptian, which cooled and tempered the ſpleene he had in warre. For feeling himſelfe ſorely oppreſſed with paine, by reaſon of his wound, he commanded his army to retyre, and returned himſelfe to Ieruſalem, where he died of his wound, and was buried with his fathers with great magnificence, after he had liued nine and thirtie yeeres, and raigned thirty and one. For him the people mourned with great heauineſſe, lamenting and ſorrowing for many dayes. The Prophet *Ieremie* alſo made a deploration ouer him in lamentable verſe, which is as yet extant euen in theſe daies. This Prophet left in writing thoſe euils that ſhould afterwards happen vnto the citie, and the captiuitie wherewith we are intangled at this preſent, and the ſurprizall of Babylon. Neither hath he alone foretold the ſame: but the Prophet *Ezechiel* hath likewiſe done the like; who firſt left two bookes written of the ſame argument. Theſe two Prophets were of the race of the Prieſts. But *Ieremy* kept in Ieruſalem, from the fourteenth yeere of the raigne of *Ioſias*, vntill the deſtruction of the Citie and Temple; as in time and place conuenient we will declare, ſetting downe thoſe occurrences that hapned to this Prophet. After the death of *Ioſias* (heretofore mentioned) his ſonne *Ioaz* ſucceeded him in the Kingdome, at ſuch time as he was twenty and three yeeres old, who raigned in Ieruſalem; his mothers name was *Ametala:* he was a man full of impietie, and of a malignant and peruerſe nature. The King of Ægypt returning from the warre, ſent vnto *Ioas*, commanding him to meet with him in Samath a City of Syria, where he was no ſooner arriued, but he kept him priſoner, committing the kingdome to *Eliacim* his brother (on the fathers ſide) who was his elder brother likewiſe. He changed his name alſo, and called him *Ioachim:* he impoſed a tribute alſo on Iudæa, of one hundred talents of ſiluer, and a talent of gold, which *Ioachim* paid. And as touching *Ioaz*, he led him into Ægypt, where he finiſhed his daies, after he had beene King three moneths, and tenne daies. Now *Ioachims* mother was called *Zabuda*, of the City of Abuma. He was a wicked perſon, and of a malignant nature, hauing neither piety towards God, nor reſpect of equity towards men.

4 *Reg.* 23.

Ioſias death.

An Epitaph written by Ieremy on Ioſias.

2. *Paral.* 25.

Ieremy prophecieth the captiuity of Babylon.

In what time Ieremy liued.

Ioaz King of Iuda.

4. *Reg.* 23. 2 *Paral.* 36. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 7. alias, chap. 6.

Eliacim called Ioachim, made King of Iuda.

The yeere of the world, 3335. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 629.

The yeere of the world, 3336. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 628.

CHAP. VI.

NABVCHODONOSORS *Army commeth into Syria.*

Nabuchodonoſor King of Babylon warreth againſt the Egyptians

IN the fourth yeere of his raigne, a certaine man called *Nabuchodonoſor*, poſſeſſed the Kingdome of Babylon; who at that time went out with a great army againſt Carchabeſa (a Citie ſituate neere vnto Euphrates) reſoluing with himſelfe to fight againſt *Nechao* King of Ægypt, vnder whoſe power all Syria was ſubiect. *Nechao* vnderſtanding of the Babylonians intent, and how great his army was, made very little account thereof, but with a huge armie addreſſed himſelfe towards Euphrates, with an intent to repulſe *Nabuchodonozor*. But hee

was

was ouercome in battell, and loſt diuers thouſands of his men. Whereupon, the Babylonian (paſſing Euphrates) ſeized all Syria as far as Peluſium (Iudæa only excepted.) The fourth yeere that *Nabuchodonoſor* raigned ouer theſe conquered countries, and the eight yeere of the raigne of *Ioachim* ouer the Hebrews, the Babylonian led forth his army againſt the Iewes, with a mightie power, threatning them to vſe all hoſtility, except *Ioachim* would pay him tribute. *Ioachim* fearing his threats, bought his peace with ſiluer, and paid for three yeeres ſpace the tributes that were impoſed on him. But in the third yeere (vnderſtanding that the Ægyptian was vp in armes againſt the Babylonian) he denied the paiment of the tribute; notwithſtanding he was fruſtrated of his hope, for the Ægyptians were not ſo hardy as to make warre. All which the Prophet *Ieremie* daily foretold him, ſignifying vnto him that he builded his hope in vaine vpon the Ægyptians, and that it would fall out that the City ſhould be ouerthrowne by the King of Babylon, and *Ioachim* himſelfe ſhould be deliuered priſoner into his hands. But becauſe there was no meanes for them to eſcape this iuſtice, all that which he ſaid was nothing auaileable. For notwithſtanding the people and Gouernours heard thereof, yet made they no reckoning of the ſame; but were diſpleaſed with thoſe counſailes, which he propoſed vnto them, accuſing *Ieremy* as if hee tooke pleaſure to vtter and publiſh ominous and aduerſe preſages againſt the King: they likewiſe called him in queſtion before the Kings Councell, and required that he might be condemned. Whereupon ſome of them gaue ſentence againſt him: they reproouing the aduice of the Elders that were thus addicted, tooke a more diſcreet courſe, and cauſed the Prophet to depart out of the Kings houſe, forbidding his aduerſaries to doe him any miſchiefe: they proteſting that he had not onely foretold the future calamities of the citie, but that many before him had done the like, as *Micheas* and diuers others; and yet that no one of them had ſuffered any euill by the Kings of their time, but that contrariwiſe *Micheas* had beene honoured as a Prophet ſent from God. By theſe words they appeaſed the people, and deliuered *Ieremy* from the death intended againſt him. This man wrote all his prophecies, and read them to the people in their faſts, and aſſembled them in the Temple in the ninth moneth of the fift yeer of the raigne of *Ioachim*, which booke he had compoſed touching that which ſhould happen vnto the City, the Temple, and the people. When the Gouernours heard the ſame, they tooke the booke from him, and commanded that both he and his Secretary *Baruch* ſhould withdraw themſelues out of the ſight of men: and they tooke the book, and preſented it vnto the King; who in the preſence of his friends, commanded his Secretary to reade the ſame: and after he had heard the contents thereof, he waxed wondrous wroth, and renting it in pieces, caſt it into the fire, intending that it ſhould neuer be ſeene. He ſent out likewiſe a ſtrict commiſſion to ſeeke out *Ieremy* and his Secretary *Baruch*, and to lead them out to be puniſhed. But they had preuented his indignation.

The yeere of the world, 3316. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 928.

Ioachim paieth Nabuchadnezzar tribute. 4 *Reg.* 24.

The yeere of the world, 3343. before Chriſts Natiuity, 621.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 8. Ioachim reuolteth from the King of Babylon.

The yeere of the world, 3345. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 629.

Ieremy foretelleth the deſtruction of Ieruſalem. *Ier.* 22.

CHAP. VII.

NABVCHODONOSOR *putteth* IOACHIM *to death, and eſtabliſheth* IOACHIN *in the Kingdome.*

NOt long after this, he went out to meet the King of Babylon, who was marched out to make warre againſt him: and being incredulous and carleſſe of the Prophets predictions, he opened the gates vnto him, ſuppoſing that he intended him no euill. But when the Babylonians were entred into the Citie, the King obſerued not his promiſes, but put all ſuch to death as were in the flower and beauty of their yeeres, and ſpared none of the inhabitants of Ieruſalem: with them alſo he ſlew their King *Ioachim*, and cauſed his body to be caſt from the top of the walles, and vouchſafed him no ſepulture, eſtabliſhing *Ioachin* his ſonne King of the countrey, and of the city. Moreouer he tooke three thouſand of the moſt honourable Citizens of Ieruſalem priſoners, and led them to Babylon with him, amongſt whom was the Prophet *Ezechiel*, at that time very young in yeeres. This was the end of King *Ioachim*, who liued thirty ſixe yeeres, and raigned eleuen. *Ioachin* that ſucceeded him in the kingdome, was the ſonne of *Noſta* of Ieruſalem, and raigned three moneths and ten dayes.

Nabuchadnezzars entertainment into the city, and cruelty. 4 *Reg.* 24. 2 *Paral.* 36. Ioachim or Iechonias King of Iuda.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

NABVCHODONOSOR *changeth his purpose, and besiegeth* IOACHIN, *and receiueth him vnder composition.*

The yeere of the world, 3346. before Christs birth, 618.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 9.

AS soone as the Babylonian had bestowed the Kingdome of Iudæa on *Ioachin*, hee was seized with a sudden feare, which made him suspect lest *Ioachin* remembring himselfe of the iniuries he had done vnto him by the murther of his father, might draw the countrey into rebellion, and reuolt against him. For which cause he sent out certaine forces, and besieged *Ioachin* in Ierusalem: who being a man of a good nature, and of an vpright heart, was loth to forsake the City in that danger without a Gouernor, considering that it was for his cause that the Common-weale was in that hazzard. For which cause, taking his wife, and his neereſt a-kin with him, he deliuered them into the hands of the Captaines that were sent against him, receiuing an oath from them, that neither they nor the City should receiue any harme. But this promise continued not a yeere: for the King of Babylon obserued it not, but commanded his Captaines to imprison all the youth and artificers that were in the City, and to bring them bound vnto him. The number of them was ten thousand, eight hundred thirty and two persons, besides *Ioachin*, his mother, and his neere allies, whom they tooke prisoners.

4 *Reg.* 25.

Nabuchodonosor a truce-breaker.

CHAP. IX.

SEDECHIAS *is made King ouer Ierusalem, by the Babylonians.*

Sedechias King of Ierusalem seduced by his courtiers and false prophets, giueth no eare to Ieremy.

IN stead of *Ioachin*, he appointed *Sedechias* his Vncle King of Ierusalem, whom he bound by an oath that he should gouerne the countrey without any innouation, or partiall fauour towards the Ægyptians. This *Sedechias* was one and twenty yeeres old, at such time as hee came vnto the Kingdome, and was *Ioachins* brother by the mothers side: he was a contemner of all lawes, and a peruerter of ordinances. For the yong men that were about him, were without the feare of God, and all the people vnder his dominions, committed whatsoeuer outrages were best liking vnto thē. For this cause the Prophet *Ieremie* came vnto him, protesting oftentimes against him, and denouncing, that if he renounced not all those impieties and iniquities he vsed, and addicted not himselfe to that which was iust (but gaue eare vnto his Gouernours, amongst which there were many wicked men, & to those false prophets that misled him, trusting that the Babylonians should not make war against his City, but that the Ægyptians should leuy an army and ouercome them) that then he should incurre much miserie: for (said hee) they haue no truth in their sayings, and those things also which they pronounce, are not to be spoken. Whilest *Sedechias* gaue eare to these discourses of the Prophet, he was perswaded, and acknowledged all that to be true which he had spoken, and very profitable both for him, and his people: but anon after his friends corrupted him, and diuerted him according to their owne opinions. *Ezechiel* also at the same time, had prophecyed in Babylon all those calamities which were to fal vpon the Temple, and sent notice to Ierusalem of that which he had receiued from God. Notwithstanding, *Sedechias* gaue no credit to his prophecies, by reason that all the Prophets were accustomed to accord in all things the one with the other, as touching the surprizall of the city, and the imprisonment of *Sedechias:* but *Ezechiel* differed in this, that he said that *Sedechias* should not see Babylon; notwithstanding that *Ieremy* had prophecied, that the King of Babylon should leade him away prisoner in bonds: because therefore these two accorded not in their sayings, he concluded that the matter wherein they agreed, was of no consequence. Notwithstanding all things happened vnto him according as the Prophets had pronounced, as wee will declare in a conuenient place. After that he had continued his alliance and friendship with the King of Babylon for the space of eight yeers, he brake the league that was betweene them, and confederated with the Egyptians (vnder hope that they should not ouercome the Babylonians.) Which when the King of Babylon vnderstood, he led forth his army against him, and destroyed his countrey to the vttermost: so that after he had taken his Cities of defence, he finally planted his army and besieged Ierusalem. The Egyptian perceiuing the estate wherein his allie *Sedechias* was, leuied a huge army, and came into Iudæa with an intent to raise the siege. Whereupon the Babylonian withdrew his army from Ierusalem to encounter with the Egyptian, and fought with him, and ouercame him in battell, and pursued him with such alacrity, that he put him to flight, and draue him altogether out of Syria. As soone as the Babylonian was dislodged from Ierusalem, the false prophets

Ezechiel prophecieth the destruction of the Temple.

Sedechias reuolt from the Babylonian. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 10. The King of Egypt comming to rescue the King of Ierusalem, is ouerthrown by Nabuchodonosor with all his army, and driuen out of Syria.

phets deceiued *Sedechias*, telling him that the Babylonian ſhould neuer more returne, to make warre either againſt him, or his nation, and that he ſhould neuer any more depart from his houſe in Babylon; and that they who had beene led away captiues, ſhould returne home againe, loaden with thoſe veſſels of the Temple which the King of Babylon had taken from them. *The yeere of the world, 3346. before Chriſts Nativitie. 618.*

But the Prophet *Ieremy* preſenting himſelfe before the King, prophecied the contrary to theſe impoſtors, aſſuring both him and the people, that no profit could befall them by meanes of the Ægyptians, for that the Babylonians ſhould ouercome them, and ſhould returne and encampe before Ieruſalem, and beſiege the ſame, and deſtroy the people by famine, and leade them away priſoners that were remaining, and carry away all their ſubſtance; & that after they were ſeized of the riches of their temple, they ſhould finally burne the ſame. As for the Citie, they ſhould raze it: and (ſaid he) they ſhall keepe vs captiue for the ſpace of ſeuenty yeeres: And from this ſeruitude the Perſians and Medes ſhall deliuer vs, at ſuch time as they haue gotten the Empire out of the hands of the Babylonians: then ſhall they ſend vs backe againe into our countrey, and we ſhall build our temple anew, and eſtabliſh the Citie of Ieruſalem. Diuers men gaue credit to theſe words of *Ieremie*; but the Gouernours and contemners of God, intreated him very cruelly, as if he had beene a man tranſported out of his ſenſe. And whereas hee had an intent to viſit his natiue countrey Anathoth, ſome twenty ſtounds off Ieruſalem, one of the magiſtrates encountring him in his iourney, and laying hold on him, retained him, loading him with this ſlander, that he went and ſtole away to ſubmit himſelfe to the Babylonians. But *Ieremy* anſwered that he was falſly accuſed, & that he repaired only to the place where he was borne. This Prince giuing him no credit, arreſted him, and brought him before the iudgement ſeat, where he ſuſtained all ſorts of outrages & torments, and was ſhut vp in priſon to be puniſhed, and remained there for a time, ſuffering the extremity of wrong and iniury. The ninth yeere of the rãigne of *Zedechias*, and on the tenth day of the ninth moneth, the King of Babylon came and encamped the ſecond time before Ieruſalem, and intrenched himſelfe round about the ſame, for the ſpace of eighteene moneths, and laid battery and ſiege thereto, with as great ſpleene as might be poſſible: And they that were beſieged therein, were encountred with two moſt hainous afflictions, famine, and moſt grieuous peſtilence. At this time the Prophet *Ieremy* being in priſon, held not his peace, but cryed with a loud voyce, and preached, and exhorted the people, willing them to entertaine the Babylonians and to open their gates vnto them: becauſe that in ſo doing they might warrantize themſelues with all their families, whereas otherwaies they were aſſured of deſtruction. He foretold them alſo, that if any one remained in the Citie, he ſhould moſt aſſuredly either periſh by famine, or the enemies fury: but if ſo be they ſubmitted themſelues to the enemies mercy, they ſhould eſcape from death. But thoſe Gouernours that heard him ſpeake after this ſort, gaue him no credit, in that they were not as yet preſſed with the danger: for which cauſe they came vnto the King, and after a deſpitefull manner, told him all that which had beene ſpoken, accuſing *Ieremy*, and reprooving him for a mad man; vrging this, that he had abated their courage, and by his wofull predictions, had weakned the hearts of the people, which were otherwaies ready to fight for him and their country, by reaſon that he flying vnto the enemy, menaced them with the ſurprizal and vtter ruine of their City. But the King in regard of the naturall humanitie and iuſtice that was in him, was not any waies whetted in reſpect of his owne intereſt; yet to the intent he might not ſeeme to be vtterly oppoſed to the Gouernours, by contradicting them, he deliuered the Prophet into their hands, to deale with him howſoeuer they pleaſed. Who hauing obtained this liberty from the King, entred the priſon on the ſudden, and laying hold on *Ieremie*, they let him downe into a pit full of mud, to the intent he might die in that place, and be ſtrangled by the ordure: in effect, he was ſet therein vp to the necke. But one of the Kings ſeruants (an Æthiopian by nation) certified the King of the Prophets affliction, aſſuring him that his friends and Gouernours did not iuſtly, ſo to thruſt & bury the Prophet in the mud, and curſedly to conſpire againſt him, tyring him with bonds and tortures worſe then death. For which cauſe the King hearing this newes, was ſorry that he had deliuered the Prophet to the Gouernours, and commanded the Æthiopian to take thirty men of his court with him (with cords and ſuch other things neceſſary, as might concerne the ſafety of the Prophet) charging him with all expedition to deliuer him from that captiuitie. Hereupon the Æthiopian furniſhed with men and neceſſarie meanes, drew the Prophet out of the mud, and diſmiſſed him without any guard. That done, the King ſent for him in ſecret, demanding of him if he had any meſſage to deliuer him from God, praying him to let him vnderſtand what ſoeuer he knew as touching the ſucceſſe of the ſiege. The Prophets anſwer was, that although he ſhould tel him, yet it would not be beleeued, & that if he ſhould exhort

Sedechias ſeduced by falſe prophets

The prophecy of the captiuity of Babylon and the deliuerie. *Ier. 25. 29, 37.*

The yeere of the world, 3354. before Chriſts Nativitie, 610.

Ieruſalem beſieged. *4. Reg. 25. Jer. 39.*

Two mighty enemies, famine and peſtilence.

Ieremy perſwadeth them to yeeld.

The reward of godly preachers in this life.

Sedechias neglecteth the Prophets good counſel, for feare of the Gouernours.

The yeere of the world, 3354. before Christs Nativity, 610.

hort him, he would not giue eare or liſten vnto him. But (ſaid he) O King, thy friends haue condemned me to death, as if I had beene a moſt wretched malefactor. But where are they now at this preſent that haue deceiued thee, and borne thee in hand, ſaying; that the Babylonian would not come and beſiege thee? Now will I take heed how I tell thee the truth, for feare leſt thou condemne me to death. Hereupon the King ſwore vnto him that he ſhould not die, neither that » he would deliuer him into the hands of the Gouernours: for which cauſe *Ieremy* grounding him- » ſelfe vpon the faith which he had plighted vnto him, counſelled the King to yeeld vp the City to » the Babylonian, becauſe that God had willed him to ſignifie vnto the King, that if he would » ſaue his life, and auoid the imminent danger, and ſaue his City from vtter ruine, and preſerue the » Temple from burning, he ſhould ſubmit; or otherwiſe, that none but he ſhould be the cauſe of » all thoſe euils that ſhould happen vnto the City and Citizens, and of that calamity that ſhould » confound both him and all his family. When the King heard this, he told him that he would do » according as he had counſelled him, and performe whatſoeuer he thought neceſſary to be done » but that he feared his friends, who were already of the Babylonian faction, leſt being accuſed » by them, he ſhould be deliuered (by their meanes, and the Kings diſpleaſure) vnto death. But » the Prophet encouraged him, telling him that his feare was in vaine; aſſuring him that he ſhould » ſuffer no euill, if ſo be he yeelded vp the City: and that neither his wife, nor children, nor the » ſacred Temple ſhould endure either diſaſter, death, or ouerthrow. Vpon theſe words the King diſmiſſed *Ieremy*, charging him to communicate the counſell that was held betweene them to no one of the Citizens, no not to the Princes, if ſo be they ſhould light of any inkling of their conference, or aske of him wherefore the King had ſent for him: aduiſing him to anſwer, if ſo be they were inquiſitiue, that he reſorted to the King, to requeſt him that he might be no more impriſoned: all which the Prophet performed; for they inſtanced him very much to know, for what cauſe the King had ſent for him.

CHAP. X.

Ieruſalem is taken, and the people carried into Babylon by NABVCHODONOSOR.

Ieruſalem beſieged 18. moneths, and at length taken.

MEane-while the Babylonian continued his violent ſiege againſt the City of Ieruſalem, & hauing raiſed Towers vpon certain Bulwarks, he draue away by this meanes all thoſe that approached neere vnto the wals: he raiſed alſo (round about the circuit of the City) diuers plat-formes, that equalled the wals in height. Meane-while, the city was as valiantly and couragiouſly defended by the inhabitants, for neither peſtilence nor famine plucked down their ſpirits: And although that within the citie they were tormented with theſe ſcourges, yet were not their reſolutions diſtracted by the warre, neither did the enemies inuentions aſtoniſh them, nor their engines affright them; but that they inuented new countermines: ſo that all the battell betwixt the Babylonians & Iewes ſeemed to be a triall both of valour & art; whileſt theſe by the one doe aſſuredly hope to ſurprize the city, and the other thought their ſafety conſiſteth herein, if they ceaſed not by new inuentions to fruſtrate their enemies endeauours: And in this eſtate continued they both, for the ſpace of eighteene moneths, vntill they were conſumed by famine, and by the darts that were ſhot againſt them by thoſe that ſhot from the towers. At length the City was taken by the Princes of Babylon (in the eleuenth yeere of the raigne of *Zedechias*, the ninth day of the fourth moneth) who were put in truſt by *Nabuchodonoſor* to performe the ſiege. For touching his owne perſon he made his aboad in the City of Reblata. Now if any man be deſirous to know the names of them that had commandement at ſuch time as Ieruſalem was ſurprized, theſe they be, *Nergelear*, *Aremantus*, *Emegar*, *Naboſar*, and *Echarampſar*.

The yeere of the world, 3356. before the Natiuitie of Christ, 608.

Sedechias flieth by night, and is ſurprized by the enemie.

The City being taken about midnight, the Princes of the enemies armie entred into the Temple; which when *Zedechias* vnderſtood, he tooke his wiues and his children, with the Princes and his friends, and fled thorow a great valley by the deſart: which when the Babylonians vnderſtood by certaine Iewes that were reuolted, and had ſubmitted themſelues vnto them, they aroſe early in the morning to purſue them, and ouertooke and ſurprized them neere vnto Iericho. Whereupon thoſe Princes and friends of *Sedechias* that had taken their flight with him, ſeeing the enemies neere vnto them, forſooke him, & ſcattering themſelues here and there, concluded each of them to ſaue himſelfe. When as therfore the enemies had apprehended him, who was attended by a few followers only, and accompanied by his children & wiues, they brought him vnto the kings preſence; who no ſooner beheld him, but he called him wicked and perfidious, and vpbraided him with

with breach of his promiſe, and contempt of his Maieſty, to whom he had ſworne he would keepe it to his vſe. Furthermore he reproched him for his ingratitude, in that hauing receiued the royalty from his hands (which he had taken from *Ioachin* to beſtow it on him) he had notwithſtanding employed all his forces againſt his benefactor. But (ſaid he) that great God that hateth thy trechery, hath deliuered thee into my hands: and when he had ſpoken theſe words, he cauſed *Zedechias* friends and children to be ſlaine before his eyes, with all his other priſoners: afterwards commanding his eies to be plucked out, he led him to Babylon. All which hapned vnto him, according as the Prophets *Ieremie* and *Ezechiel* had foretold him: namely, that he ſhould be ſurprized and brought before the King of Babylon, and ſhould ſpeake with him face to face, and ſhould ſee him with his eyes (for ſo had *Ieremie* prophecied) but being made blinde and conducted to Babylon, he ſhould not ſee the Citie of Babylon (according as *Ezechiel* had foretold.) All which may ſufficiently expreſſe to thoſe that know not the nature of God, how diuers and admirable his iudgements be, in diſpoſing all things in good order, & preſignifying thoſe things that are to come, euen as in this place there appeareth a moſt ſignall example of humane errour and incredulity, by which it was not lawfull for them to auoid their future calamity, neither ſhun their vnremooueable deſtiny. Thus was the race of the Kings extinguiſhed that deſcended from *Dauid*, who were in number one & twenty, that raigned after him. All of them together gouerned fiue hundred and fourteene yeers, ſixe moneths, and ten daies: adding thereunto the twenty yeeres of the firſt King *Saul*, who was of another Tribe. After this, the Babylonian ſent *Nabuzardan* Generall of his army vnto Ieruſalem to ſpoile the Temple, giuing him in charge to burne both it, and the Kings Palace, and to raze and leuell the Citie with the ground; and afterwards to tranſport the people into Babylon. Who arriued there the eleuenth yeer of the raigne of *Sedechias*, ſpoiled the Temple, and carried away the veſſels that were conſecrated to Gods ſeruice, both thoſe of gold, as alſo them of ſiluer: he tooke likewiſe the great Lauer that was giuen by *Salomon*; the columnes & pillars of braſſe, with their chapters likewiſe, and the tables and candleſtickes of gold: and after he had borne away all things, he burned the Temple the firſt day of the fifth moneth of the eleuenth yeer of *Sedechias* raigne, which was the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonoſors* gouernment. He burned alſo the Kings royall Palace, and razed the City. This Temple was burned 470. yeeres, ſixe moneths, and tenne daies after the foundation thereof; and in the yeere 1062. ſixe moneths and ten daies after the departure of the people out of Egypt: and 1950. yeers, ſixe moneths and ten daies, after the Deluge: from the creation of *Adam* vntill the ruine of the Temple, there were three thouſand, fiue hundreth and thirteene yeers, ſixe moneths and tenne daies. Thus haue we ſet downe the number of the yeeres, and orderly expreſſed what, and in what time euery thing hath beene performed. The Generall for the King of Babylon hauing deſtroyed the Citie, and tranſported the people, tooke priſoners the High Prieſt *Sareas*, and his fellow in the office, the Prieſt *Sephan*, with the Gouernours and Keepers of the Temple, which were three; the Eunuch alſo which had the charge ouer the reſt, and ſeuen of *Sedechias* friends, and his Secretary, beſides ſixty other Gouernours, all which (together with the veſſels which he had pillaged) he ſent to Reblatha a Citie of Syria, vnto the King of Babylon; who commanded in that place that the High Prieſt and Gouernours ſhould be beheaded: as for the reſt of the priſoners, & *Sedechias* the King, he carried them with him to Babylon: he ſent alſo in bonds, with the reſt, *Ioſadoch* the ſonne of *Sareas* the High Prieſt, whom he had put to death in Reblatha (as we haue heretofore declared.) And for that we haue reckoned vp the race of the Kings, and ſet downe likewiſe what they were, and how long they continued, me ſeemeth that it ſhall not bee vnneceſſary to recite the names of the High Prieſts, and to report who they haue bin, that haue adminiſtred the Prieſthood vnder the Kings. *Sadoc* was the firſt High Prieſt of the Temple builded by *Salomon*. After him his ſon *Achimas* ſucceeded in that honour, and after *Achimas*, *Azarias*, after whom ſucceeded *Ioram*, and after *Ioram Ioſchua*, after *Ioſchua*, *Axioram*, who had for his ſucceſſor *Phideas*, to *Phideas* ſucceeded *Sudeas*, to *Sudeas Iulus*, to *Iulus Iotham*, to *Iotham Urias*, to *Urias Nerias*, to *Nerias Odeas*, to *Odeas Saldum*, to *Saldum Elcias*, to *Elcias Sareas*, to *Sareas Ioſadoch*, who was carried away priſoner into Babylon: all which haue ſucceeded in the Prieſthood by lineall deſcent. When *Nabuchodonoſor* was come to Babylon, he ſhut vp *Sedechias* in priſon, where he kept him vntill he died, and after his death he honoured him with a royall tombe. Hee likewiſe offered the veſſels that he had taken out of the Temple of Ieruſalem vnto his gods, and cauſed the people to inhabite the countrey of Babylon, deliuering the High Prieſt from his bonds. The Generall *Nabuzardan* that led the people away captiue, left the poorer ſort in the country of Iudæa; & thoſe alſo that voluntarily yeelded themſelues vnto him, ouer whom he appointed

The yeere of the world, 3356. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 608.

Sedechias hath his eyes pulled out, & his children ſlaine before his face.

How many & how long the kings raigned that were of Dauids line.

The Temple, the Palace, & the City ſpoiled and burnt.

The captiuity of Babylon.

The High Prieſts in Ieruſalem.

Sedechias death.

Hedio & Ruffinus. chap. 11.

The yeere of the world, 3356. before Christs Natiuity, 608.

pointed *Godolias* the ſonne of *Aicam* Gouernour (a man that was both vpright and noble) commanding them to till the land, and to pay their aſſigned tribute to the King. He drew the Prophet *Ieremie* alſo out of priſon, perſwading him to repaire with him to the King of Babylon; telling him that hee had receiued expreſſe commandement from the King, to furniſh him with all things neceſſary for that iourney: but if he were not contented to repaire to Babylon, hee ſhould declare vnto him in what place he would make his aboad, to the intent he might certifie the King thereof. But the Prophet would not follow him, neither depart or ſoiourne in any other place, deſiring rather to liue amidſt the ruines of his countrey, and among the pitious reliques of his poore nation.

Godolias captaine of the fugitiues.

Ieremie ſet at liberty by the Babylonian, and richly offered and preſented.

When the Generall *Nabuzardan* vnderſtood his reſolution, he gaue charge to the Gouernour *Godolias* (whom he left in Iudæa) to haue care of him, and to furniſh him with all that which hee wanted, and after he had gratified him with preſents, he departed. Meane while *Ieremy* dwelt in the City of Maſphath, praying *Nabuzardan* that he would ſend him his diſciple *Baruch* (the ſon of *Neria*, a man of a noble family, and excellently learned in that countrey language.) Now when as theſe that during the ſiege of Ieruſalem were retired out of the City, vnderſtood of the retreat of the Babylonians, they aſſembled together from all parts, and came to Maſphath to *Godolias*, vnder the conduct of *Iohn* the ſon of *Careas*, and *Iezanais* and *Sareas*, and others. And beſides theſe, a certaine man called *Iſmael* of the blood royall, a wicked and fraudulent man, who during the ſiege of the City, had retired himſelfe to *Bathal* King of the Ammonites, and had ſoiourned with him during all the troubles. Who being in this ſort aſſembled before him, *Godolias* counſelled to remaine in that countrey without any feare of the Babylonians, promiſing that in manuring their land, they ſhould incurre no inconuenience. All which he confirmed vnto them by an oath, adding further, that if any diſturbance were offered to any man, hee would readily aſſiſt him. Hee gaue each one this aduice likewiſe, to inhabite any City that beſt liked them; promiſing them to ſend them thither, with ſuch things as appertained to them, to build them houſes and furniſh their habitation; promiſing them that when time ſerued, hee would make their prouiſion of corne, wine, and oyle for their maintenance during the winter time: which when he had propoſed theſe conditions vnto them, hee gaue them leaue to depart, and inhabite the country whereſoeuer they beſt liked. Now when the rumour ran amongſt the people of Iudæa, that *Godolias* had thus courteouſly entertained thoſe that were fugitiues, & how he had permitted them to inhabite & till the countrey (prouided that they payd their tribute to the Babylonian) diuers of them repaired incontinently to him, and inhabited the countrey. And *Iohn* and the other Gouernours being with him, and aſſured both of his clemencie and courteſie, began entirely to loue him. For which cauſe they told him, that *Bathal* King of the Ammonites had ſent *Iſmael* to murther him by ſome treachery, that by that means he might haue the dominiõ ouer the Iſraelites that remained, in that he was of the blood royall. Aſſuring him, that the meanes of his deliuerance from that treaſon, was, if ſo be he would command them to kill *Iſmael* in ſecret: aſſuring him on the contrary ſide, that they feared, that if *Iſmael* ſhould happen to kill him, their whole nation that remained, was like to fall to vtter ruine. But *Godolias* told him plainly, that theſe ſtratagems they intended, were practiſed againſt a man that had receiued pleaſure at his hands; and that it was not likely that he whom he had ſuccoured during the time of his neeeſſitie, would be ſo wicked or impious againſt his benefactor, as to attempt to murther him, whom in any occaſion or neceſſitie he could not, but to his great ſhame and indignity, either flie or forſake. Yea, ſaid he, although thoſe things were true which you informe me of, yet had I rather die, then oppreſſe a man that hath committed his life to my truſt. For which cauſe *Iohn* and the reſt (ſeeing their perſwaſions were in vaine) departed from him. Some thirty daies after, *Iſmael* (accompanied with ten men) came to Maſphath to *Godolias*, who receiued them with preſents and magnificent entertainment, ſo that to expreſſe to *Iſmael* and his companions how heartily they were welcome, *Godolias* drunk ſo hard that he was ſomwhat ouerſeen with wine. Now when *Iſmael* perceiued him to be in that key, and ouerloaden with drinke and ſleepe, hee ſtept vnto him with his ten aſſociates, and cut both his throat and theirs, who kept him company at the banquet: after which murther, he iſſued out by night and ſlew all the Iewes that were left in the city, & thoſe Babylonian ſoldiers alſo that were left in garriſon in that place. The next day there came foureſcore men of the countrey to *Godolias* with preſents, being vtterly ignorant of that which had hapned. *Iſmael* knowing them, called them vnto him, as if he intended to bring them to *Godolias*, and as ſoone as they were entred, he locked the court and ſlew them, and afterwards caſt their bodies into a deepe ditch, to the intent they might not be diſcouered. Of this number

The Iewes reſort to Maſphath to Godolias.

Baruch diſmiſſed out of priſon.

there

there were ſome that eſcaped, who beſought him that they might not bee put to death, before they had deliuered certaine mooueables, garments and corne that they had hidden in the field: which when *Iſmael* vnderſtood, he ſpared them: but he kept them priſoners that were in Maſphath, with their wiues and children, in the number of whom were the daughters of *Sedechias*, whom *Nabuzardan* had left with *Godolias*. This done, he retired backe againe to the King of the Ammonites. *Iohn* and the gouernours of his company, vnderſtanding of the acts committed by *Iſmael* in Maſphath, and aboue all, of the murther of *Godolias*, they were wonderfully diſpleaſed: ſo that each of them aſſembling his priuate force, iſſued forth to purſue and perſecute *Iſmael*, whom they ouertooke neere vnto a fountaine in Hebron. The priſoners that were with *Iſmael*, ſeeing *Iohn* his confederates, tooke courage, ſuppoſing that it was ſome ſuccors that came to help them, and forſooke him that led them, and began to ioyne with *Iohns* followers; and thus fled *Iſmael* with his eight men, to the King of the Ammonites. *Iohn* gathering together all thoſe whom he had reſcued from *Iſmaels* hands, both Eunuches, women, and children, retired into a certaine place called Mandra, where he ſojourned all that day, reſoluing from thence to depart into Ægypt, fearing leſt the Babylonians ſhould put him to death, if they ſhould remaine in Iudæa, for that they would be diſpleaſed with the death of *Godolias*, whom they had planted in the gouernment.

The yeere of the world, 3356. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 608.

Iohn releaſeth Iſmaels captiues.

Being thus plunged and perplexed with theſe deliberations; they addreſſed themſelues to the Prophet *Ieremie*, beſeeching him to enquire of God, and to certifie them, what it behooued them to do in this their doubtfull eſtate, binding themſelues by an oath to do that which *Ieremy* ſhould command them. Heereupon the Prophet promiſed that hee would aske counſell of God for them: and ſome ten dayes after, God appeared vnto him, and willed him to certifie *Iohn*, the gouernours, and the reſt of the people, that if they inhabited Iudæa, he would aſſiſt them, and haue care of them, and keepe them ſo, as the Babylonians (whom they feared) ſhould doe them no harme: but if they departed into Ægypt, he would abandon them, and would be ſo incenſed againſt them, that he ſhould thrall them in the like miſerie, as their brethren had indured in times paſt. Whileſt the Prophet thus warned them from God, they would not beleeue him, in that he commanded them to remaine in that place by Gods preſcript ordinance: but they imagined that vnder a falſe pretext of Gods command, hee had counſelled them thereto, but that in effect he ſpake in fauour of his diſciple *Baruch*, perſwading them to ſtay there, to the end they might be conſumed by the Babylonians: Contemning therefore the counſell which God gaue them by the Prophet: both *Iohn* and the reſt of the multitude went into Ægypt, and led with them both *Baruch* and *Ieremie*. Whither they were no ſooner come, but God told rhe Prophet, that the Babylonian ſhould lead his army into Ægypt; for which cauſe he willed him to foretell the people that Ægypt ſhould be deſtroied, and that they ſhould partly be ſlaine in that place, and partly led captiue to Babylon. Which came in like manner to paſſe: for in the fift yeere after the deſtruction of Ieruſalem (which was the three and twentieth yeere of the raigne of *Nabuchodonoſor*) *Nabuchodonoſor* in his owne perſon led his army into Cœloſyria, and hauing conquered the ſame, he made war vpon the Ammonites and Moabites. And after he had brought theſe nations vnder his obeiſance, he went and fought againſt the King of Ægypt, and ouercame him: and after he had ſlaine their King that gouerned at that time, and planted another in his place, hee afterwards tooke the Iewes that he found in that countrey, and carried them priſoners into Babylon. By this meanes we haue learned that the eſtate of the Hebrewes being brought to this point, hath bin tranſlated twice to the other ſide of Euphrates. For the people of the two tribes, were captiued by the Aſſyrians, during the raigne of *Oſeas*; and conſequently that of the two tribes vnder *Nabuchodonoſor* King of the Babylonians and Chaldees vpon the taking in of Ieruſalem. True it is that *Salmanazar*, after he had diſplaced the Iſraelites, planted the Cutheans in their place, who beforetime inhabited the innermoſt of the countries of Perſia and Media, and were called Samaritanes, according to the name of the place which they inhabited; but the Babylonian hauing led the two tribes priſoners, hath not planted any other people in their places.

Iohn asketh counſaile of God, and being informed, refuſeth the ſame.

Ier. 42. 43.

The prophecy of the Babylonian armie, and the Iewes captiuitie.

The yeer of the world, 3361. before chriſts Natiuity, 603.

For this cauſe, Iudæa, Ieruſalem, and the Temple, remained deſart for the ſpace of ſeuentie yeeres: and all the time that paſſed betweene the captiuity of the Iſraelites, vntill the deſtruction of the two tribes, was a hundred and thirty yeeres, ſix moneths, and ten dayes. But *Nabuchodonoſor* choſe the moſt nobleſt young men amongſt the Iewes (and ſuch as were allied to King *Sedechias*, and eſteemed likewiſe for the good diſpoſition and faire proportion of their bodies and faces) and committed them to maſters to bee inſtructed, commanding that euery one of them ſhould be gelded, according as they were accuſtomed to deale with yong children of other Na-

tions, whom he ſubdued by force. He allowed them victual from his owne table, and they were taught and inſtructed in the diſcipline of the countrey, and in the Chaldee tongue. Theſe were very apt to learne wiſedome: and for that cauſe hee commanded that they ſhould be trained vp in the exerciſe thereof. Of theſe were foure of *Zedechias* kindred, faire in body, and vertuous in nature, who were called *Daniel*, *Ananias*, *Miſael*, and *Azarias*; whoſe names the Babylonian changed, and willed them to be called by other names, diſtinct and different from their owne. *Daniel* was called *Balthaſar*; *Ananias*, *Sidrach*; *Miſael*, *Miſcah*; and *Azarias*, *Abdenago*. Theſe did the King eſteeme very highly for their excellent nature, and for the great affection that they had to attaine vnto learning and wiſedome, wherein they profited greatly, & were for that cauſe highly reckoned of by him. And whereas *Daniel* and his kinſmen thought good to liue auſterely, and to abſtaine from thoſe meats that came from the Kings table, and in generall from all things that had life, they went to *Askenas* the Eunuch (who had the care and charge ouer them) beſeeching him to conuert thoſe meates to his owne vſe, which were ſent them from the Kings table, and allowe them herbes and dates, and ſuch things as had no life; becauſe they intended to hold that courſe of life, and to forſake all others. *Askenas* told them, that he was ready to condiſcend vnto their demands; but that hee feared, leſt being called for by the King, they ſhould be found to be leane in body, and diſcoloured in face (for without doubt following that diet, they muſt needly loſe their colours, and be leſſe diſpoſed in compariſon of others) which might bee the cauſe to bring him into hazard of his head. They perceiuing that *Askenas* intended nought elſe but his ſecuritie, perſwaded him to allow them but ten daies of approbation, vnder condition, that if by that regiment of diet, their habitude of body ſhould not bee any waies altered, they might continue in that faſhion of life and diet, which they had intended from that day forwards: but if they ſhould be found leane and weake, and leſſe proportionable (then they that fed vpon the Kings allowance) that then they ſhould returne to their accuſtomed diet. Now it ſo fel out, that not only their bodies were better in growth, but they ſeemed rather better fed, and of a taller ſtature then the reſt: ſo that they that liued vpon the Kings ordinarie, ſeemd leane and weariſh; whereas *Daniel* and his companions made ſhew, as if they had beene nouriſhed with dainties, and brought vp in aboundance. From that time forward, *Askenas* tooke all that which was allowed the foure young men from the Kings table, and boldly kept it to himſelfe, giuing them in ſtead thereof, the diet that they choſe and delighted in. They hauing their ſpirits more pure and ſubtill to comprehend their maſters inſtructions, and their bodies more ſtrong to endure labour (for their ſpirits were not charged with diuerſities of meates, nor their bodies effeminated for the ſame cauſe) attained the more readily to all that doctrine that was taught them by the Hebrewes & Chaldees: *Daniel* eſpecially hauing profited in wiſedome, ſtudied the interpretation of dreames, and God appeared vnto him. Two yeeres after the ſurprizall of Ægypt, King *Nabuchodonozor* dreamed a wonderfull dreame, the iſſue whereof God made him ſee in a dreame: but he forgate the ſame when he aroſe out of his bed. And for that cauſe ſent he for his Chaldees and diuines, telling them that hee had dreamed a dreame, but that hee had forgot the ſame, commanding them to declare vnto him what the dreame was, and the ſignification therof alſo. Whereunto they anſwered, that it was impoſſible for men to ſound out the ſecret therof; notwithſtanding they promiſed him, that if he would declare his viſion vnto them, they would cauſe him to vnderſtand the ſignification thereof. Hereupon *Nabuchodonozor* threatned them with death, except they repreſented his dreame vnto him; and they proteſting that they could not fulfill his requeſt, hee commanded them all to be ſlaine. But *Daniel* hearing how the King had condemned all the Sages to death, and knowing that both he and his companions had part in that danger, addreſſed himſelfe to *Ariochus* the captaine of the Kings guard, requiring him to informe him, for what cauſe the King had adiudged the Chaldees and Sages to be put to death: And hauing intelligence what had hapned as touching the dreame, & how the king by forgetting the ſame, had charged them to inform him therin, & how they had anſwered that it was impoſſible for them to performe the ſame, & how thereby they had prouoked the King to diſpleaſure: he beſought *Ariochus* to go vnto the King, and to procure one nights reprieue in the behalfe of the Ægyptians and Chaldees, in that hee hoped during that night time to beſeech God, and intreat from him both the dreame and the ſignification thereof. Hereupon *Ariochus* told the King what *Daniel* had requeſted, who reſpited the execution of the Magicians for that night, vntill he might ſee what would become of *Daniels* promiſe: who retiring himſelfe with his companions into his chamber, beſought God all the night long to manifeſt vnto him the dreame, and deliuer the Magicians and Chaldees from the Kings wrath, with whom both he and the reſt of his companions

The yeere of the world, 3361. before Chriſts birth, 603.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 12.

Dan. 1. Daniels forwardnes and his fellowes towardnes in ſtudying wiſdome and good letters.

The yeer of the world, 3363. before Chriſts Natiuity, 601.

Dan. 2. Nabucodonoſor dreaming, forgetteth his viſion, ſendeth for the Magicians not able to diſcouer his doubts he threatneth them with death.

companions were like to die, except he might know what the King had dreamt the night past, and what was the interpretation thereof. Whereupon God (hauing compassion of the danger wherein they were, and taking pleasure in *Daniels* wisedome) signified vnto him both the dreame and the signification thereof, to the intent the King might bee resolued in the meaning thereof.

The yeere of the world, 3363. before Christs Natiuitie. 601.

Daniel hauing receiued the truth from God, arose very ioyfully, and certified his brethren (who had already lost all hope of life, and thought on no other thing but death) and gaue them courage and hope of life. Hauing therefore rendred thankes vnto God, for that he had had compassion of their younger yeeres, as soone as it was day he went vnto *Arioch*, requesting him that he might bee brought to the Kings presence, certifying him that he would open vnto him the dreame which he had seene the night past. Now when *Daniel* was brought vnto the Kings presence, he besought him that hee would not esteeme him to bee more wise then the other Chaldeans and Magicians, in that, whereas none of them could expound his dreame, hee did attempt to expresse the same: for that came not to passe, by reason of his experience, or for that he was more industrious then they were, but (said he) God hath had compassion on vs that were in danger of death; and at such time as I requested him to grant me, and my country-men life, he hath certified me both of your dreame, and the signification thereof. I was not so much aggrieued, for that in our innocency wee were adiuged to death by thee, as affraid of thine estimation and glory, which was hazzarded by condemning so many, and so innocent and iust men to death: whereas that which you haue required of them, sauoureth nothing of humane wit, but is the onely worke of God: Whilest therefore thou thoughtest in thy selfe, who it was that should command the whole world after thy selfe; at such time as thou wert asleepe, God intending to let thee know all those that should gouerne after thee, presented thee with this dreame. It seemed vnto thee that thou sawest a great statue, whereof the head was of gold; the shoulders & armes of siluer; the belly and thighs of brasse; and the legges and feete of yron. Thou beheldest after that, a great stone (that was drawne from a mountaine) that fell vpon the statue, and beat downe and burst the same, and left no whole piece thereof: so that the gold, siluer, yron, and brasse, were powdred as small as dust: whereupon a violent wind seemed to blow, which by the fury and force thereof, was borne away and scattered into diuers countries: on the other side the stone grew so mightie, that it seemed to fill the whole earth. This was that vision that appeared vnto you, the signification whereof is expressed after this manner: The head of gold signifieth your selfe (and those Kings of Babylon that haue been before you.) The two hands & shoulders signifie that your Empire shall be restored by 2. Kings, the one part by the King of the East, cloathed in brasse, whose force shall be abated by another power, resembling that of yron; & he shall haue the power ouer the whole earth, by reason of the nature of yron, which is more strong then gold, siluer, or brasse, he told the King also what the stone signified. But for mine owne part; I thought it not expedient to expresse in this place: because the only butte and intent of my writings is only to register such things as are past, and not such matters as are to come. But if any man haue a desire to know these things; & cannot bridle his curiositie, but wil vnderstand such matters as are hidden, let him read the book of *Daniel*, which he shal find amidst the sacred scriptures. When King *Nabuchodonosor* had heard those things, & remembred himselfe of his dream, he was astonished at *Daniels* wisedome, & casting himselfe prostrate on the earth, after the manner of those that adore God, he embraced *Daniel*, giuing direction that sacrifice should be offered vnto him, as if he were God. Moreouer, he called him by the name of God, and committed the administration of his whole kingdome to him and his companions, who by reason of the commotions and conspiracies of their maligners and detractors, hapned to fall into most imminent and dreadfull danger, vpon the occasion that ensueth. The King built a golden Image sixtie cubites high, and sixe in bigneſſe, and erected it in a great Plaine neere vnto Babylon: and being readie to dedicate the same, he assembled all the gouernours and Princes of his countries, commanding them first of all, that as soone as they should heare the trumpet sound, they should prostrate themselues on the earth to adore the statue; threatning that whosoeuer should doe the contrarie, he should be cast into a burning furnace: whereas therefore all of them adored the statue vpon the sound of the Trumpet; *Daniel* and his companions vtterly refused to performe that dutie, alledging for their iustification, that they would not transgresse the lawes of their country: for which cause being apprehended, they were instantly cast into the furnace of fire, and (protected therein by Gods prouidence) escaped death beyond all mens expectation. For the fire touched them not, neither could it burne during their aboade in the furnace. For God so fortified their bodies,

The vision & the Reuelation thereof opened to Daniel.

Daniel telleth the King his dreame, and the interpretation thereof.

Nabuchodonosors dream of the foure monarches of the world.

Daniel & his fellowes aduanced to honour.

The yeere of the world, 3364. before Christs Natiuitie, 600.

The Kings edict for honoring the golden statue. *Dan. 3.*

Daniel & his kinsmen refusing to adore the statue, are cast into the furnace.

The yeere of the world, 3364. before Christs birth, 620.

bodies, that they could not be consumed by fire: which accident made them in greater estimation with the King, for that hee saw they were vertuous and beloued of God: and for that cause they were highly honoured by him. Not long after this, the king saw another vision in his sleepe, which signified vnto him, that being cast from his Empire, he should conuerse with sauage beasts,

The yeere of the world, 3369. before Christs Natiuitie, 595.

and that hauing liued in that estate in the desart, for the space of seuen yeeres, he should recouer his kingdome againe. Hauing had this dreame, he assembled the Magicians once more, demanding their answer, and the signification thereof. But it was impossible for any one of them, either to finde out, or declare the intelligence of this dreame vnto the King: Onely *Daniel* discouered the same, and the effect was answerable to his prediction. For the king passed the forelimited time in the desart, so that no man durst intermeddle with the affaires of estate during seuen yeeres. But after he had called vpon God, that it would please him to restore him to his kingdome, he repossessed the same againe. Let no man in this place accuse me for reporting these particularities, according as I haue found them written in holy bookes: for in the entrance of my history I haue answered those objections: so that I haue openly protested, that I will onely faithfully translate the Hebrew Histories into the Greeke tongue: and according to my promise, relate that which is contained therein, without adding any thing of mine owne, or concealing ought of another mans.

Dan. 4. The dreame, and exposition thereof.

Nabuchodonosors death.

After that *Nabuchodonosor* had raigned forty three yeeres, he dyed: he was a man of execution, and more happy then any of his predecessors. *Berosus* maketh mention of his actes in the third booke of the *Chaldaique* History, where he speaketh thus. His Father *Nabuchodonosor*, hauing notice that the Gouernour whom hee had appointed ouer Ægypt, and the neighbouring parts of Cœlosyria and Phœnicia, was reuolted from him (being at that time in himselfe vnable to indure the troubles of warre) committed a part of his forces vnto his sonne *Nabuchodonosor*, who was in the flower of his age, and sent him forth against him: who encountring the Rebell, and fighting with him, ouercame him, and brought the countrey vnder his subjection. Meanewhile, *Nabuchodonosor* the father dyed of a sickneſſe in Babylon, after hee had raigned one and twentie yeeres. *Nabuchodonosor* the Sonne, hauing notice of his Fathers death, gaue order to the affaires of Ægypt, and the rest of the countrey: and committing the care and transportation of the Iewes, Syrians, Ægyptians, and Phœnicians to his friends, to bring them to Babylon with his army and carriage, he with a few men made hastie iourneyes thorow the desart. And when he had taken the administration of the kingdome vpon him (which in his absence was in the hands of the Chaldees, and by their Chiefetaine was reserued vntill his returne, vnto his vse) he became Lord of all his Fathers Empire. When his prisoners were arriued, he assigned them conuenient dwelling places in the countrey of Babylon; and with the spoiles of warre, he magnificently repaired and decked the Temple of Bell, and other places. He enlarged the olde Citie, and repaired and beautified it with other buildings: by meanes whereof, they that would besiege the same, were hindred from cutting off of the current of the riuer, to the prejudice of the inhabitants. He enuironed it inwardly with a trebble wall, and outwardly with as mighty and as many encloſures, and made all of burnt bricke. The walles were magnificently builded, and the gates brauely adorned in manner of Temples. He caused a Palace to be builded neere vnto his Fathers ancient Palace: the magnificence and ornament whereof, I am too weake witted to expresse; onely this thing most memorable, I haue thought good to note downe, that these huge, great and pompous Buildings were finished in fifteene dayes. In this Palace he had vaults raised so high, that in outward appearance they seemed to be mountaines, on which all sorts of trees were planted. He deuised and prepared also a goodly garden, and called it the hanging garden, because his wife (hauing beene brought vp in the countrey of Media) desired to haue a place conformable to that of her birth. *Megasthenes* in the fourth booke of his Indian Historie, maketh mention of this garden in that place, where he enforced himselfe to prooue, that this King surpassed *Hercules* im valour and execution of worthy actions. For he said, that *Nabuchodonosor* ouercame the chiefe Citie of Lybia, and a great part of Spaine. *Diocles* in the second booke of the Persian Historie, and *Philostratus* in his Phœnician and Indian Historie, make mention of this King, saying that he ouercame the citie of Tyre, at the end of thirteene yeeres; at such time as *Ithobal* raigned ouer the Tyrians. This is the summe of all that which the Historiographers write as touching this King.

Berosus of Nabuchodonosor. Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 13.

Megasthenes of Nabuchodonosor. Diocles. Philostratus.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

NAEVCHODONOSORS *succeſſors: the deſtruction of Babylon by* CYRVS, *King of Perſia.*

The yeere of the world, 3382. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 582.

AFTER *Nabuchodonoſors* death, his ſonne *Euilmerodach* obtained the kingdome, who incontinently deliuered *Iechonias* King of Ieruſalem out of priſon, and held him in the number of his moſt eſteemed friends, and gaue him preſents, and committed the gouernment of the palace of Babylon into his hands. For his father had not kept his promiſe with *Iechonias*, when he ſurrendred himſelfe, his wife, children, and friends into his hands, in the behalfe of his countrey, and to the intent that the Citie of Ieruſalem ſhould not be razed by thoſe that beſieged it, as wee haue heretofore declared. *Euilmerodach* died in the eighteenth yeere of his raigne, and *Nigliſar* his ſonne obtained the kingdome, which he poſſeſſed fortie yeeres, and afterward died. After him the ſucceſſion of the kingdome came vnto his ſonne called *Laboſardach*, which continued in him but for the ſpace of nine moneths, and after his death it came vnto *Balthaſar*, who by the Babylonian was called *Naboandel*. Againſt him *Cyrus* King of Perſia, and *Darius* King of Media made warre; and at ſuch time as he was beſieged in Babylon, there hapned a maruellous and prodigious ſpectacle.

Euilmerodach releaſeth Iechonias from his long impriſonment. 4. *Reg.* 25. *Ierem* 52. Nigliſar. Laboſardach. Balthaſar, or Naboandel King of Babylon.

Balthaſar ſate vpon a certaine feſtiuall in a royall chamber, where he was ſerued with great ſtore of veſſell fit for his maieſtie and royaltie; and with him at the banquet there ſate his concubines, and moſt intireſt friends. At which time (to ſhew his magnificence) hee cauſed thoſe veſſels to be brought out of the temple of his god, which *Nabuchodonoſor* his predeceſſor (fearing to imploy to his owne vſe) had ſtored vp in his idols temple. But *Balthaſar* was ſo puffed with pride, that he dranke out of them, and imployed them to his vſes. Now ſo came it to paſſe, that whileſt he quaffed, and blaſphemed the name of God, he ſaw a hand iſſuing from a wall, which wrote in the ſame certaine ſyllables: by which viſion being ſomewhat terrified, he aſſembled his Magicians and Chaldees, and all that ſort of people (who amongſt thoſe barbarous nations made profeſſion to interpret prodigies and dreames) to the intent they might ſignifie vnto him the meaning and vnderſtanding of that writing. Now when theſe Magicians had told him that they could in no ſort ſound or vnderſtand the ſame, the King was ſore vexed and troubled at this vnexpected viſion: whereupon hee cauſed it to be proclaimed thorow his countrey, that whoſoeuer ſhould reade that writing, and declare the meaning thereof, he would giue him a golden chaine, a purple robe (ſuch as the King of Chaldees wore) and beſides all this, the third part of his Empire. After this proclamation, the Magicians aſſembled together with greater concourſe, and were farre more diligent and inquiſitiue to finde out the ſignification of the writing: but they were no leſſe grounded therein then they were at the firſt. Meane-while, the Kings grandmother ſeeing him wholly amated in minde, began to comfort him, and to tell him that there was a certaine man amongſt the priſoners of Iuda, led thither at ſuch time as *Nabuchodonoſor* deſtroyed *Ieruſalem*, whoſe name was *Daniel*, a man wiſe and expert in ſearching out of things that were impoſſible, and onely knowne vnto God, who euidently expounded that which *Nabuchodonoſor* required, at ſuch time, as no other man could ſatisfie his demand. Whereupon the King called him vnto his preſence, and telling him what proofes he had heard of his wiſedome, & of that diuine ſpirit that was in him, and how he only was fit to interpret thoſe things which otherwiſe were obſcured from other mens knowledge; he prayed him to informe him what that hand-writing ſignified, promiſing him in reward thereof a purple garment, a golden chaine, and the third part of his Empire: to the end that being honoured with theſe titles for his wiſedome, he might grow famous amongſt all men, who demanding the reaſon, ſhould know the intent why he was honoured. But *Daniel* (refuſing all theſe preſents of his, in that the wiſedome that is giuen from aboue, is not corrupted thereby, but is freely anſwerable to thoſe that haue need thereof) told him that that writing did foretell him the end of his life, becauſe he had not learned to feare God, neither to lift vp his thoughts higher then humane nature, notwithſtanding he had ſeene the chaſtiſement wherewith his predeceſſor had beene puniſhed, for the outrages he committed againſt God. For that *Nabuchodonoſor* hauing beene driuen to lead his life amongſt beaſts by reaſon of his impieties, after diuers requeſts and ſupplications had obtained mercy, and was returned vnto humane conuerſation, and into his owne kingdome, for which cauſe all the time of his life he praiſed Almighty God the gouernour of all things: whereas hee had omitted to doe the like, and had blaſphemed the name of God in diuers ſorts, and had ſwilled both himſelfe and

The yeere of the world, 3421. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 543.

Dan. 5. Balthaſar ſeeeth a hand thruſt out of a wall, and writing certaine ſyllables.

The yeere of the world, 3425. before Chriſts Natiuity, 539.

The yeere of the world, 3425. before Christs birth, 539.

and his concubines in the vessels dedicated to God: For this cause God was displeased with him, and certified him by this writing, what end he should expect. Whereupon he expounded the writings in these tearmes: *Mane* (which is as much to say, as number) sheweth that God hath numbred the daies of thy life and dominion, which shall endure but a little while. *Thekel* signifieth a ballance; God therefore (said he) waying the gouernment, sheweth that it shall be ouerthrowne: *Phares*, this word signifieth a fragment, God shall breake thy kingdome, and shall diuide it amongst the Medes, and Persians. When the King had heard this interpretation, he was very sorrowfull (according as the nature of things so disastrous, and so apparant required.) Notwithstanding he delaied not to performe those presents which hee had promised the Prophet, although (as he well perceiued) the words aboaded him ill, and gaue him all that which he promised him, considering with himselfe, that it was his owne destinie that he ought to accuse, and not *Daniel*, who like a vertuous man had declared the truth of things: notwithstanding they were very vnsauory in his eare. Not long after, this *Balthasar* and the Citie were ouerthrowne and taken by *Cyrus* King of Persia and his army. For this was that *Balthasar*, vnder whom, and in the seuenteenth yeere of whose raigne, the surprizall of Babylon hapned. This as farre as I could gather, was the end of King *Nabuchodonosors* posteritie.

Daniel interpreteth the writing to the King.

The King performeth his promises to Daniel.

Babylon surprized by Cyrus King of Persia.

Darius, who (with his allie *Cyrus*) had destroied the estate of the Babylonians, was threescore and two yeeres old at such time as he tooke Babylon. Hee was *Astyages* sonne, and is otherwaies called by the Greekes. He tooke the Prophet *Daniel*, and led him with him into Media, and kept him neere vnto him, doing him much honour: for he was of the number of the three gouernors whom he constituted ouer three hundreth and threescore Prouinces; for so had *Darius* commanded it. Now *Daniel* being thus honoured and beloued by *Darius*, and onely trusted by him in all things, for that God was with him, was grieuously hated: for they are most hainously hated, who haue greatest interest in Princes fauours. Whereas therefore they that were iealous of the good esteeme which he had with *Darius*, sought occasion to calumniate and backbite him, he warily cut off all opportunitie thereof; for he would neither be bribed with siluer, nor corrupted with presents, supposing it to be an act of much dishonesty, to receiue gifts after a man had done any courtesies. He therefore gaue his maligners no manner of ground to detract from his reputation. Yet notwithstanding, they seeing they could finde no hole in his coate, whereby his honour might be touched, blamed, or calumniated, they sought out a new meanes to disgrace him. For they perceiuing that *Daniel* did thrice euery day make his prayer vnto God, they supposed that they had found a iust pretext to worke his ruine. For which cause they came vnto *Darius*, certifying him that the Princes and Gouernors had concluded together to this effect: That, for thirty dayes space an intermission should be granted to the people; during which time, it was neither lawfull for them to demand any thing, neither of himselfe, or of any man or god whatsoeuer; and if any man should attempt any thing against this common decree, it was ordered that he should be cast into the Lyons denne. But the King perceiuing not the drift of their malice, nor how they sought by this deuice to entrap *Daniel*, told them that he liked of the decree, and promised to confirme the same, and propounded a publike edict, wherein the Princes resolutions were ratified. Now whilest all men endeuoured through feare, carefully and diligently to obserue this edict, *Daniel* set light thereby, and according to his accustomed manner standing in all mens sight, he worshipped his God, and prayed vnto him. Whereupon the Princes (hauing got that occasion which they long expected) came readily vnto the King, and accused *Daniel* for that he only amongst the rest had presumed to infringe their decree: vrging moreouer, that he did it not for the religion sake that was in him, but because he was obserued and watcht by his maligners. And for that they feared lest *Darius* by reason of the great affection he bare vnto *Daniel*, should be ready to pardon him (notwithstanding he had transgressed their edict) they concluded vpon no milder iudgement, but that he might be cast into the Lyons denne, according to the forme of the edict. *Darius* hoping that God would deliuer *Daniel*, and that no harme should befall him by the iawes of wilde beasts, exhorted him patiently to endure that aduenture. Now as soone as he was cast into the denne, the King sealed vp the stone that closed the mouth therof, and departed, spending all that night without repast or repose, so grieuously was he distempered in *Daniels* behalfe. And when the day was come, as soone as he arose, he came vnto the den, and finding the seale vnbroken wherewith he had marked the stone, he opened the same, and called vnto *Daniel* with a loud voice, asking him if he were whole and in safetie. He hearing the King speake, answered, that he had receiued no hurt: whereupon *Darius* commanded that they should draw him out of the Lyons denne. His aduersaries perceiuing that *Daniel* had escaped all inconueniences

The force of enuy. Daniels honour and vprightnesse. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 14. *Dan. 6.*

Daniel cast into the Lyons denne.

ueniences (becauſe that God had taken care of him) would not that he ſhould eſcape: and thereupon told the King that the Lyons did neither touch nor approch *Daniel*, becauſe they had beene fed and gorged before. For which cauſe, the King diſpleaſed with their iniurious malice, commanded a quantitie of fleſh to be caſt vnto the Lyons; and when they were glutted, he willed that *Daniels* enemies ſhould be caſt among them, to the intent he might know whether the Lyons would touch them or no, when they were gorged. At which time *Darius* ſaw very manifeſtly, that God had by his power warranted *Daniel* from death. For as ſoone as the Nobles were caſt into the den, the Lyons ſpared not one of them, but tore them all in pieces, as if they had beene hungry and without meate. I ſuppoſe that theſe Lyons hauing beene a little before glutted with meate, did not annoy theſe men by reaſon of their famine; but I rather iudge that their malignity did whet on their fury: for when as God ſo pleaſeth, vnreaſonable creatures doe iuſtice vpon malignant and enuious men. *Daniels* aduerſaries being in this ſort exterminate and deſtroyed, *Darius* gaue notice hereof to all the ſubiects of his prouinces, praiſing that God whom *Daniel* adored; ſaying, that he was the onely true God, who had all power: he honoured *Daniel* likewiſe with eſpeciall regard, eſteeming him amongſt the chiefeſt of his familiars. Hee therefore being thus famous and admirable (becauſe he was beloued by God) builded in Ecbatane in the countrey of the Medes a magnificent Caſtle, and a maruellous monument that remaineth euen vnto this day, which ſeemeth to thoſe that looke thereon, that it is but newly builded, and made but that very day which they behold the ſame; the beautie thereof ſeemeth ſo liuing and perfect, as that continuance of time doth in no ſort deface it. For it fareth with buildings as with men, they waxe old and are infeebled by yeeres, and loſe their beautie; at this day all the Kings of Media, Perſia, and Parthia, are intombed in this Caſtle, and the charge thereof is committed to a Prieſt, who is a Iew: and this cuſtome continueth euen vntill this day. Neither is that to be buried in ſilence, which is worthy eſpeciall admiration in this man: For all exceeding felicitie that was incident to a moſt famous Prophet, attended him; and during his whole life time hee was both moſt highly honoured by Kings, and reuerenced by the common ſort: and after his death his memory is perdurable. For all the bookes which he left in writing, are read amongſt vs euen at this preſent; and we haue beene perſwaded by the reading thereof, that *Daniel* had conference with God. For he hath not onely prophecied of things to come (as other Prophets haue done) but alſo hath determined the time wherein thoſe things ſhould happen. And whereas other Prophets were accuſtomed to foretell aduerſities, and for that occaſion were miſliked both by Princes and their people, *Daniel* foretold them alwaies good ſucceſſe: ſo that hee hath drawne vnto him the good will of all men, by reaſon of thoſe pleaſing predictions that he pronounced; and by the iſſues thereof, hee hath obtained a teſtimony of truth, and a reputation likewiſe of diuinitie, and hath left vs certaine writings by which, he hath manifeſtly declared the immutabilitie and exact certaintie of his prophecies.

The yeere of the world, 3425. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 539.

Daniels enemies rent in pieces by the Lyons.

Daniels prophecies.

It is ſaid, that being at Suſa the Metropolitane Citie of Perſia, at ſuch time as hee walked abroad attended by his familiars, that there fell an earth-quake with a great noiſe: ſo that he was left alone, and all his companions fled from him. And that thereupon being ſore troubled, he fell vpon his face, and both his hands: at which time ſome one touched him, and commanded him to ſtand vp, and to ſee that which ſhould happen to his countrey-men after diuers ages. Beeing therefore raiſed vpright, there was a great Ramme ſhewed vnto him, that had diuers hornes, the laſt whereof was the greateſt of all. Afterwards he looked towards the Weſt, and perceiued a Goat carried thorow the ayre, that butted at the Ramme, and hauing encountred him twice, had beaten and trampled him vnder his feet. Thirdly, he ſaw a Goat, in whoſe forehead there grew one great horne onely: which being broken, foure others brake out in ſtead thereof, bending each of them towards the foure winds of the world. He hath written alſo, that from them, there ſhall ariſe another little one alſo, which as God (who preſented the viſion to him) told him, being growne to perfection, ſhould warre againſt the whole nation of the Iewes, and take the Citie by force, and confound the eſtate of the Temple, and hinder the ſacrifices, for one thouſand two hundred ninetie and ſixe daies.

Daniels viſion of the Ram and Goate, by whom the Kings of Media and Perſia were prefigured.

Dan. 2.

Daniel writeth that he ſaw theſe things in the field of *Suſa*, and hath declared that God himſelfe told him what that viſion ſignified; which was, that the Ramme ſignified the kingdomes of the Perſians, and the Medes: His hornes ſignified the Kings that were to raigne in thoſe kingdomes; and that the laſt horne ſignified the laſt King, who ſhould ſurpaſſe all the reſt in riches and glory. That the Goat ſignified, that there ſhould come a certaine King among the Greekes, who ſhould fight at two ſeuerall times with the Perſian, and ſhould ouercome him in warre; and after-

The yeere of the world, 3425. before Christs Natiuity, 539.

afterwards possesse the whole gouernment: And that by the great horne that grew in the front of the Goate, the first King was represented; and how that after he was taken away, foure other should spring thereout. And whereas euery one of these turned themselues toward the foure corners of the world, it was a signe that after the death of the first, he should haue foure successors, that should depart the kingdome betweene them: who neither should be his allies or children; yet such notwithstanding as should command the world for many yeeres: That from them, there should arise a certaine King, that should oppose himselfe against the Hebrew Nation, and their lawes, and should ouerthrow their policie, spoile their Temple, and be a let that for three yeeres space the sacrifices should not bee solemnized. Now so hath it hapned, that our Nation hath beene so handled vnder *Antiochus* the famous, as *Daniel* had foreseene, and hath written diuers yeeres before, all that which should happen.

Daniels predictions of the Romane Empire. *Dan. 9.*

At the same time *Daniel* wrote as touching the Empire of the Romanes, how it should destroy our nation: and hath left all these things in writing, according as God declared them vnto him; so that they who reade and consider those things that haue hapned, admire *Daniel* for the honour that God dignified him with, and finde thereby that Epicures erre, who driue all diuine prouidence from humane life, and affirme that God gouerneth not the affaires of the world; or that the world is administred by a happy and incorruptible essence, which causeth all things to continue in their being: but say, that the world is managed by it selfe, by casualtie, without any conductor, or such a one as hath care thereof. For if it were so, and that it were destitute of a soueraigne Gouernour (as wee see ships destitute of their Pilots to be drowned by the winds; and charriots that haue no driuers to conduct them, to beate one against another) euen so should it perish, and should ruinate it selfe by such an irregular motion. By these things therefore that *Daniel* hath foretold, I iudge, that they are far estranged from the truth, that affirme that God hath no care of humane affaires; for if we see that all things happen casually, then happen they not according to his prophecie. But I haue written hereof according as I haue found and read: and if any one will thinke otherwise, let him continue his opinion as long him list.

The Epicures errour conuicted.

THE ELEVENTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES: WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the eleuenth Booke.

1 Cyrus *King of Persia dismisseth the Iewes from Babylon, and permitteth them to returne into their countrey, and contributeth towards the reparation of the Temple.*
2 *The Kings Gouernours hinder the building of the Temple.*
3 Cambyses *commandeth the Iewes that they should not build the Temple.*
4 Darius Hystaspis *sonne buildeth a Temple for the Iewes.*
5 *The bountie of* Xerxes (Darius *sonne*) *toward the Hebrew nation.*
6 *How during* Artaxerxes *raigne, the whole nation of the Iewes were almost extinguished through* Amans *treachery.*
7 Bagoses, *Generall of* Artaxerxes *the youngers Army, doth much iniury to the Iewes.*
8 *How bountifull* Alexander of *Macedon was vnto the Iewes.*

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

The yeere of the world, 3416. before Christs Natiuitie, 538.

CYRVS *King of Persia dismisseth the Iewes from Babylon, and permitteth them to returne into their countrey, and contributeth towards the building of the Temple.*

THE first yeere of the raigne of *Cyrus* (which was the seuentieth after that our nation was translated from Iudæa to Babylon) God had compassion of the captiuitie and calamitie of his poore afflicted people: and euen as hee had foretold them before the destruction of the Citie, that after they had serued *Nabuchodonosor* and his posteritie for seuenty yeeres, he would againe restore them to their countrey wherein they were borne, where they should build a Temple, and enioy their former felicitie, so brought he it to passe. For he awakened the spirit of *Cyrus*, and made him write his Letters thorowout all Asia to this effect: *Thus saith the King Cyrus: Since the Almighty God hath made me King of the whole world; I am perswaded that it is he whom the Iewish nation doe adore: for he hath declared my name by his Prophets before I was borne, and hath said that I shall build his Temple in Ierusalem, which is in the countrey of Iudæa.* Now *Cyrus* knew these things by reading of a booke of prophecie written by *Esay*, two hundred and ten yeeres before his time. For (he saith) that God did secretly reueale these things vnto him, speaking to this effect, I will that *Cyrus*, whom I haue declared King ouer many nations, shal send my people back into their country of Iudæa, & shal build my temple. These things did *Esay* foretell one hundreth and forty yeeres before the ruine of the Temple. *Cyrus* in reading these things (being rauished in admiration of the Maiesty of God) was surprized with an affection and zeale to finish that which was written. He therefore called for all the men of greatest reckoning among the Iewes that were in Babylon, and told them that he gaue them licence to returne into their countrey, and to repaire the Citie of Ierusalem, and erect the Temple of God; promising them that he himselfe would assist them. And to that effect he wrote vnto his Gouernors, and Princes of those countries that confined vpon Iudæa: charging them to contribute both gold and siluer towards the building of the Temple, and to furnish them with cattell for the sacrifice. After that *Cyrus* had certified the Israelites of this his intent, the Princes of the two tribes of *Iuda* and *Beniamin*, with all the Leuites and Priests departed thence, and repaired to Ierusalem: Neuertheless diuers of the Iewes remained in Babylon, in that they were loth to abandon those possessions they had gotten. As soone as they came vnto the Kings friends, they affoorded them both fauour and aide, & furnished them with necessary matter to build the Temple, some of them with gold, other some with siluer, and the rest with a certaine number of oxen and horses. Thus payed they their vowes vnto God, and offered the sacrifices according to the ancient custome, as if the citie had bin new builded again, and the ancient seruice of God but newly awakened. *Cyrus* sent them backe also those vessels consecrated to God, which King *Nabuchodonosor* had sent vnto Babylon after he had spoiled the Temple; and deliuered them to *Mithridates* his treasurer, commanding him to carry and commit them to *Abassars* hands, who should haue the custody therof, vntill the temple were builded, to the end that at such time as it were compleat, he might deliuer them to the Priests & Princes of the people, to be restored again to the seruice of the temple. He sent letters also to the Gouernors of Syria to this effect: *Cyrus King of Sisine, and Sarabasame, health.* I haue permitted those Iewes that inhabit my countrey, to returne into their natiue countrey, and to reedifie their City, and erect the Temple of God in Ierusalem, in the same place where it stood before. I haue also sent my treasurer *Mithridates* and *Zorobabel* the Prince of the Iewes, with expresse charge & authority, to lay the foundations of the same, & to build it sixty cubits in height, and as many in bredth; making three Iles of hewne stone, & another of such timber as the country affoordeth; the Altar likewise, whereupon they may offer sacrifice vnto God: And my pleasure is that the charge of all these things come out of my coffers. I haue also sent back those vessels which *Nabuchodonosor* tooke out of the Temple, & haue deliuered them to the treasurer *Mithridates*, and to *Zorobabel* the Prince of the Iewes, to be conueyed to Ierusalem, and restored to the Temple of God: the number whereof I haue hereunder subscribed. Fiftie lauers of gold, and foure hundreth of siluer; fifty pots of gold, & foure hundreth of siluer; fiftie golden sieues, & fiue hundreth of siluer; thirty Ewers of gold, and three hundreth of siluer; thirtie great viols of gold, and two thousand foure hundreth of siluer; and besides all these, one thousand other great

The end of the Babylonian captiuitie after seuentie yeeres. 1. *Esd.* 1. 3. *Esd.* 2.

The edict of Cyrus King of Persia.

Esay. chap. 44. 45. his prophecy of Cyrus.

Cyrus permitteth the Iewes to returne into their countrey to build their Temple and Citie.

The vessels belonging to the Temple sent backe from Babylon to Ierusalem.

Cyrus mandate to the Princes of Syria.

The yeere of the world, 3426. before Christs birth, 538.

veſſels. I releaſe them alſo of the tribute which their predeceſſors were accuſtomed to pay, namely, the leuy of cattell, wine and oyle, and of two hundreth fiue thouſand fiue hundreth drachmes; and two thouſand fiue hundreth meaſures of Wheat, yeelding fine flower: Commanding the neceſſary furnitures to be deliuered them out of the Tributes of Samaria; and the Prieſts ſhall offer vp theſe ſacrifices in Ieruſalem according to the ordinance of *Moſes*: and during their ſacrifice, they ſhall make prayers vnto God for the preſeruation of the King, and his houſe, to the end that the Empire of the Perſians may be ſtill permanent. And my will is, that they that diſobey and contradict theſe things, ſhall be hanged on the gibbet; and that their goods be confiſcate. Theſe were the contents of his Letters. Now the number of thoſe that returned together from the captiuitie into Ieruſalem, was forty two thouſand foure hundreth ſixtie two.

The number of the Iewes that returned from the captiuitie of Babylon to Ieruſalem.

CHAP. II.

The Gouernours for the King doe hinder the building of the Temple.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 2. 1 *Eſd.* 4.

WHILEST theſe men laid the foundations of the Temple, and were very affectionately buſie about the building thereof, the nations that bordered vpon them, and in eſpeciall the Chuteans (whom *Salmanazar* King of Aſſyria ſent from Perſia and Media to inhabit in Samaria, at ſuch time as he tranſlated the people of the ten Tribes) incited the Princes and Gouernours, to interdict the Iewes for raiſing and building their Citie, and re-edifying the Temple. Who corrupted with ſiluer, ſold their negligence, and delay to the Chuteans, which they vſed in thoſe buildings. For *Cyrus* intending his other warres, was ignorant hereof, and hauing conducted his armie againſt the Maſſagetes, it was his hap incontinently to finiſh his life. When as therefore *Cambyſes* his ſonne had obtained the kingdome, they of Syria and Phœnicia, the Ammonites, Moabites, and Samaritanes wrote their Letters to *Cambyſes* in theſe termes: O King, thy ſeruants *Rathymus* the Secretary, *Semelius* the Scribe, and thoſe men that are Councellers in Syria and Phœnicia, giue thee to vnderſtand, that thoſe Iewes that were led captiue into Babylon, are returned backe into this countrey, and doe build a wicked and rebellious Citie, and repaire the places and walles of the ſame, and reedifie their Temple likewiſe. Know therefore that if theſe things be permitted to be finiſhed, that they will no more endure to be thy ſubiects and tributaries, but will oppoſe themſelues againſt their Kings, holding it more fit to command then to obey. Wee haue therefore thought good that whileſt they are thus on working, and affectionate in rearing their Temple, to write vnto your Maieſtie, to the intent you may not neglect to examine your Fathers records, wherein you ſhall alwaies finde that the Iewes haue beene Rebels, and enemies to their Kings; and that the Citie hath beene for this cauſe laid deſolate vntill this preſent. We haue thought good to ſignifie thus much to your Maieſtie, which perhaps is vnknowne vnto you, becauſe that if this Citie be once more re-inhabited and incloſed with a wall, your way is ſhut vp from paſſing into Cœloſyria and Phœnice.

The Samaritans inhibit the Iewes from building the Temple. Alias chap. 3. The Letters of the Samaritans and others written to Cambyſes, as touching the reedifying of the Citie and Temple of Ieruſalem.

The yeer of the world, 3435. before chriſts Natiuity, 529.

CHAP. III.

CAMBYSES *inhibiteth the Iewes to build the Temple.*

WHEN *Cambyſes* had read this Letter (in that he was by nature both wicked and malicious) hee grew inwardly iealous and diſpleaſed at the contents thereof, and wrote backe againe after this manner: The King *Cambyſes* to *Rathymus* the Secretary of his caſuall euents, and to *Belſem* & *Semelius* Scribes, and to all his other Councellers and inhabitants in Samaria and Phœnicia, health. Hauing read your Letters, I haue commanded the Records of mine anceſtors to be examined, and I find that the City of Ieruſalem hath bin alwaies enemy to their Kings, and that the inhabitants thereof haue alwaies raiſed ſedition & wars. I haue likewiſe found, that their Kings haue bin mighty, and violent, and that they haue vexed Syria & Phœnicia with continuall tributes. For this cauſe I haue ordained, that the Iewes ſhall not be permitted to reedifie their Citie, for feare leſt their malice ſhould augment by ſuch occaſion which they haue continually vſed againſt their Kings. Incontinently after the receit and reading of theſe letters, *Rathymus* and the Scribe *Semelius*, and thoſe of their faction, tooke their horſe and rode haſtily to Ieruſalem, leading with thē a great number of people, prohibiting the Iewes from the building either of their Citie or Temple. Thus was this worke interrupted vntill the ſecond yeere of the

Cambyſes anſwer, wherein he inhibiteth the Iewes from building the Citie or Temple.

the raigne of *Darius* King of Perſia, for the ſpace of nine yeers. For *Cambyſes* raigned ſixe yeers, during which time he ſubdued Egypt, & vpon his returne from thence, he died in Damaſco. And after the death of *Cambyſes*, the *Magi* that held the Empire of the Perſians for the ſpace of one yeere being taken away, the ſeuen families of Perſia made *Darius* (the Son of *Hyſtaſpis*) King.

The yeere of the world, 3443. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 521.

CHAP. IIII.

DARIVS *the Sonne of* HYSTASPIS *cauſeth the Temple to be builded.*

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 9. al. chap. 4. Darius the ſon of Hiſtaſpis made Emperour of the Perſians.

THIS *Darius*, during the time that he liued a priuate life, made a vowe vnto God, that if he obtained the kingdome, hee would ſend back vnto the Temple of Ieruſalem all thoſe veſſels, which were as yet remaining in Babylon. It fortuned that about the ſame time, *Zorobabel*, who was appointed Gouernour ouer the captiue Iewes, came vnto him from Ieruſalem. For he was the Kings ancient friend: for which cauſe hee with other two were choſen to be of his guard; and obtained thereby that honur which hee expected. The firſt yeere of the raigne of *Darius*, he entertained all his courtiers with great pompe and magnificence, both thoſe of his houſhold, as they alſo that were his Gouernours and Princes of Media and Perſia, and the Commanders in India confining vpon Æthiopia, with all the Chiefetaines of his Army, in one hundreth, twenty and ſeuen Prouinces. Now after they had made good cheere, and were full of wine, they departed each of them vnto their lodgings, to betake themſelues to reſt: But King *Darius* laid in his bed, repoſed very little all the night long, but paſſed the time without ſleepe: for which cauſe ſeeing he could take no reſt, he began to deuiſe & diſcourſe with three of his guard, promiſing him that ſhould moſt truely and aptly anſwer thoſe queſtions that he ſhould demand, to grant him licence in way of reward to weare a purple garment, & to drinke in golden cups, to lie on a gilded bed, & to ride on a chariot harniſed with gold, and to beare the Tiara or linnen wreath, and weare a golden chaine about his necke, and ſit in the next place to the King; and ſhould likewiſe be called his kinſman in regard of his wiſedome. After he had made theſe large promiſes, he demanded of the firſt, whether wine were the ſtrongeſt? of the ſecond, whether the King were ſtronger? of the third, whether women, or truth, were the moſt ſtrongeſt of the three? and as ſoone as he had deliuered them theſe queſtions to deliberate vpon, he laid him downe to reſt. Vpon the next morrow he ſent for the Princes, Chiefetaines, and Gouernours of Perſia and Media, and afterwards ſitting aloft in that throne from whence he was accuſtomed to determine the differences among his ſubiects, hee commanded thoſe three young men of his guard, in the preſence of that Princely aſſiſtance, publikely to yeeld the reſolution of thoſe queſtions he had propoſed vnto them.

Zorobabel.

Darius propoundeth three queſtions to three of his guard. 3. *Eſd.* 4.

Whereupon, the firſt of them began after this manner to expreſſe the force of wine. Noble Princes, when I conſider the force of wine, I find nothing that may ſurmount the ſame: for wine entangleth and deceiueth the vnderſtanding, and maketh the Princes vnderſtanding like to the poore mans, who is abandoned; and giueth the ſlaue that freedome in diſcourſe, which appertaineth to men of greateſt libertie: It maketh the poore reſemble the rich: it changeth & tranſformeth the ſoule, aſſwageth the miſerable mans griefe, and maketh the indebted forget their bonds, and to thinke themſelues very rich; ſo that they ruminate on no abiect things, but talke of talents, and ſuch things as appertaine vnto the richer ſort: it cauſeth them to loſe all apprehenſion both of Princes & Kings, and taketh from them the remembrance of their friends and familiars: It armeth them againſt their greateſt friends, and maketh them ſuppoſe their neereſt welwillers to be ſtrangers; & when the wine concocted by night and ſleepe hath forſaken them, they riſe and know not what things they haue committed in their drunkenneſſe.

The firſt expreſſeth the power of wine

When the firſt of them had in this ſort declared his reſolution, as touching wine, he was ſilent; and the next began to ſpeake of the Kings force, ſhewing that it was of mightie conſequence, and more powerfull then any other thing that ſeemeth to haue force and intelligence; and thus handled hee the ſubiect of his demonſtration. Kings (ſaith hee) haue dominion ouer men, who haue the abilitie to enforce the earth, at their pleaſure can command the ſea to ſerue them: Kings haue power and dominion ouer thoſe men who maſter and command the vntamed and mightieſt creatures; it therefore appeareth that their force and puiſſance exceedeth all theſe. If they command their ſubiects to wage warre, and to expoſe themſelues to danger, they are obedient: and if they ſend them out againſt their enemies, they willingly obey them by reaſon of their force: By their ordinance they leuell mountaines, beate downe walles, and raze towers. And if they

The ſecond extolleth the Kings power. 3. *Eſd.* 4.

The yeere of the world, 3443. before Christs Natinitie, 521.

they command their subiects to kill or to be kild, they resist not, for feare lest they should seeme to transgresse the Kings commandement. When they haue obtained the victory, all the glorie and profit of the warre redoundeth vnto the King. They likewise that beare no armes, but intend the tillage of the earth, after they haue trauailed and supported all the toile of their tillage, reape and gather the fruits, to the end to pay the King his tribute: And if hee will or command any thing, it must needly bee performed without any intermission or omission. Furthermore when the King is addicted to any pleasures, or intendeth to enioy his pleasant & delightfull rest, during the time that he sleepeth, he is guarded by them that watch, who are as it were tyed vnto him, through the feare and awe they haue of him: For not one of them dare forsake him when he sleepeth, nor depart from him to follow their owne affaires, but intend those seruices onely which he thinketh necessarie, which is the guard of his person. Who therefore will not esteeme the Kings forces to be greater then any others, since so many people obey him in whatsoeuer, and whensoeuer he commandeth?

Zorobabel, the third, expresseth the power of women, and at length attributeth the palme vnto truth.

After he had spoken to this effect; *Zorobabel*, who was the third, began to iustifie in respect of women and truth, and spake after this manner: True it is, that wine hath much force, and no lesse true that all men obey the King; yet farre more mightie is the power of a woman. For by a woman the King was bred, and brought into this world, and those men that plant the vineyards where wines doe grow, are borne and nourished by women; and generally there is not any thing which wee enioy not by them. For they weaue vs garments, they haue the care and custodie of our houses; neither is it possible for vs to be seuered from women. Yea, they that possesse much gold and aboundance of siluer, and other things of great and inestimable price; onely vpon the sight of a faire woman forsake all these things, and will follow after the beautie which they beheld, and for only possession thereof, content themselues to lose all things. We forsake likewise our father and mother, and the countrey that hath bred vs, and forget our friends for our wiues sake; yea, we will willingly content our selues to die with them. Yet is there a greater and further demonstration of the most mightie power of a woman. For whatsoeuer wee trauell for, all the paines that we endure both by land and sea, to the intent we may reape some fruits of our labours, doe we not carry all this to giue vnto our wiues, as vnto those who are our mistresses? I haue seene the King likewise, who is so great a Lord, endure a stroke on the eare, by *Apame* the daughter of *Rhapsaces* his concubine, and patiently endure when she tooke the Diadem from his head, and set it on her owne. When she laughed, he laughed; and when she was displeased, hee was displeased: and according as her passion changed, so flattered he, and humbly submitted his affection to her pleasures, according as he saw her passionate or pleased.

But whilest the Princes in way of admiration beheld one another, hee began to discourse of truth, saying: I haue alreadie declared what the force of women is; yet notwithstanding both the King and they are more feeble then truth. For whereas the earth is huge and mightie, the heauen likewise of an immeasurable height, and the sunne of vnspeakeable celeritie; and whereas the will of God both gouerneth and moueth these things (because God is iust and true) it therefore followeth, that truth is the most mightiest of al things; against which, iniustice may no waies preuaile. Furthermore, all other things notwithstanding they seeme to be of value, yet are they mortall and of little continuance: but truth is immortall and euerlasting. Moreouer, all those things which we receiue thereby, are neither mortall, neither subiect to the iniuries of time, fortune, or alteration; but continue iust, and lawfull, and separated from all staine of iniustice. When *Zorobabel* had spoken after this manner, he made an end of his discourse: Whereupon, all the assembly began to pronounce that his assertions were of most value, and that onely veritie had an immutable force, and an indeterminable continuance. Whereupon the King commanded him to aske what he would, as touching that which he had promised to giue, because he intended to grant it him, as to the wisest, and best learned among the rest. For (said hee) thou shalt sit henceforth next vnto me, and shalt be called my familiar.

Zorobabel obtained both praise & great rewards by his good discourse.

When the King had spoken thus, *Zorobabel* called to his remembrance the vowe that the King had made, if so be at any time he obtained the kingdome: namely, that hee would build Ierusalem, and the temple of God, and restore those vessels likewise, which were taken away by *Nabuchodonosor*, and carried into Babylon. For this (said he) O King, is my request which you permitted me to aske, and you promised me to grant at that time as I was iudged wise and well lettered by you. The King tooke great pleasure at these words of his, and rising from his throne, kissed him. He wrote also vnto his gouernours and princes, that they should send away *Zorobabel*, and those of his company to build the temple. Moreouer he sent letters to them of Syria and Phœnicia,

Darius being put in memory of his vow, commandeth that the temple should bee restored. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 4.

nicia, commanding them to cut downe the Cedars of Libanus, and to ſend them to Ieruſalem towards the building of the Citie; publiſhing a law that all Iewes ſhould be made free, if ſo be they would reſort into Iudæa; forbidding all Commiſſaries and Princes, to impoſe any charge vpon the Iewes, for the neceſſities of the kingdome; permitting that all the country which they might occupy, might be inhabited by them, and exempt from tributes: commanding the Idumæans, Samaritanes, and Cœloſyrians to reſtore thoſe lands vnto the Iewes which they vnlawfully held, and the other lawfully claimed for their inheritance: And beſides that, to deliuer them in way of contribution fiftie talents of ſiluer towards the building of the Temple, permitting them to offer their ordinary ſacrifice. He likewiſe commanded that all the neceſſaries and veſtments, which either the high Prieſt, or the ordinary ſacrificers vſed in the Seruice of God, ſhould be furniſhed at his charges. Hee willed alſo that the Leuites ſhould haue inſtruments of Muſicke deliuered vnto them, to praiſe God with; and that certaine portions of land might be allotted for them that had the guard of the Citie, and the Temple. Moreouer he allowed them a certaine ſumme of money euery yeere for their ordinary maintenance. After this, he ſent backe all thoſe veſſels which *Cyrus* beforetime had reſolued to reſtore vnto Ieruſalem.

The yeere of the world, 3443. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 521.

Darius Letters for the liberty, poſſeſſion and erection of the Temple, granted to the Iewes. *1. Eſd. 6.*

When *Zorobabel* had obtained theſe things abouenamed at the Kings hands, he iſſued out of the palace, and lifting vp his eies vnto heauen, he began to giue God thanks for the wiſdome and victory he had granted him, and for the good ſucceſſe he had giuen him in *Darius* preſence. For (ſaid he) O Lord, if thou hadſt not beene fauourable vnto me, I had not obtained it. After he had at this time, and in this ſort giuen thanks for the preſent, and praied God to ſhew himſelfe alwaies fauourable hereafter, he repaired to Babylon, and told his countrimen what good newes he had receiued from the King: who hearing the ſame, gaue God thanks alſo, who had reſtored them once more to the poſſeſſion of that countrey wherein they were borne: and they fell to feaſting and banquetting for ſeuen daies ſpace, for the reſtoring vnto their countrey, as if they had ſolemnized the feaſts of their birth daies. Anon after they made choice of thoſe Gouernours and common ſort, that (with their wiues, their children and horſes) ſhould returne vnto Ieruſalem, who by the aſſiſtance of *Darius* conuoy, performed that iourney to Ieruſalem with ioy and conſolation; playing on their Pſalteries, Flutes, and Cymbals; and were after this manner conducted on their way, with delight, by the number of thoſe Iewes that remained as yet in Babylon. Thus therefore went they forward, being a certaine and determinate number of euery family. I haue not thought it meet to repeat theſe families name by name, for feare I ſhould confound my Story, and leſt the Readers ſhould any wayes be diſtracted or interrupted in their readings. Notwithſtanding, the whole number of thoſe that went, and were aboue twelue yeeres old of the tribes of *Iuda* and *Beniamin*, were foure millions, ſixe hundreth, twentie and eight thouſand. There were likewiſe foure thouſand and ſeuentie Leuites: And of their wiues and children together, forty thouſand, ſeuen hundred, forty and two. Beſides theſe, there were of Singers of the tribe of *Leui*, one hundred, twenty and eight; of Porters, one hundred and tenne; and of ſacred ſeruants three hundred twenty and two. There were certaine others likewiſe, that pretended that they were of the race of the Iſraelites, yet could not they giue teſtimony of their deſcent; the number of whom were ſixe hundreth fiftie and two. Of the number of the Prieſts, they that had eſpouſed wiues (whoſe genealogie could not be deriued, and who were not found alſo in the genealogies of the Prieſts and Leuites) they were about fiue hundreth, twentie and fiue. The multitude of ſeruants that followed or attended on them, were ſeuen thouſand, three hundreth, thirty and ſeuen. There were alſo two hundreth, forty and fiue Singers of men and women: foure hundreth, thirty and fiue Camels; and fiue hundreth twenty and fiue other beaſts to carry their carriage. The Conductor of this abouenamed multitude, was *Zorobabel* the ſonne of *Salathiel*; deſcended of *Dauids* line, and of the tribe of *Iuda*; and *Ieſus* the ſonne of *Ioſedech* the high Prieſt: beſides which were *Mardochæus* and *Serebæas*, who were choſen by the people to be their Gouernours, who contributed one hundreth pounds of gold, and fiue hundreth of ſiluer. Thus the Prieſts and Leuites, and a part of all the people of the Iewes which were then in Babylon, were conducted to dwell in Ieruſalem; the other part of them following a little after, returned euery one into his owne countrey.

Glad tidings brought to the Iewes.

The Iewes depart from Babylon to Ieruſalem. *3. Eſd. 5.*

The number of the Iewes that went out of Babylon. *3. Eſd. 2.*

Zorobabel Chiefraine & Ieſus high Prieſt of this company.

The ſeuenth moneth after their departure out of Babylon, the high Prieſt *Ieſus*, and the Gouernour *Zorobabel* ſent meſſengers thorow all the countrey, and aſſembled the people from all quarters of the region, who with all alacritie and expedition repaired to Ieruſalem. There erected they an Altar in the ſame place, where beforetime it was builded, to the end they might offer lawfull ſacrifices thereon, according to *Moſes* law: in which action of theirs, they yeelded little

1. Eſd. 3.

The yeere of the world, 3443. before the Natiuitie of Christ, 521.

The feast of Tabernacles.

The Temple began to be built.

little content to their neighbour Nations, who in generall were incenſed againſt them. They celebrated alſo at that time the feaſt of Tabernacles, according as the Law-maker had ordained: afterwards they offered oblations, and continuall ſacrifices, obſeruing their Sabbaths and all holy ſolemnities. And they that had made any vowes, performed the ſame, and ſacrificed from the new Moone vntill the ſeuenth moneth. After this they began to build the Temple, and deliuered great ſummes of money to the hewers of ſtone, and Maſons; and gaue ſtrangers their ordinary diet, who brought them ſtone and timber. For it was an eaſie matter for the Sidonians and an act well pleaſing vnto them, to bring wood and timber from Libanus, and to bind it, and gathering it together in rafters to ſhip it, and land it at the Port of Ioppa. For *Cyrus* had beforetime giuen them that commandement, and now the ſecond time they were inioyned thereunto by *Darius*.

The ſecond yeere after their arriuall in Ieruſalem, the Iewes aſſembled together in the ſecond moneth, and the building of the Temple went forward; ſo that hauing laid the foundation thereof in the firſt day of December, they builded vpon the ſame, the ſecond yeere. Ouer this worke thoſe Leuites that were aboue twentie yeeres of age, were ouerſeers: with them alſo was *Ieſus*, and his ſonnes and brothers ioyned, and *Zolimiel* the brother of *Iuda* the ſonne of *Aminadab*, and his ſonnes. And through the diligence that theſe ouerſeers of the Temple vſed, it was ſooner finiſhed, then it was expected. As ſoone as the Sanctuary was builded, the Prieſts apparelled in their accuſtomed habits, and the Leuites, and the ſonnes of *Aſaph* aroſe, and with trumpets praiſed God, according as *Dauid* firſt of all had ſet downe the manner of his ſeruice. The Prieſts and Leuites with the elders of the tribes (calling vnto their minds how great and precious the firſt Temple was, and beholding that which was builded vpon the preſent, farre inferiour to the precedent, and perceiuing how much the ancient wealth and dignitie of the Temple was abaſed; they were confuſed thereat, and being vnable to ouercome their paſſion, they burſt out into lamentations and teares. But the people were contented with that which they beheld, and without any eſtimate or mention of the former Temple, they tormented not themſelues in comparing the one with the other; neither thought they vpon the difference and bigneſſe betwixt the preſent and that which ſtood in times paſt: yet notwithſtanding the Elders lamented, and the Prieſts complained, that the new erected Temple was farre leſſe then the former; yet the noiſe of the trumpets drowned their laments, and the ioyfull applauſes of the people their mournings.

The Samaritans deſirous to further the building of the Temple, are reiected.

The Samaritans hearing the noiſe of the trumpets, ranne out to know the cauſe thereof, in that they were lewdly affected towards the tribe of *Iuda* and *Beniamin*; and vnderſtanding that the Iewes which were returned from Babylon, had reedified the Temple, they addreſſed themſelues to *Zorobabel* and *Ieſus*, and to the chiefe gouernours of the families, requiring them that it might be lawfull for them to repaire the Temple with them; and to haue part in the building thereof. For (ſaid they) we honour God no leſſe then you, we pray vnto him and adore him; wee conforme our ſelues to your cuſtomes, euer ſince the time that *Salmanazar* King of Aſſyria remooued vs out of Cuthea and Media hither. To theſe demands of theirs, *Zorobabel* and *Ieſus* the high Prieſt and the Gouernours of the tribes anſwered, that it was impoſſible for them to admit their aſſiſtance in the building of the Temple, for that they had receiued their firſt commandement from *Cyrus* to performe the ſame, and afterwards from *Darius*: notwithſtanding they gaue them licence to adore therein, offering them that the Temple ſhould be common to both, if they pleaſed: yea and acceſſible to all other nations, that would repaire thither to adore God. The Chutheans (for ſo were the Samaritanes called) hearing this anſwer, were ſore offended; and perſwaded the other nations of Syria to require their Princes (who continued their authoritie ſince the time of *Cyrus*, and afterwards ruled in *Cambyſes* time) to hinder the building of the Temple; and to delay the Iewes, who were ſo intent and buſie in their worke. Whereupon *Siſin* Gouernour in Syria and Phœnicia, and *Sarabazan*, accompanied with others, came vnto Ieruſalem; and demanded of the Chiefetaines of the Iewes, by whoſe permiſſion they builded the Temple, which rather ſeemed to be a Fort then a Temple, and for what cauſe they fortified their Citie with gates and ſo ſtrong walles? *Zorobabel* and *Ieſus* the high Prieſt anſwered, that they were the ſeruants of the liuing God, and that their Temple had beene built by one of their Kings, who was opulent and ſurpaſſed all other in vertue, that after it had continued long time in venerable eſtimation (by reaſon their fathers had committed impietie againſt God) *Nabuchodonoſor* King of Babylon and Chaldæa, hauing taken the Citie by force, deſtroyed the ſame; and after he had ſpoyled the Citie, he burned it, and tranſported the people captiue into Babylon.

The Samaritans ſuppoſe to hinder the building of the Temple.

The Syrian Princes examine the cauſe why the Iewes repaire their Citie and Temple.

But

A But after that *Cyrus* King of Perſia had obtained the Kingdome of Babylon, he commanded by his expreſſe letters ſealed with his royall ſeale, that they ſhould reedifie the Temple, & ordained that all that which *Nabuchodonoſor* carried from thence, as well gifts as veſſels, ſhould be deliuered to *Zorobabel* and the Treaſurer *Mithidrates*, to be conueied to Ieruſalem, and be placed againe in the Temple, as ſoone as it ſhould be builded. And he commanded alſo, that it ſhould be preſently reedified, willing *Abaſſar* to repaire to Ieruſalem, and giue order for al that which was requiſite; who reſorting thither as ſoone as he had receiued *Cyrus* letters, did ſpeedily lay the foundations anew. From that time forward vntill this preſent it hath beene continued; but the ſubtilty and malignity of their enemy had wrought ſo much, that as yet it remained imperfect.

The yeere of the world, 3344. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 520.

1 Eſdras 5.

B If therefore it pleaſe you, and you thinke it good, ſignifie that you heare, by your letters to *Darius*, to the end that examining the regiſters of the Kings, he may finde that we are not faulty in any thing of that which we haue ſaid. When *Zorobabel* and *Ieſus* had anſwered to this effect; *Siſin* and they that accompanied him, thought not good to hinder the building, vntill ſuch time as they had certified *Darius* hereof: for which cauſe they wrote vnto him preſently. Hereupon the Iewes were much diſcomforted and troubled, fearing leſt the King ſhould change his mind in reſpect of the building of Ieruſalem and the Temple. But two Prophets, *Aggeus* and *Zachary* (who were amongſt them) began to perſwade them, willing them to feare no diſaſter from the Perſians, becauſe God had aſſured them: for which cauſe the people gaue credit to the Prophets, and diligently intended their building, and intermitted no one day.

Aggeus and Zachary the Prophets.

C When the Samaritanes had in this ſort written to *Darius*, and accuſed the Iewes vnto him for fortifying their City, and reedifying their Temple, and how it ſeemed rather to be a fort, then ſome ſacred place, and had further alleadged that it would be no profit vnto him, and moreouer had produced *Cambyſes* letters, by which they were forbidden to build the temple; hee vnderſtood that the reeſtabliſhment of Ieruſalem ſtood not with the ſecurity of his ſtate. But when he had read *Siſins* letters and his aſſociates, he commanded that the Panchartes and Chronicles of the Kings ſhould be ſearched, how the matter had paſt; and there was found in Ecbatane a city of the Medes, in a tower a certaine booke, in which theſe things were written. The firſt yeere of the raigne of *Cyrus*, commandement was giuen to build the Temple of Ieruſalem, & the Altar therein: It was likewiſe decreed, that the height of the Temple ſhould be ſixtie cubits, and the

The Samaritanes indeuouring to hinder the reparation of the Temple and City, doe further it the more.

D breadth as many; three ſtories of hewed ſtone, and one ſtory of the wood of that countrey: and it was ordained that the expence of that building ſhould be deducted out of the Kings reuenews. Moreouer he commanded, that reſtitution ſhould be made vnto the inhabitants of Ieruſalem, of thoſe veſſels that were taken away by *Nobuchodonoſor*, and carried away to Babylon: And the commiſſion to effect all theſe things, was giuen to *Abaſſar* Gouernour of Syria and Phœnicia, and his companions, to the end that they might depart from theſe places, and the Iewes might be permitted to build therin. Furthermore, he ordained that the charge of this pile and building ſhould be gathered out of the tributes of his countries, and that they ſhould furniſh the Iewes with buls, weathers, lambes, goates, flower, oyle, and wine, and all other things which the Prieſts ſhould thinke meet to offer ſacrifice, to the intent that they might pray for the preſeruation of

Cyrus decree as touching the Temple & the Iewes.

The yeere of the world, 3450. before Chriſts Natiuity, 510

E the King of Perſia: commanding that they that ſhould tranſgreſſe or contradict this commandement of his, ſhould be laid hold on, and hanged on a Iibbet, and that their goods ſhould be confiſcate to the Kings vſe. Moreouer he beſought God, that if any man went about to hinder the building of the Temple, that he would puniſh him, and ſtrike him, and reſtraine his wickedneſſe thereby. When *Darius* had found theſe things written in his Panchartes and Chronicles, he wrote backe to *Siſin* and his companions in this forme: King *Darius* to *Siſin*, and *Sarabazan*, with their aſſociates; health. Hauing found amongſt the memorialls of *Cyrus* the copy of your miſſiue, I haue ſent it you, and my pleaſure is that the contents thereof be executed. Fare you well.

2 Eſdras 6.

Darius Epiſtle to the prefects of Syria.

F *Siſin* and his aſſociates being certified of the Kings pleaſure, reſolued themſelues conformably to execute the ſame: and taking the care of the ſacred buildings vpon them, they aſſiſted the Princes & Magiſtrates of the Iewes in ſuch ſort, as the building of the Temple was finiſhed with great diligence, by the inſtigation of the Prophets *Aggeus* and *Zachary*, according to Gods commandemennt, and by the directions of the Kings *Cyrus* and *Darius*: ſo that it was finiſhed within 7. yeers. In the ninth yeere of the raigne of *Darius*, and the three and twentie of the eleuenth moneth, called by vs *Ader*, and by the Macedonians *Diſtre*; the Prieſts and Leuites, and all the reſt of the people offered ſacrifices for the renouation of their former felicity, after their captiuity, and for their new Temple alſo: ſacrificing one hundred buls, two hundred ſheepe, foure hundred lambes, twelue goates, according to the number of the twelue tribes of Iſrael; and for the

The finiſhing of the temple.

ſinnes

sinnes of each of them. The Priests and Leuites also (according to the lawes of *Moses*) appointed Porters to euery gate. For the Iewes had builded galleries round about, and within the Temple.

The yeere of the world, 3450. before the Natiuitie of Christ, 514.

Now when the feast of vnleauened bread (which is the feast of Easter) drew neere, in the first moneth called Xanthicus by the Macedonians, and Nisan by the Hebrewes, all the people of the townes round about Ierusalem resorted thither, and celebrated the feast; purifying both themselues, their wiues, and children, according to the ordinance of their forefathers: And after they had solemnized the feast called Easter, or the Passeouer in the 14. Moone, they banquetted for seuen dayes space, sparing no cost how great soeuer it were. They offred burnt offerings also, and sacrifices of thankesgiuing, acknowledging Gods goodnesse that had brought them home into their natiue countrey, to liue according to the lawes of their forefathers, and had made them gracious in the King of Persias eies. Thus dwelled they in Ierusalem in all ioy, sacrificing & seruing God with great affection, and liuing vnder the gouernment of their nobilitie. For the chiefest authority remained in the high Priests, vntill the Asmonæans obtained the kingdome: for before the captiuity of Babylon, they were vnder the gouernment of Kings, who began from *Saul* and *Dauids* times, about some fiue hundred, thirty, two yeeres, sixe moneths, and tenne dayes, and before their Kings certaine Gouernours called Iudges raigned: and vnder this sort of policy liued they more then fiue hundred yeeres; from the death of *Moses* and *Iosuah*. See here the estate of the Iewes deliuered from their captiuity, during the dayes of *Cyrus* and *Darius*. True it is that the Samaritanes were their mighty and malicious aduersaries, and did them many mischiefes, trusting in their riches, and pretending themselues to be the Persians kinsmen, because their originall proceeded from thence. For they refused to pay that tribute, which the King had commanded them to disburse vnto the Iewes to make their sacrifices, and had their Gouernours likewise affectionate and forward to further their malice; neither was there any of them idle or negligent in working them mischiefe, either in themselues, or by others. For which cause, the Iewes determined to send Embassadours vnto King *Darius*, to accuse the Samaritanes; and to that intent *Zorobabel* and foure others were sent. As soone therfore as the King vnderstood by these Embassadors, what crimes and accusations they had brought against the Samaritanes, hee dispatched his letters, and addressed them to the Gouernours and Councell of Samaria; the tenour of which letters was to this effect. King *Darius* to *Tangara* and *Sambaba* Gouernors of Samaria, to *Sadrach* and *Bobelon*, and to their companions our seruants being in Samaria; health. *Zorobabel*, *Ananias*, and *Mardocheus*, Embassadours in the behalfe of the Iewes, accuse you to be perturbers of the building of their Temple; alleadging that you refuse to discharge that, which by my decree you ought to furnish them with, for the charge of the sacrifices. My will is therefore, that vpon the sight of these letters, you deliuer out of the royal treasury in Samaria, appointed for the tributes, all that which shall be necessary for them to performe their sacrifices, vpon the requests of the Priests, to the intent they let passe no day without sacrifice and prayer vnto God for me, and for the Persians. This was the contents of his letters.

The forme of Cómonweale in Ierusalem.

The Samaritanes mighty enemies of the Iewes.

The Embassage of the Iewes to Darius.

The yeere of the world, 3464. before Christs Natiuity, 500.

A commandement to apply the charge of the building of the Temple and sacrifices.

CHAP. V.

The beneficence of XERXES, DARIVS *sonne, towards the Iewes.*

Hegesippus Ruffinus, chap. 5. 2 *Esdras* 7.

AFTER *Darius* death; his sonne *Xerxes* succeeded him, not onely as heire in the gouernment of his kingdome, but also as successour vnto his piety and deuotion towards God: for he no waies changed those institutions of his fathers that concerned religious seruice, but with great beneuolence fauoured all the Iewes. During his raigne *Ioacim* the sonne of *Iesus* was High Priest: Amongst them also that remained in Babylon, there liued a High Priest with the Iewes in that place called *Esdras*; a iust man, and one of great reputation amongst the people: and whereas he was very skilfull in the lawes of *Moses*, he obtained great friendship with the King. This man intending (with certaine other Iewes of Babylon) to make his repaire vnto Ierusalem, besought the King that he would vouchsafe to bestow his letters of commendations to the Gouernours of Syria in his behalfe. Wherupon the King wrote his letters pattents of grace, certifying his fauor towards *Esdras*, to the Princes in those parts, to this effect: *Xerxes* King of Kings, to *Esdras* the High Priest, and Reader of the diuine Law, health. It is decreed by me and seuen other of my Counsel, that whosoeuer in my kingdome of the Israelites, their Priests, or Le-

Xerxes King of Persia.

Esdras learned in the law.

Xerxes fauoureth the Iewes

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uites

uites will repaire with thee vnto Ieruſalem, hee may freely performe the ſame with my good licence, and reuiſite Iudæa according to the law of God; bearing with you thoſe preſents vnto the God of Iſrael, which both I & my friends haue vowed. I likewiſe giue thee licence to take with thee all the gold & ſiluer whatſoeuer, that any of thy nation liuing here in Babylon wil offer vp vnto God, to buy offrings to be ſacrificed vpon the Altar of thy God: and to make whatſoeuer veſſels of gold or ſiluer, which either thou or thy brethren ſhal think meet. Thoſe ſacred veſſels alſo which are giuen thee, thou ſhalt dedicate vnto thy God, & if there be ought elſe requiſite in this behalfe, that according to thy wiſdome ſhalt thou prouide, & the charges ſhalt thou receiue out of my treaſurie. I haue alſo commended thee to the Treaſurers of Syria and Phœnicia; and haue written to them, that whatſoeuer *Eſdras* the Prieſt and Reader of the law of GOD ſhall require, they ſhall preſently deliuer it him. And to the end that God may be fauourable to me and my children, my wil is, that a hundred meaſures of wheate be giuen vnto God, according to the law. I command you alſo that are Magiſtrates, that you exact nothing, neither impoſe any taxations on the Prieſts, Leuites, ſacred Singing-men, Porters, or holy officers. But thou *Eſdras* (according to the wiſedome giuen thee from aboue) ſhalt appoint Iudges, who ſhall in Syria and Phœnicia execute iuſtice vnto the people, according to the ſeruice of the law. Teach thou likewiſe freely al ſuch as are ignorant, ſo that whoſoeuer violateth either Gods or the Kings law, he may be fined, or elſe condemned to death, as not ſinning through ignorance, but of contumacie. Farewell.

The yeere of the world, 3506. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 458.

When *Eſdras* had receiued this letter, hee was wonderfully contented, and beganne to adore God, confeſſing openly that it was he, who was the author of that fauour he had receiued at the Kings hands: for which cauſe he ſaid, that the only thankſgiuing appertained to him. And after he had read this letter vnto the Iewes that were at that time reſident in Babylon, he kept the originall, but ſent the copy to all thoſe of his nation, being in the country of the Medes: who vnderſtanding of the Kings affection towards God, and his fauour towards *Eſdras*, were very ioyful; and diuers amongſt them tooke their goods & came vnto Babylon, deſiring to returne to Ieruſalem: but all the reſt of the Iſraelites would not abandon or leaue their quiet dwelling there. For which cauſe it came to paſſe, that two Tribes were vnder the obedience of the Romans in Aſia and Europe: but the tenne Tribes were on the other ſide of Euphrates, euen vntill this day; being many infinites of thouſands, whoſe number may not be comprehended. With *Eſdras* there departed a great number of Prieſts, Leuites, Porters, Singing-men, & ſeruants of the Temple. Now after that he had aſſembled thoſe of the captiuitie, that inhabited on this ſide Euphrates, and ſoiourned there three daies, he commanded them to ſolemnize a faſt, and to pray vnto God for his preſeruation, and that no euill might happen vnto him; and that neither their enemies nor any other might doe them any violence. For *Eſdras* had foretold the King, that GOD would be their Protector, & that therefore he required no conuoy of horſemen at his hand for his ſecuritie. After that they had recommended themſelues vnto God, they ſet forward on their way, the twelfth day of the firſt moneth of the ſeuenth yeere of the raigne of *Xerxes*, & arriued in Ieruſalem in the fift moneth of the ſame yeere. Whereupon, he incontinently preſented vnto the Treaſurers (who were of the race of the Prieſts) the ſiluer that was conſecrated, namely, ſixe hundreth and fiftie talents, of ſiluer veſſell a hundreth talents, of veſſell of gold twenty talents, of brazen veſſell (more precious then gold) waighing twelue talents. Theſe were the preſents of the King and his friends, and of the Iſraelites that dwelt in Babylon.

Eſdras aſſembled the Iewes that dwelt in Babylon.

Eſdras repaireth to Ieruſalem, and committeth the veſſels and other precious preſents to the Treaſurers hands.

When *Eſdras* had deliuered theſe abouenamed preſents vnto the hands of the Prieſts, he offered burnt offerings vnto God, according to the law, namely, twelue Bulles for the publique conſeruation of the people, ſeuentie two Rammes and Lambes, & twelue Goates for the expiation of ſinne. And after them he deliuered the Kings letters to his Princes & Gouernours in Cœloſyria and Phœnicia: who beeing conſtrained to execute that which was enioyned them by the King, honored the Nation of the Iewes, & ſupplyed them euery waies in their neceſſities. This counſell had *Eſdras* himſelfe giuen of their departure But in my opinion God (hauing regard of his wiſedome and integritie) did happily aduance his deliberation.

Not long after this, there came certaine men vnto him, complaining that ſome of the people, Prieſts, and Leuites had tranſgreſſed againſt the policie, and broken the lawes of the Countrey, for that they had eſpouſed certaine ſtrange women, and confounded the race of the Prieſts: requiring him that hee would haue an inward regard to Gods ordinances, for feare leſt hee (conceiuing a generall hatred againſt them all) ſhould ſend them anew ſome grieuous calamities. For which cauſe *Eſdras* deuoured with ſorrow, incontinently rent his clothes, and tore his haire,

and

and pulled his beard, and caſt himſelfe vpon the ground, becauſe the principals among the people had part in that offence. And for that he feared leſt if hee ſhould command them to forſake their wiues, and thoſe children they had begotten by them, he ſhould not be obeyed, he perſiſted in griefe, and lay continually couched vpon the ground. Whereupon, al thoſe reſorted vnto him, who were not guilty, and wept and lamented with him, for that which had hapned. Whereupon *Eſdras* (raiſing himſelfe from the earth, and lifting vp his hands to heauen) ſaid, that he was aſhamed to looke thereupon, becauſe the offences of the people were ſo hainous; who had forgotten the inconuenience that had befallen their forefathers for their impieties, beſeeching God that he would reſerue ſome remainder and ſeed of the aduerſity and captiuity, which at that time hapned vnto them, and that he would once more eſtabliſh them againe in Ieruſalem their natiue countrey: that he would take compaſſion on them, & grant them pardon for thoſe ſinnes which at that preſent were committed by them: for which though they deſerued death, yet hoped they in the mercies of God for their deliuerance. Whil'ſt thus both he and thoſe that came vnto him lamented round about him, with their wiues and children, a certaine man called *Achonius*, one of the principall men of Ieruſalem, repaired vnto him, & ſaid, that they had ſinned, becauſe they had eſpouſed ſtrange women; and perſwaded *Eſdras* to adiure them all, to baniſh both them and the children begotten by them; wiſhing that they, who obeied not the law, might be puniſhed. *Eſdras* (perſwaded by theſe words) made all the Princes of the Prieſts, Leuites, and tribes of Iſrael ſweare, that they would diſmiſſe their wiues and children, according to the counſaile of *Achonius*. And as ſoone as he had receiued their oathes, hee departed from the temple vnto *Iohns* houſe the ſonne of *Eliaſib*, and there ſpent he all the day without taſting any meate, by reaſon of the griefe which ſo inwardly hee had conceiued.

The yeere of the world, 3506. before Chriſts birth, 458.

Eſdras praiers for the Leuits that had married ſtrangers. 1. *Eſd.* 9.

Whence therefore it was publiſhed by Edict, that all they that were returned from the captiuitie, ſhould repaire within two or three daies to Ieruſalem (vnder the penaltie that they, who defaulted therein, and came not within the prefixed time, ſhould be held as excommunicate, and their goods confiſcate to the publique treaſury of the temple, by the ordinance of the Prieſts) they of the tribes of Iuda and Beniamin came thither within three daies, on the twentieth day of the ninth moneth, called by the Hebrewes Thebeth, and by the Macedonians Apellæus. And as ſoone as they were ſeated in the vpper part of the temple, in the preſence & aſſiſtance of the Elders, although the weather were very intemperate, by reaſon of the froſt; *Eſdras* aroſe & reproued them for that they had tranſgreſſed the law, in taking wiues vnto them, who were not of their nation: for which cauſe he told them, that if they would performe a matter that were agreeable vnto God, & profitable for themſelues, they ſhould diſmiſſe ſuch wiues. Whereupon with a loud voice, they all cried, that they would doe it willingly; but that there was no ſmall number of them, and that the time was winter, and the matter of that conſequence, as one or two daies could not end it: For which cauſe they thought it very needfull, that the execution were deferred for a while; and that at the length, ſome of the Princes who were free from that ſinne, with certaine other choſen Elders of euery place, ſhould make inquiſition of them that had married wiues contrarie to the preſcript of the law. Which being approued by them, about the new moone of the tenth moneth this inquiſition began, which continued vntil the new moone of the moneth enſuing: and there were many of the familie of *Ieſus* the high Prieſt, and of the Prieſts, Leuites, and Iſraelites, that (making more account of the obſeruation of the lawes, then of the naturall affections to their wiues and children) did preſently put away their wiues, and thoſe children they had by them, and ſacrificed certaine Rams for a peace offering vnto God: whoſe names it were a needleſſe matter to reckon vp in this place.

1. *Eſdras* 10.

When *Eſdras* had in this ſort reformed the errour committed by ſuch marriages, he ſo corrected the euill cuſtome thereof, that this confimation continued firme and irreuocable for euer. In the ſeuenth month, they ſolemnized the feaſt of tabernacles: wherto when all the people were reſorted, they al gathered together in an open place of the Temple towards the gate that looketh Eaſtward, requiring *Eſdras* that he would read *Moſes* ordinances vnto them; which he performed, and ſtanding vp in the midſt of the multitude, he read the law vnto them from the morning vntill noone. By which reading, not only for the preſent, but for the time to come, they learned that which was iuſt; & alſo calling to memorie that which was paſt, they were ſo diſcomforted, that the teares fell from their eyes, in thinking with thẽſelues, that if they had kept the law, they had not ſuffered any of thoſe euils, by which they had beene tormented. But *Eſdras* beholding them in that eſtate, willing each of them to repaire homeward, and to weepe no more, becauſe that day was a ſolemne & holy day, wherein they ought not to weep, becauſe it was forbidden.

The reading of Moſes law. 2. *Eſd.* 8.

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He rather commanded them to intend their feasts and pleasures, assuring them that the repentance and griefe of those faults that were committed by them in times past, ought to serue them and instruct them to assure and defence themselues, to the end that heereafter they commit not the like. They following *Esdras* exhortation, began to celebrate the solemnity, and continued their feasts in their Tabernacles during eight dayes. After which time they returned euery one vnto his house, praising God in hymnes; and thanking *Esdras* for the amendment of those vnlawfull marriages that had hapned in their policy: who after he had gotten great honour among the people, finished his life, being loaden with yeeres, and was buried honourably in Ierusalem. About the same time also dyed *Ioacim* the high Priest, whose sonne *Eliacim* succeeded in his place.

The yeere of the world, 3506. before Christs Natiuitie. 458.

2 Esdras 1.

After this it came to passe that a certaine man that was one of the captiue Iewes, and king *Xerxes* Butler called *Nehemias*, walking before the citie of Susa (which was the Metropolitane Citie of Persia) heard certaine strangers that came from farre: who vpon their entrie into the Citie, deuised the one with the other in the Hebrew tongue; for which cause he drew neere vnto them, and asked them whence they came. Who returning him this answer, that they came from Iudæa: he began to demand of them againe, of the estate of Ierusalem, their natiue City, and how the people fared. To whom they answered, that they were in very bade estate, and that their City wals were conuerted to dust and razed, & that the nations round about them afflicted the Iewes with many outrages, in making inrodes into their countrey, and spoiling them daily, not sparing them by night; so that diuers of them were led away prisoners; yea some Citizens of Ierusalem; and that daily the high wayes were found full of dead bodies. Heereupon *Nehemias* beganne to weepe (thorow the inward compassion he had of his distressed brethren) and looking vp towards heauen: How long (said he) O Lord, wilt thou see our nation thus afflicted without taking care of vs? Behold how we are made a prey to all men. Whil'st thus he walked before the gate, and lamented bitterly, newes was brought him that the King was ready to sit down to his meate: For which cause he gaue attendance according to his office, and serued the King dutifully, during his time of repast. As soone as supper was done, the King grew pleasant and ioyfull, and casting his eyes vpon *Nehemias* (whom he perceiued to be heauie and disconsolate) he asked him what hee ailed? *Nehemias* (after he had besought God to giue him grace and perswasiue speech to discourse vnto the King) answered: O King, how is it possible that I should be other but discomforted, and that griefe should not pierce euen vnto the very center of my soule, when I heare that the wals of Ierusalem (which is my natiue countrey) are leuelled with the ground, and the sepulchers and monuments of my predecessors are defaced, and the gates of the City are burned? Do me therefore this grace, that I may resort thither, and repaire the same, and finish the rest of the building of the Temple.

The yeere of the world, 3519. before Christs Natiuitie, 445.

This said, the King gaue eare to his request, and promised him his Letters, assuring him that he would addresse them to the Gouernours, commanding them to doe him honour, and to furnish him with all things necessary, to accomplish that which he intended. For which cause (said he) cease thou to be sad, and doe thy seruice willingly. Hereupon *Nehemias* adored God, and thanked the King, for the promise he had made him; and therefore by the pleasure he conceiued, he cleared that confusion and sorrow, that before that time he bare his countenance. The next day the King called for him, and gaue him letters vnto *Sadeas* the Gouernor of Syria, Phœnicia and Samaria, in which he commanded him to honour *Nehemias*, and to furnish him with all things necessary for that building which he intended. As soone as he came to Babylon, he tooke diuers of his countrimen with him, who willingly followed him, and went with him vnto Ierusalem in the fiue and twentieth yeer of the taigne of *Xerxes*, and after he had presented his letters before God, he deliuered them to *Sadeas*, and the other Gouernours. Afterwards, assembling the people in Ierusalem, he stood vp in the midst of them, and spake vnto the whole congregation to this effect: You men of Iury, there is none of you but knoweth that God hath our forefathers *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Iacob* in perpetuall memory, and that in regard of their iustice, he hath neuer failed to haue care of vs: by his mercy likewise I haue receiued the fauour from the King to repaire your wals, and finish the rest of the Temple. I therfore pray you (who are assuredly perswaded of the enuy and hatred the neighbouring nations beare vnto you, who hearing that we are intent and busie in our building, will ouerpresse vs, and labour by all meanes possible to hinder vs) first to assure your selues in Gods prouidence; who will oppose himselfe against the hatred which they beare vs, and afterwards to intermit neither day nor night in prosecution of the building, but with all care continue the worke, in that the opportunitie of the time doth challenge our diligence

Nehemias hauing gotten licence and authority to build the wals of Ierusalem, inciteth the people thereunto. *2 Esdras 2.*

The yeere of the world, 3519. before Christs Natiuitie, 445.

gence therin. After he had ſpoken to this effect; he gaue order that the Gouernours ſhould take the meaſure of the wall, and diſtribute the taske amongſt the people, according to the burroughs and townes, and according to euery mans ability: and after hee had promiſed to imploy both himſelfe, and all his family therein, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly. Hereupon the Iewes (incited by his authority) addreſſed themſelues to the worke; which name of Iewes was firſt impoſed both on them and their religion, by reaſon of the Tribe of Iuda, who firſt of all came into theſe places.

2 Eſdras 4.6.

The Ammonites, Moabites, Samaritanes, and all the inhabitants of Cœloſyria, vnderſtanding the wals were raiſed with ſuch haſte and diligence, were ſore aggrieued, and reſolued with themſelues to lie in ambuſh, and to hinder them in their deliberations; ſo that they ſlew diuers Iewes, and ſought the meanes likewiſe to murther *Nehemias* himſelfe: and hauing hired certaine ſtrangers with money to commit the fact, they laid in waite for him. They bred alſo a feare and trouble amongſt them, by ſpreading certaine rumours, that diuers nations intended to make war againſt them: by which reports (being too much diſtracted) they deſiſted ſomewhat in the proſecution of their building. Yet none of theſe things could weaken *Nehemias* diligence or reſolution, but that (keeping a court of guard round about him) he inſtantly proſecuted his purpoſe, ſetting light by all occurrents; ſo great was his affection to accompliſh his intent. And for that cauſe did he carefully and intentiuely ſtand vpon his guard, not for that he feared death, but for that he beleeued that after his departure the Iewes would not finiſh the building of the walles. He commanded afterwards, that the workemen in their trauell ſhould haue their furnitures faſt by them, ſo that both Maſons and labourers carried their ſwords.

The ardent care in building the wals of Ieruſalem.

Moreouer, he gaue order that they ſhould haue their targets by them; and he placed certaine trumpeters, ſome fiue hundred foote diſtant the one from the other, charging them that as ſoone as they diſcouered the enemy from any part, they ſhould incontinently ſound the allarum, and giue notice vnto the people to arme themſelues, and prepare for the fight, for feare they ſhould be ſurprized and found naked. He himſelfe alſo walked the round, about the City by night time, with an indefatigable courage, and without either eating or ſleeping at his pleaſure, but onely for neceſſity ſake: and this labour endured he for the ſpace of two yeeres, and three months: for the wall of Ieruſalem was builded againe in that time, in the eight and twentieth yeer of the raigne of *Xerxes*, and in the ninth moneth. After the City was fortified, *Nehemias* and the people offered ſacrifices vnto God, and ſpent eight dayes in feaſting. When the rumour was ſpred abroad that this building was finiſhed, the inhabitants of Syria were ſore diſpleaſed. But *Nehemias* perceiuing that the City was weakely manned, beſought the Prieſts and Leuites to forſake their dwellings without the City, and to come and dwell within, and to that intent he builded them houſes vpon his owne charge. He ordained likewiſe, that they that intended their husbandry, ſhould bring the tenths of their fruits vnto Ieruſalem, to the intent that the Prieſts and Leuites by enioying their continuall maintenance, might intermit no time in the ſeruice of God: wherein he was willingly obeyed. By this meanes, the City of Ieruſalem was very well peopled. After that *Nehemias* had honourably executed diuers other worthy actions deſeruing praiſe, he died at ſuch time as he was loaden with age. He was a man of good nature, iuſt and highly affectionated towards his countrey: he left the City of Ieruſalem incompaſſed with a wall, for a perpetuall memorie of his loue vnto his countrey. All theſe things hapned during the raigne of *Xerxes*.

The wals of Ieruſalem finiſhed.

The yeere of the world, 3527. before Chriſts Natiuity, 437.

Prouiſion for the Prieſts.

2 Eſdras 10.

The death of Nehemias.

CHAP. VI.

How during the raigne of ARTAXERXES, *the whole Nation of the Iewes were in danger to bee extinguiſhed by* AMANS *treachery.*

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 6. Eſter 1.

AFTER the death of *Xerxes*, the kingdome fell to *Cyrus* his Sonne, who by the Grecians was called *Artaxerxes*. Vnder his gouernment all the race of the Iewes, both men, women and children, were in danger to be vtterly exterminated: the cauſe whereof I will hereafter declare. But firſt of all it beboueth mee to ſpeake ſomewhat of the King, and declare how it came to paſſe, that he married an Hebrew woman of the blood royall, by whoſe meanes (as it is ſaid) our Nation was preſerued. After that *Artaxerxes* had taken the Kingdome vpon him, and eſtabliſhed Gouernours ouer one hundred and ſeuen and twenty Prouinces, from India as farre as Æthiopia; in the third yeere of his raigne, he entertained and feaſted all his friends with great magnificence, the Nations of Perſia likewiſe with their Gouernors

The yeere of the world, 3542. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 521.

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(according as it became a King ſo opulent,who was prepared for one hundred and eighty daies to make ſhew of his wealth and bounty.)He feaſted after this,for the ſpace of 7.dayes the Embaſſadours of all nations in the City of Suſa:and the ſetting forth of the banquet was ſuch,as enſueth. He ſate in a Tent,whoſe pillars were of gold and ſiluer, couered with linnen and ſcarlet vailes,which were of that greatnes,that diuers thouſands of men might take their refection therin. All the acates were ſerued in veſſels of gold, inriched with precious ſtones very glorious to behold. The King likewiſe commanded his ſeruants (that attended the feaſt) that they ſhould enforce no man to drinke,by filling continually,according to the manner of the Perſians, but to permit euery one of the gueſts to drinke according to his diſcretion. He ſent alſo thorowout all the countrey,commanding a ceſſation from all labour, and that euery one ſhould make holyday for many dayes in honour of his royalty. The Queene *Vaſthi* alſo made a banquet vnto her women in the royall Palace. Now wheras the King was deſirous to ſhew the maieſty of his Queene to thoſe he had inuited, he ſent vnto her, commanding her to reſort vnto the banquet in more royall maner then the reſt of her attendants:but ſhee too curiouſly tied to the obſeruation of the law of the Perſians (which forbiddeth women to be ſeene by ſtrangers) went not vnto the King: and notwithſtanding he ſent his Ennuches diuers times vnto her, yet perſiſted ſhee in her refuſall to come vnto him. Whereupon the King (mooued with diſpleaſure)gaue ouer his banquet, and ariſing therfro,he called vnto him his ſeuen counſellers,to whom(according to the vſe of the Perſians) it belonged to expound the lawes; and accuſed his wife, telling them how grieuouſly he had beene wronged by her, for that being ſent for by him diuers times to accompany him at his banquet,ſhe had euery way refuſed to obey him: He therefore commanded them to declare their opinion, what puniſhment appertained to her. One amongſt them called *Muchæus* anſwered, that the iniurie was not onely offered vnto him,but to all the Perſians: who being after that manner deſpiſed by their wiues, were like to paſſe their liues ignominiouſly, for that no one of them would acknowledge duty towards their husbands,taking their example from the Queenes diſobedience,which ſhe ſhewed towards him,who was the Gouernour ouer all. Whereupon he concluded,that ſhe that had thus diſhonoured him,ſhould be grieuouſly puniſhed: which done, he thought it meete that this ordinance of the Kings might be publiſhed thorow all nations,that Queene *Vaſthi* ſhould be ſeparated from his bed, and another woman choſen in her place. But the King,who vehemently loued her,and could hardly endure to be ſeparated from her,knowing that he could not keepe her contrary to law,was wholly deuoured in ſorrow, for that he might not be maſter of that which he deſired. Which when his familiars perceiued,they counſelled him to forget the memory and loue of a woman ſo vnprofitable,and to ſend and ſeeke out thorow al his countries for the faireſt woman amongſt them, whom he might chooſe and take to wife,that ſurpaſſed al others in beauty;for that by the interuiew & company of another woman, the great affection which he bare vnto *Vaſthi*,might be extinguiſhed. The King allowing and ratifying this counſaile of theirs, ſent out certaine meſſengers and deputies, commanding them to bring vnto his preſence the faireſt Virgins that were to be found in his kingdome:when as therfore they had aſſembled a great number of them, they found in Babylon a young Orphelin(without either father or mother) who was brought vp vnder her vncle(whoſe name was *Mardocheus*) of the tribe of *Beniamin*, and one of the greateſt men amongſt the Iewes. It came to paſſe, that this *Eſther* (for ſuch was her name)was iudged to be the faireſt amongſt the reſt,who for her amiable countenance made all men to ſtand and gaze to behold her. She therfore was deliuered in charge vnto one of the Eunuches,who carefully attended her with all the diligence that was poſſible,decking her with odors and precious perfumes, according to the cuſtome of noble women; and after this manner were foure hundred Virgins entertained for the ſpace of ſixe moneths. Now when he that was put in truſt with this commiſſion,thought theſe Virgins to be ſufficiently prepared, and that they deſerued to approach the Princes bed,he ſent euery day one vnto the King to keep him company:who after ſome embraces ſent her preſently backe againe vnto the Eunuch. But when as *Eſther* came vnto his preſence,he ſettled his affection more on her then on all the reſt,& being ſurprized with her loue,he tooke her for his lawfull wife:and the nuptials were ſolemnely celebrated in the ſeuenth yeere of his raigne,and in the twelfth moneth called by vs Adar, and generally Frebruary: and he ſent poſts thorow all his kingdomes to proclaime a feaſt in honour of his marriage: he himſelfe alſo feaſted the Perſians,and Medes,and the Princes of the nations, for a whole moneths ſpace for the ſame cauſe. At ſuch time as *Eſther* entred into the royall Palace,he ſet a diademe vpon her head, and ſo liued with her, that he neuer queſtioned with her either of her birth,or nation. Her vncle alſo came from Babylon to Suſa(the chiefe city of Perſia) where

The yeere of the world, 3543. before Chriſts Natiuitie,421.

Aſſuerus ſendeth for Vaſti to grace his feaſts,ſhe refuſeth, and therefore is caſt off by him.

The yeer of the world, 3545. before chriſts Natiuity, 419.

The yeere of the world, 3450. before Chriſts Natiuitie , 415.

The maiden Eſther made Queene. *Eſther 2.*

Mardocheus came from Babylon to Suſa.

The yeere of the world, 3546. before Christs birth, 415.

where euery day he walked before the Palace gate, enquiring how *Ester* did: for that he loued her as dearely as if she had been his owne naturall daughter. Now the King had made a law that no man should approach his presence, except he were called, during the time that he was in his Throne; and round about his seat there stood certaine officers with their axes, ready to punish those who being vncalled should attempt to approach the Throne. The King himselfe sate aloft, and holding in his hand a golden scepter, whensoeuer he intended to saue the life of any one that approached his Throne vncalled, he stretched forth the same and touched him therewith: who being thus touched, by these meanes auoided the penalty of death. And as touching these things we haue sufficiently spoken in this place.

The Kings command, that no man should approach his throne, except he were called *Esther* 4.

Not long after this, when as *Bagathous* and *Theodestes*, two of the Kings Eunuches, had conspired against him; *Barnabazus*, who was of the Hebrew nation and one of their seruants, disclosing their treason, discouered it to the Queenes vncle *Mardocheus*, who by her meanes made the King priuy to their conspiracy. Who sore troubled herewith, found out the truth by examination, and after he had commanded them to be executed on the gibbet, he for that time gaue no recompence to *Mardocheus* for the safegard of his life: he onely commanded his name to be registred and Chronicled in his Commentaries, commanding that he should attend in the Palace, and be esteemed for one of the Kings most inward friends. Now as often as *Aman* (the sonne of *Amadath* an Amalechite) came vnto the Palace to visit the King, all those that were either Persians or strangers (according to the Kings especiall direction) did him honour: But *Mardocheus* shewed him no honour (both by reason of that vpright iudgement that was in him, as also for that the lawes of the Iewes forbad the same. Which when *Aman* had obserued, he demanded whence he was: and vnderstanding that he was a Iew, he was much displeased, saying in himselfe, that the Persians who were of freer condition, cast themselues prostrate before him, and he that was but a slaue, disdained to do the like. Intending therfore to reuenge himselfe on *Mardocheus*, he thought it not sufficient to procure his punishmēt at the Kings hands, but resolued wholly to exterminate his race (for he was by nature a capital enemy of the Iewes, by reason that the Amalechites, from whom he challenged his descent, had bin wholly ruinated by them.) For which cause, he addressed himselfe vnto the King, and accused them, saying, that there was a certaine cursed nation spred thorow his whole Kingdome, insociable, and abhorring the customes of other men, who vsed diuers lawes and ceremonies hatefull both for their manners and studies, to all the rest of his subiects, and all mortall men. This nation (saith he) if thou wilt doe a gracious and acceptable fauour vnto thy people, thou shalt vtterly extinguish, and leaue neither captiue nor slaue aliue amongst them. And lest your Maiesties tribute would bee any wayes impaired by these meanes, I promise you of mine owne reuenewes forty thousand talents of siluer; desiring rather willingly to forbeare so much money, then that your Kingdome should be vnpurged of such a cursed race of men. When *Aman* had made this his request, the King answered, that he forgaue him the money, and that hee permitted him to deale with that nation as best him liked. When *Aman* had obtained this his desire, he presently sent an edict thorow all nations in the Kings name, and to this effect: The great King *Artaxerxes* vnto his Gouernours of a hundreth and seuen and twenty Prouinces, extending from India as farre as Æthiopia: Health. Hauing obtained the Empire ouer so many Nations, and extended my dominion ouer the world, according to mine owne pleasure, without being constrained to offend any of my subiects, by vsing our power more proudly and importunately then becommeth vs, but shewing our selues fauourable and mercifull in prouiding for their peace, and plentifull estate, wee haue searched out the meanes thereof, to the intent that we might perceiue the fruite. Being therefore admonished by my friend *Aman* (who for his wisedome and iustice is more honoured then all other by me, and for his approoued fidelity, hath the second place in authority next me) that there is a certaine race of men intermedled among you, enemies to all humanity, vsing none but their owne lawes, and such as are different from others, disobedient to their Kings, and of depraued manners and customes, that neither allow our Monarchie, nor further our affaires: I will and command, that they (being made knowne by *Aman*, a man whom we hold as deare as our father) be slaine, with their wiues, and children; so as you spare none of them, attributing more vnto your owne mercy then our edict: and this command wee to be done the fourteenth day of the twelfth moneth of this present yeere, that in one day cutting off all our enemies, hereeafter it may be lawfull for you to liue in peace and security. This edict being spred thorow all places of the countrey, and published in euery city, all men addressed themselues against the prefixed day, vtterly to exterminate the Iewes: & no lesse diligence was there vsed in Susan the Metropolitane city. Meane while

A man being honoured by all men, is neglected by the Iewes. *Esther* 3.

The destruction of the Iewes granted vnto Aman.

while the King and *Aman* feasted, and made good cheere, whilest the City hung in suspence, being troubled with the expectation of the euent of that which should follow. But *Mardocheus* hauing intelligence hereof, rent his garments, put on sackcloth, & cast ashes on his head, walking thorow the City, and crying that their nation had not committed any crime that deserued death: and vsing these or such like speeches, he came vnto the Kings Palace, and stood before the gate, because it was vnlawfull for him to enter thereinto in that habit: The like also did the Iewes that were in the Cities, where those edicts had been published against them, weeping and lamenting their miseries. But when the newes hereof was brought vnto the Queene, that *Mardocheus* stood before the Palace gate in a lamentable estate, she was sore troubled, and sent certaine of her seruants vnto him, to command him to exchange his attire; but they could not perswade him to put off his sackcloth, because the inconuenient, for which he had put it on, was not ouerpast. She therfore called vnto her, her Eunuch *Acratheus*, and sent him vnto *Mardocheus*, to know what hatefull accident had befalne him, that made him put on his desolate habit, and powre forth those lamentable teares (notwithstanding she had instantly praied him to disrobe him of the one, and dry vp the other.) Hereupon *Mardocheus* told the Eunuch, of the edict made against the Iewes, & sent by the King vnto all his Prouinces; the offer of the money that *Aman* likewise had tendered to the King, whereby he had bought the vtter ruine of his nation at the Kings hands. Moreouer, he gaue him the copy of that which had beene proclaimed in *Susan*, to be deliuered vnto *Esther:* whom he commanded to beseech the King, and to esteeme it no dishonour to put on an abiect and base garment, to saue her nation, and to preserue the Iewes from that death, whereunto at that time they were exposed: for that *Aman* the next in honour to the King, had accused the Iewes, and incensed his Maiestie against them. When *Esther* vnderstood this, shee sent againe vnto *Mardocheus*, giuing him to vnderstand that she was not called for by the King; and that whosoeuer entred vnto him, and was not called, should die, except the King would warrantize him by stretching out his golden Scepter: for he, vnto whom the King intended that fauour, although hee were not called vnto him; yet suffered he not death, but obtained pardon. When these things were reported by the Eunuch from *Esther* vnto *Mardocheus*, he commanded him to tell her, that she ought not so much to tender the particular respect of her life, as the liues of her whole nation; assuring her, that if at that present she had not care of them, their succours should wholly proceed from God by some other meanes then this: but she and her fathers house should be destroyed by them, whom she had contemned. Vpon this reply, *Esther* sent the same messenger backe againe vnto *Mardocheus*, commanding him to repaire vnto *Susan*, and to call a generall assembly of all the Iewes that remained there, willing them for three daies space to fast and abstaine from all kind of meate for her safety, and that both her selfe and her seruants would do the like, promising them that at that time she would present her self vnto the King, notwithstanding his contrary edict; and that if she must needs die, she would willingly endure it.

Mardocheus, following this direction of hers, caused the people to fast, and to pray vnto God for her: he likewise himselfe besought him that it might please him at that present to haue compassion on their desolate and distressed nation; as before that time he had oftentimes had care of them: and that as he had pardoned them at such time as they had offended; so now also at this present he would deliuer them from that perdition which was denounced against them. For that they were not in danger to die infamously for any offence of their owne, but because hee onely had incensed *Aman* vnto displeasure, in that he would not adore him, or performe that honor vnto him, which is only due to God: for which cause in despite he had imagined this thing against them, who would not transgresse the diuine ordinances. The people likewise prayed to the like effect, beseeching God that he would haue care of their preseruation, & warrantize the Israelites in what place soeuer they were, from the misery at hand, which was before their eyes, & already expected by them. *Esther* also besought God (according to her countrey manner) casting her selfe prostrate on the earth, cloathed in sackcloth, and abstaining for three daies space from meate and drinke, and what thing soeuer else was delectable, beseeching God to haue compassion vpon her, that when she presented her selfe before the King, she might haue words fit to perswade and mollifie him, and grace and beauty farre more amiable then euer she had, to the end that by these two meanes she might be the better enabled to appease the King, if so be he were displeased against her; and to succour her brethren agitated and tossed in extreme danger, wherethrough the King might enforce his hatred against the enemies of the Iewes, and take compassion of their imminent danger, which without his preuention would surely fall vpon them. After she had in this sort for three daies space both fasted and prayed, she cast off her mourning attire, and

The yeere of the world, 3549. before Christs Natiuitie. 415.

The lamentation of the Iewes vpon the hearing of this edict. *Esther 4.*

The yeere of the world, 3554. before Christs Natiuitie, 410.

Fasting and prayers vnto God for the safety of the people.

Esther resorteth to the King to sollicite him in the behalfe of the Iewes.

The yeere of the world, 3554. before Christs Natiuitie, 410.

and changed her habit, attiring her selfe like a maiesticall Queene, hauing two of her seruants on whom shee leaned, and the third that followed her, carried vp with the tops of her fingers her traine, which was large and trailed on the ground: and in this equipage came she vnto the King, hauing her cheekes stained with crimson blushes, making shew of Maiesty mixed with beauty, and not altogether estranged from feare. But when she beheld the King sitting aloft in his throne, glorious in his garments distinguisht with gold, and adorned with pearle, and rich stones; a certaine feare suddenly fell vpon her, and by chance he had cast a frowning and yrefull looke on her; whereupon being presently astonished, her members failed her, her colour faded, and she fell betwixt her handmaids armes in a swoune. Hereon, the King (by the wil of God, as I verily esteeme) changed his affection; and (suspecting lest feare should cause his wife to fall into some grieuous accident) he suddenly leapt from his Throne, and embracing her with both his armes, he raised her vp, and kissed her, and spake comfortable words vnto her, praying her to be of good courage, and not to suspect any sinister misfortune, for that she came vnto him without any motion of his: That the ordinance was onely made for his subiects: for which cause he willed her (who was equall in gouernment with him) to feare nothing: whereupon he tooke his Scepter in his hand and laid it on the Queenes necke (according to the law) enforcing himselfe to deliuer her from all feare; by which meanes shee recouered her vigour and courage; and spake after this manner: O King (said shee) I cannot easily expresse vnto you the inconuenience that is suddenly fallen vpon me: For as soone as I beheld the great, faire, and redoubted Maiesty of your person, my spirits forsooke me, and my heart failed me. Now whilest shee spake these words with paine and feebleness, the King was touched with compassion; so as he animated and encouraged her, and commanded her to expect nothing but good; yea (said hee) if thou demandest the halfe of my kingdome, I will grant it thee. But *Esther* onely requested this at his hands, that onely he and his intire friend *Aman* would vouchsafe to grace her with their presence at her banquet: which the King readily granted her. Now when they were come vnto the banquet, and in the midst of their cups, the King commanded *Esther* to aske what shee would, and he would grant it her, assuring her that he would refuse her in nothing; yea, although she demanded the halfe of his kingdome. But shee deferred to discouer her suite vntill the next day, requiring him once more to repaire with *Aman* vnto her banquet. When the King had promised to reuisit her, *Aman* departed with great ioy, for that he alone had the credit to banquet with the King and *Esther*, and no other had euer obtained the like honour amongst any Kings of that dominion. But in his returne perceiuing *Mardocheus* in the Court, he was sore mooued, because that (notwithstanding he had lookt vpon him) hee had not done him honour: when as therefore he came home vnto his house, he called *Zaraza* his wife, and his friends, and told them what honour (not onely the King, but the Queene also had done him; and how hee onely with the King had supped that day with the Queene; and was inuited the next day also to banquet with the King and her: notwithstanding he told them that he was discontented, because he saw *Mardocheus* the Iew in the Court. *Zaraza* his wife told him, that he should cause a gallowes to be raised of fiftie cubits high, and that the next day he should demand licence of the King, that *Mardocheus* might be hanged on the Iibbet. *Aman* praising his wiues counsell, commanded his seruants to prepare the timber, and erect the Gallowes in his Court, to the end to hang *Mardocheus* thereon: which they diligently performed. But God mocked at *Amans* cursed hope, and knowing certainly what should happen, tooke pleasure to see it prepared. For the very same night he depriued the King of sleepe, who very loth to spend the time idlely whilest he was awake, but to imploy it in something that was profitable for his kingdome, hee commanded his Secretary to bring him the Chronicles of the Kings his predecessors, & of those things that were done by himselfe, and to reade the same. When as therfore they were brought and read, he found that a certaine man whose name was there set downe, had receiued a great possession for reward in reacknowledgement of his vertue. Hee read likewise of another that had obtained recompence for his fidelitie; and consequently of others; till at last he came to the place where the Eunuches *Bagotheus* and *Theodestes* were noted downe, for a secret conspiracie against the person of the King; and how it was discouered by *Mardocheus*. Now when the Secretary (hauing onely recited this accident) turned ouer to another history, the King stayed him, & asked him if he found therein written, that he had giuen any recompence to *Mardocheus*? He answered that he found nothing set down. Whereupon the King commanded him to giue ouer, and inquired of those to whom that office appertained, what houre of the night it was: and knowing that the morning was already discouered, he commanded that some one should certifie him, which of his familiars attended before the Palace. At this time it chanced

Amans hatred against Mardocheus.

A laudable custome in a King. *Esther 6.*

ced that *Aman* was found there, who repaired thither ſooner then he was accuſtomed, with an intent to beſeech the King, that it might be lawfull for him to put *Mardocheus* to death. *The yeere of the world, 3554. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 410.*

Now when the officers had brought the King tydings that *Aman* was before the palace; they were commanded preſently to call him in. As ſoone as he came into the Kings preſence, he ſaid vnto him: Knowing that thou art my affectionate and onely friend, I prithee giue me thy counſaile, how I may condignly honour him, according to my greatneſſe, whom I doe moſt affectionately loue? *Aman* thinking the aduice he ſhould giue, ſhould be giuen for himſelfe (becauſe he ſuppoſed that he only was beloued by the King more then all others) counſailed him that which in his opinion was the beſt, in this manner. For (ſaid hee) if you intend to inueſt the man with glorie, who (as you ſay) is beloued by you, cauſe him to be mounted vpon a braue horſe, and let him be apparelled in a royall habit, and put a chaine of gold about his necke, and let ſome one of thy chiefeſt friends march before him, and proclaime thorowout the Citie, that thus is the man honoured whom the King loueth. *Aman* gaue this counſaile, in that hee hoped that it ſhould be his owne fortune. But the King (highly contented with this his aduice) turning towards him, ſpake thus vnto him: Thou haſt a horſe, a garment, and a chaine, ſeeke out therefore the Iew *Mardocheus*, & giue them him, and march thou before him, making this publike crie: For (ſaid hee) thou art mine inward friend, and it is very decent that the execution of that thing bee committed to thy truſt, which thou haſt ſo faithfully counſailed. And this cõmand I to be done in this ſort; becauſe *Mardocheus* hath beene the preſeruer of my life. *Aman* hearing theſe words, beyond all expectation, was confuſed in his ſpirit, and beeing wholly diſcomforted, knew not which way to turne him, he therefore iſſued out, hauing with him the horſe, the purple habit, and the chaine of gold. Meeting therefore with *Mardocheus* before the palace, who was cloathed in ſackecloth, he enioyned him to lay his mourning habit aſide, & to cloath himſelfe in purple. But he (who was wholly ignorant of that which had hapned, & ſuppoſing that he mocked him) ſaid: O thou wickedeſt man amongſt men, doeſt thou thus mocke at our afflictions? Notwithſtanding, being afterwards informed that the King had beſtowed this honour on him for ſauing his life, and diſcouering the treacherie of thoſe Eunuches that would haue ſlaine him, he put vpon him the ſcarlet habite that the King wore ordinarily, and put the chaine about his necke, and afterwards mounting his horſe, he went round about the Citie, *Aman* alſo walking before him, and crying, that thus ſhould bee dealt and done with him whom the King honored, loued, and thought worthy of eſtimation. Now after they had circuited the whole Citie, *Mardocheus* gaue his attendance on the King, but *Aman* came not in preſence; ſo much was hee aſhamed at that which had hapned: for which cauſe he repaired home, & told his wife and friends, with teares, of all that which had hapned; who told him, that it was no waies poſſible for him to reuenge himſelfe as yet on *Mardocheus*, becauſe God was with him. *Honour offered to Mardocheus.* *Eſther 7.*

Now whileſt they were diſcourſing and debating this matter together, *Eſthers* Eunuches came to haſten *Aman* to the banquet, and *Sabuchadas* one of the Eunuches ſeeing the Iibbet erected in *Amans* lodging (whereon he intended to execute *Mardocheus*) demanded of one of the ſeruants, wherefore it was raiſed vp: and vnderſtanding that it was for the Queenes vncle, whom *Aman* would require at the Kings hands, to the end he might put him to death, for that time he held his peace. But when the King being ſeated with *Aman* at the banquet, required the Queene to declare what ſhe would require that he might grant her, ſhe began to lamẽt the danger of her people, ſaying, that ſhe with her whole nation were made a prey to the ſword, and that for that cauſe ſhe brake out into that diſcourſe: For (ſaid ſhe) I had not troubled your maieſty, neither had I beene aggrieued, if you had commanded that all the Iewes ſhould be ſold, and led away captiues to extreme miſerie; for that affliction might haue beene borne: ſhe therefore prayed him to redeeme them from thoſe miſeries. When as therefore the King demanded who it was, that practiſed that tyranny: ſhe began publikely to accuſe *Aman*, ſaying, that he alone was that wretched and enuious man, who had complotted their tragedie. Hereupon the King was very ſore troubled, & roſe from the banquet to depart into the garden: then began *Aman* to pray and beſeech *Eſther* to forgiue him his offence, for that at that preſent he was in a dangerous eſtate. Now whileſt he was fallen vpon her bed to beſeech her fauour, the King entred, & grew the more diſpleaſed at that he ſaw, and ſaid, O thou curſed amongſt men, dareſt thou attempt to enforce my wife? *Aman* was wholly confounded with this queſtion; ſo as hee had not a word to anſwer him. Hereupon the Eunuch *Sabuchadas* ſtepping forth, accuſed him for that he had found him in his lodging erecting a Iibbet for *Mardocheus*, aſſuring the King that one of his houſhold ſeruants had told him it, at ſuch time as he was ſent to call him to the banquet; alledging moreo- *Aman hauing all his trecheries and cruelty diſcouered, in the banquet is adiudged to the gallowes.*

uer, that the Iibbet was fiftie cubits hie. Which when the King vnderſtood, he adiudged *Aman* to no other death, but that which he intended againſt *Mardocheus*; & thereupon preſently commanded that he ſhould be hanged vpon the ſame Iibbet, vntill he were dead. And in this place it behooueth me to admire the maieſtie of God, in conſidering what his wiſedome and iuſtice is, in that he not only puniſhed the wickedneſſe of *Aman* (as he had deſerued) but alſo cauſed him to fall into the ſame ſnare which he had prepared for another man. Thus died *Aman*, who had vniuſtly abuſed the Kings friendſhip: as for his goods they were giuen vnto the Queene.

The yeere of the world, 3554. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 410.
Eſther.8.

Amans goods beſtowed on Mardocheus.

After this, the King called for *Mardocheus* vnto him (for already he had notice that he was his wiues vncle) and gaue him the ring which he had giuen vnto *Aman*: the Queene likewiſe gaue him his goods, and required the King to deliuer the nation of the Iewes from that diſmay wherinto they were fallen, through the perill of their liues: letting him to ſee thoſe letters which were ſent by *Aman* the Amadathite thorow all his countries, aſſuring him that ſhe could not liue to behold the death of her brethren, and the totall ruine of her countrey. The King aſſured her, that he had vndertaken nothing that might diſcomfort her: auowing to her, that he would not contradict her wil, wiſhing her to write her ſelf in the Kings name all that which ſhe wold haue done in the behalfe of the Iewes; promiſing that when ſhe had done the ſame, he would ſeale it with his owne ſeale, giuing her authority to ſend the ſame thorow all his realms: to the end that they that read thoſe letters, confirmed by the Kings ſeale, ſhould not any waies contradict the execution of the ſame. Whereupon he ſent for his ſecretaries of eſtate, cõmanding them to write vnto the magiſtrates of all the nations as touching the Iewes, & to the princes and gouernors of one hundreth, twenty and ſeuen prouinces, from India as farre as Æthiopia. The contents of which letters were theſe: *Artaxerxes* the great King, to the gouernours and thoſe that faithfully rule vnder vs; Health. Many men being puffed vp with pride, by reaſon of the many and mighty benefits and honours, which they receiue through the too lauiſh liberality of their benefactors, do not only exerciſe their pride towards their inferiors, but alſo are not affraid to waxe inſolent

The Kings letters for the ſecurity of the Iewes.

» againſt them, who are the authors of their benefits, extinguiſhing as much as in them lieth, all
» gratuitie that hath euer beene amongſt men, and being corrupted with vnexpected felicitie, abuſe
» thoſe graces amongſt them, by whom they haue gotten the ſame, in effect no waies fearing God,
» whoſe power they ſuppoſe they can deceiue. On the other ſide, other ſome enhanced to the ad-
» miniſtration of the common weale, and giuing place to the hatred they haue conceiued againſt
» ſome particular men, deceiue their Princes, and by falſe accuſations and detractions, prouoke
» and kindle their wrath againſt thoſe, who haue not done amiſſe: whence it commeth to paſſe,
» that they are ſometimes in extreme danger to loſe their life. The proofe whereof appeareth not
» onely in ancient hiſtories (the knowledge whereof we haue onely obtained by heare-ſay) but by
» that likewiſe which hath bin audaciouſly attempted before our eies; ſo that hereafter we ought
» not to giue credit to detractions and accuſations, nor to ſuch things as men inforce themſelues
» to perſwade: but it behooueth euery man to iudge according to the truth of that he knoweth,
» and to puniſh that which is faulty, and to pardon that which requireth pardon, in conſidering
» the acts, and not the words that are ſpoken. For it is moſt notorious vnto all men, that *Aman*
» the Amadathite (an Amalechite by nation, and by that meanes a ſtranger, and not of the Perſi-
» an blood, but entertained by vs) hath in all things enioyed the fruite of our bounty hitherto; ſo
» that he hath beene called our father, honoured by all men, and obtained amongſt all men, and in
» al things, the ſecond place of honour after vs: yet could he not equally make vſe of his good hap,
» neither with prudent aduice entertaine the greatneſſe of his felicity; but hath ſought the meanes
» to depriue *Mardocheus* of his life, who preſerued mine; ſeeking by his fraud and malice to practiſe
» the ruine of *Eſther* the companion of our life and kingdome; and by this meanes ſtriuing to diſ-
» poſſeſſe me of my moſt faithfull friends, he determined to transferre the kingdome vnto others.
» Touching my ſelfe, in that I know that the Iewes, who are by this wretch deſtinated to die, are
» no wicked men, but ſuch as liue vnder a well policied gouernment, praying God continually
» that it would pleaſe him to continue the kingdome in vs, and our ſucceſſours: I abſolue them
» not only of that penalty, contained in my former letters ſent by *Aman* (which by theſe preſents
» I vtterly diſanull) but my pleaſure likewiſe is, that they be had in all honour. As for him that pra-
» ctiſed theſe things againſt them, I haue cauſed him and all his race to be hanged before the gates
» of Suſan, according to the iuſt iudgement of God inflicted on them for their offences. My will
» and pleaſure therefore is, that the copy of this letter be ſent thorow al the countries of our obei-
» ſance, to the intent that the Iewes be ſuffered to liue, according to their owne lawes, in peace;
» and that aſſiſtance may be giuen them, to the end they may reuenge themſelues of thoſe, who

haue

A haue offered them outrage in their aduerſitie. And I command that this bee done the thirteenth day of the twelfth moneth called Adar, which is the day that God ordained for their preſeruation (when as they were appointed to be ſlaine) which day I deſire to fall out fortunate to thoſe that loue vs, and a monument of reuenge on thoſe that pretended our ruine. My pleaſure likewiſe is, that all men, cities and nations ſhould know, that whoſoeuer ſhall neglect, through obſtinacy, to fulfill the tenor of this my mandate, he ſhall be purſued with fire and ſword: and let theſe copies be ſet vp thorowout all our dominions, and let each man of the Iewes vpon the prefixed day, prepare himſelfe to be reuenged on his enemies. *The yeere of the world, 3554. before Chriſts Natiuity, 410.* " " " "

As ſoone as the Poaſts had receiued theſe letters, they preſently mounted on horſebacke, and road each of them his appointed way; and *Mardocheus* being cloathed in a royall habit, and adorned with a crowne of gold on his head, & a chaine of gold about his necke, iſſued forth: and the Iewes of Suſan, ſeeing him thus honoured by the King, ſuppoſed that his good hap was an aſſurance of their owne: & when the Kings letters were publiſhed, a ioy as it were a bright beam of conſolation enuironed the Hebrew nation, as well thoſe that were in the citie of Suſan, as they that were amid the countrey; ſo that diuers men of other nations circumciſed themſelues, for feare they had of the Iewes, ſuppoſing that in ſo doing they ſhould be in ſecuritie. For the thirteenth day of the twelfth month (by the Hebrews called Adar, and by the Macedonians Diſtre) the Poaſts that carried the Kings letters certified them, that they ſhould exterminate their enemies on that very day, whereon they themſelues were in danger to be exterminated. The gouernours likewiſe of the Prouinces, the Lords, Kings, and Secretaries, did honour to the Iewes: C for the feare they had of *Mardocheus* conſtrained them to moderate themſelues; and after the Kings letters were publiſhed thorow all the countrey, it came to paſſe that the Iewes ſlew about fiue hundreth of their enemies. But after the King had declared vnto *Eſther*, the number of the dead that periſhed in the City, ſuſpecting with himſelfe what might happen thorow the whole countrey, and had likewiſe queſtioned with her if ſhe requeſted any further matter, promiſing her that he would ſee it executed: ſhe beſought him that it might be lawfull for the Iewes to reuenge them yet once more the next day vpon their enemies, and to hang *Amans* ten ſons vpon the Iibbet: which the King (being loth to contradict *Eſther*) permitted the Iewes to doe: they therfore returning the 14. day of the moneth Diſtre, ſlew about three hundreth more of their enemies; yet aliened they not in any ſort the ſmalleſt portion of their goods. Furthermore, the D Iewes ſlew in the champain countrey, and in the Cities, about ſeuenty fiue thouſand of their enemies, whom they diſpatched the thirteenth day of the moneth, and ſolemnized the day following. The Iewes that were at Suſan, aſſembled themſelues likewiſe on the fourteenth day of the moneth, and banquetted the whole day. Whence it commeth to paſſe, that all the Iewes which are throughout the world, keepe and ſolemnize this day for a feſtiuall, and ſend preſents the one vnto the other. *Mardocheus* alſo wrote vnto the Iewes, who liued vnder the Empire of *Artaxerxes*, commanding them to obſerue thoſe dayes, and to ſolemnize them; willing them to charge their ſucceſſours to doe the like, to the end that this feaſt might continue for euer, and outliue all obliuion. For ſince on that day they ſhould haue beene made away by *Aman*, they ſhould do well if after they had eſcaped that danger, and taken reuenge on their enemies, the very ſame day they ſhould obſerue the ſame to giue thankes vnto God: For this cauſe the Iewes keepe a ſolemne feaſt on theſe dayes, and call it *Purim*, as who ſhould ſay, *Lottes*. But *Mardocheus* was great and mighty with the King, adminiſtring the kingdome with him; he had alſo a part of the greatneſſe of the Queene: and for this cauſe the affaires of the Iewes had better ſucceſſe, then was hoped for. See here how matters paſſed, during the raigne of *Artaxerxes*.

The Iewes reuenge them on their enemies.

Eſther 9.

Phruraa feſta. Mardocheus authoritie.

CHAP. VII.

BAGOSES *Generall of* ARTAXERXES *the youngers army, offereth many outrages to the Iewes.*

AFTER the death of *Eliaſib* the high Prieſt, *Iudas* his ſonne ſucceeded in the office. And after his death *Iohn* his ſonne obtained the place; in whoſe time *Bagoſes* generall of *Artaxerxes* army polluted the temple, and made the Iewes tributaries; ſo that before they could offer their ordinary and daily ſacrifices, they were compelled to pay for euery lambe fifty drachmes, which hapned vpon this occaſion: *Iohn* had a brother called *Ieſus*, whom *Bagoſes* fauoured, and promiſed to giue him the high Prieſthood. *Ieſus* wonne by theſe perſwaſions, quarrelled with his brother *Iohn*: who was ſo much prouoked againſt him, that he ſlew his brother *Ieſus*

The yeer of the world, 3560. before chriſts Natiuity, 404. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 7.

The reuenge taken on *Iohn* for ſlaying his brother.

The yeere of the world, 3584. before the Natiuitie of Christ, 380.

Iesus in his choler. It was a thing very ſtrange, that *Iohn* being a Prieſt, ſhould commit ſuch an impietie againſt his brother, and yet farre more ſtrange, in that ſo cruell an act, and an offence ſo impious, hath neither hapned amongſt Greekes nor Barbarians. God alſo left it not vnpuniſhed, but for the ſame ſinne the people were reduced vnder captiuitie, & the temple was polluted by the Perſians. When *Bagoſes* had intelligence, that *Iohn* (the high Prieſt among the Iewes) had ſlaine his brother *Iesus* in the temple, he reſorted thither in all haſte, & began to vtter, and break forth into bitter threats againſt the Iewes: Haue you (ſaid he) beene ſo bold as to commit murther in your temple? And when he thought to haue entered into the ſame, they hindered him. Whereupon hee replied: Am I therefore more polluted then the body that lyeth dead in the Temple? And hauing ſpoken thus, he entered thereinto, and for the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres *Bagoſes* being thus animated againſt the Iewes, puniſhed them for murthering *Iesus*. After that *Iohn* was deceaſed, *Iaddus* his ſonne was made high Prieſt; who had a brother called *Manaſſes*: *Sanaballath* ſent by the latter King *Darius* to gouerne Samaria (for he alſo was of the race of the Chutæans, from whom iſſued the Samaritans) knowing that Ieruſalem was a famous Citie, and that the Kings thereof wrought much trouble vnto the inhabitants of Aſſyria, & Cœloſyria; he willingly marrieth his daughter *Nicazo* to this *Manaſſes*, with an intent that this marriage ſhould be as a pledge of his good will to the nation of the Iewes,

The yeere of the world, 3599. before Christs Natiuitie, 365.

Iaddus high Prieſt, whoſe brother Manaſſes marrieth Sanaballaths daughter.

The yeere of the world, 3608. before Christs Natiuitie, 356.

CHAP. VIII.

What benefits ALEXANDER *King of Macedon beſtowed vpon the Iewes.*

Alexander made King after Philip his father King of Macedon.

ABOVT that time, *Philip* King of Macedon died in the citie of Ægæas, being traiterouſly ſlaine by *Pauſanias* the ſonne of *Ceraſtes*, of the race of *Oreſtes*; and his ſonne *Alexander* ſucceeded him in the kingdome: who paſſing ouer Helleſpont, gaue battell vnto the huge armie of *Darius* neere the riuer Granic, and there obtained a famous victorie. And hereupon he alſo inuading the countrey of Lydia (after he had conquered Ionia, & ouer-runne Caria) finally ſet vpon the quarters of Pamphilia, as it is declared in another place. But the Elders of Ieruſalem were ſore diſpleaſed, for that *Iaddus* brother, who was at that time high Prieſt, and had married a forraine woman, ſhould be companion and aſſociate with him in the Prieſthood; ſo as they mutined againſt him. For they ſuppoſed that that marriage would be but a meanes to animate thoſe who had a minde to prophane marriages, and prooue an inducement to other to communicate in marriage with ſtrangers: remembring them that the cauſe of their euils, and firſt captiuitie was, becauſe ſome of them had fallen, and offended by coupling themſelues with women of forraine nations.

The yeere of the world, 3629. before Christs Natiuitie, 325.

The yeer of the world, 3630. before Christs Natiuity, 334.

They therefore commanded *Manaſſes* either to forſake his wife, or elſe neuer more to approch the Altar. The high Prieſt likewiſe being incenſed againſt his brother, as well as the people, draue him in like manner from the ſacrifice. For which cauſe *Manaſſes* (addreſſing himſelfe to his father in law *Sanaballath*) told him that although he loued his daughter *Nicazo* very intirely, yet would he not notwithſtanding condeſcend for her ſake to be depriued of the Prieſthood (which was the greateſt dignitie that could be among their nation, & which had euer continued in his race.) Whereupon *Sanaballath* anſwered and promiſed him, that he would not onely continue him in the Prieſthood, but alſo would giue him the power and dignitie of the high Prieſthood, & make him gouernour of all places that he commanded, prouided the marriage ſolemnized betwixt his daughter & him, were continued. He furthermore aſſured him that hee would build a temple, reſembling that in Ieruſalem) vpon the mountaine of Garizim which was the higheſt among the reſt, permitting him to doe the ſame with *Darius* conſent. *Manaſſes* puffed vp by theſe promiſes, remained with *Sanaballath*, & grew in hope that he ſhould obtaine the Prieſthood by *Darius* meanes: for *Sanaballath* was very old. Whereas therefore diuers other, both Prieſts and common people, among the Iſraelites, were intangled in ſuch marriages, there aroſe no ſmall commotion in Ieruſalem. For all they of this condition retired themſelues to *Manaſſes*, whom *Sanaballath* furniſhed with money, and lands to till, and houſes to inhabit in all ſorts, to fauour the intent of his ſonne in law.

Manaſſes, vnder hope of greater fortunes, retaineth the forraine wife he had.

The Apoſtaſie of the Prieſts.

At the ſame time *Darius* vnderſtanding that *Alexander*, hauing paſſed the Helleſpont, had ouercome thoſe gouernours, whom he had eſtabliſhed neere vnto the floud Granicus, and that he paſſed further, ſpoyling of his countrey; he gathered together both his horſemen and footemen, reſoluing to make head againſt the Macedonians, before they ſhould gaine all Aſia: he therefore paſſed Euphrates, & mount Taurus in Cilicia, to encoũter & fight with his enemies in the coũtry.

Hegio & Ruſſinus, chap. 8.

Sanaballath

Sanaballath ioyful of *Darius* descent, incontinently told *Manasses* that he would fulfill his promises, as soone as *Darius* should returne from the conquest of his enemies. For not only he, but also all the Asians perswaded themselues most assuredly, that the Macedonians would not abide the battell against the Persians, by reason of their great multitude; but it fell out altogether contrary to their expectation. For the Persian encountring with the Macedonian was ouercome, and after he had lost the greater part of his army, and left his mother, wife and children prisoners, he himselfe fled into Persia. *Alexander* arriuing in Syria, seized Damasco, tooke Sidon, and besieged Tyre: and by his letters sent vnto the high Priest of the Iewes, he required him to send him some supplies in his warre, and to sell his army victuals for their money; assuring him that if he desired the friendship of the Macedonians, he would giue him that tribute which he paid to *Darius*, besides other good turnes. The high Priest answered *Alexanders* messenger, that he had sworne vnto *Darius* neuer to beare armes against him, during his life time; against which oath of his, he would neuer worke any indignitie. Which when *Alexander* heard, he was sore displeased, and resolued notwithstanding to continue the siege at Tyre, vntill such time as it was taken; yet threatned he that as soon as he had taken the same, he would lead forth his army against the hie Priest, to the end that all men might know to whom they ought to keepe their faith. For which cause sparing no labour, he ouercame Tyre, and after he had giuen order to the estate thereof, he came vnto Gaza, and tooke it with *Babemeses* the Captaine of the garrison that held it. But *Sanaballath* finding a fit opportunitie to make himselfe great, forsooke *Darius* & followed *Alexander*, leading with him eight thousand of his subiects: and finding him vpon the beginning of the siege of Tyre, he offered to surrender him all those places wherein he commanded, acknowledging him for his Lord more willingly then he had done *Darius*. *Alexander* accepted him willingly: whereupon, *Sanaballath* freely informed him of the whole estate; giuing him to vnderstand that *Manasses* (who was brother to *Iaddus* the high Priest of the Iewes) was his sonne in law, who with diuers of the same nation, were desirous to build them a Temple in the countries vnder his dominion, assuring the King of much profit thereby, because in so doing, the force of the Iewes should be dismembred into two parts, and they might not conspire together to make any new insurrection or trouble, as in times past they had done during the gouernment of the Kings of Assyria.

The yeere of the world, 3630. before Christs Nativity, 334.

Alexanders victory against Darius.

When *Sanaballath* had permission from *Alexander* to build this Temple, with the greatest speed he might, he finished the same, and made *Manasses* the high Priest thereof, supposing that it was the greatest aduantage that might happen to his daughters children. Seuen moneths after the surprizall of Tyre, and two after the taking of Gaza, *Sanaballath* died. *Alexander* also razed Gaza, and prepared himselfe to come suddenly vpon Ierusalem. Which when the high Priest *Iaddus* vnderstood, hee was much grieued, and sore afraid, not knowing how to grow in fauour with the Macedonians: and on the other side knowing that the King was displeased against him (because before-time he had disobeyed him:) Hee therefore commanded the people to make their prayers vnto God, and he in his owne person offered sacrifice; requiring God that it would please him to be a shield of defence, and succour to their nation, and to deliuer them from those imminent dangers wherein they were plunged. But the next night following, whilest he slept, God appeared vnto him, and willed him to be of good courage, and commanding him that as soone as he had circuited the walles, he should open the gates boldly, and command the rest of the people to attire themselues in white; and that accompanied with them, he should march forward in those Priestly ornaments, which were ordained by the law, to the end that in this equipage they might goe and meet with *Alexander*, without apprehension of any future euill, because that God had peruerted the same. As soone as he awaked from his sleepe, he was very ioyfull, and certified the rest of this prediction of God; and performing that which had beene commanded him, he expected in this manner the approach of the King; and when he knew that hee was not farre off from the Citie, hee marched forth to meete him, accompanied with the Priests, and a multitude of other people, presenting a most royall manner of entertaine, and farre different from that of other nations; neere vnto a place called Sapha; which word signifieth a watch (by reason that from that place a man may discouer the Citie and Temple of Ierusalem.) The Phœnicians and Chaldæans that were of *Alexanders* traine, grounding their hopes vpon his displeasure, made their attempt to sacke the Citie, and to hew the high Priest in pieces: but it fell out quite contrary. For *Alexander* espying the people from afarre in white rayments, and the Priests going before them in their fine rochets, and the high Priest attired in a robe of purple, bordered with gold, hauing his Miter on his head, and his plate of gold, wherein the name of God was written, *Alexander* himselfe marched forward before the rest of his companie, and fell

Manasses enioyeth his desire.

Alexander intending to besiege Ierusalem, meeteth with the high Priest and people in white, and is honourably receiued by them, and doth them honor in memory of his vision that appeared vnto him in the like habit.

The yeere of the world, 3630. before the Natiuitie of Christ, 334.

fell proſtrate on his face before that Name, ſaluting firſt of all the high Prieſt; and at the ſame inſtant all the Iewes together ſaluted the King with one voice, and circled him in round about. The Kings of Syria and the reſt that ſaw that which hapned, were wonderfully aſtoniſhed, and thought that the King was out of his wits: *Parmenio* onely drew neere vnto him, and asked him what he meant to adore the Prieſt of the Iewes, whereas all other men odored him? To whom he anſwered, I doe not adore him, but that God whom the Prieſt worſhippeth: for in my ſleepe I ſaw him in ſuch a habit, as I ſee him in at this preſent, at ſuch time as I was in Dio a Citie of Macedonia: and whileſt I conſulted with my ſelfe by what meanes I might attaine to the conqueſt of Aſia, he counſelled me to make no delay, but to march forward boldly, aſſuring me that it would be he that would guide both me and mine army, and would deliuer the Empire of the Perſians into my hands. Since that time I haue not ſeene any one attired after the ſame manner: and at this preſent beholding this man, and remembring me of the viſion, and exhortation that he gaue mee in my ſleepe, I hope that mine army being conducted by diuine prouidence, I ſhall ouercome *Darius*, and diſcomfit the Perſians, and that my purpoſe ſhall haue a happy iſſue.

Alexanders ſacrifice in the Temple, the confirmation of his conqueſt by Daniels prophecy, his bounty to the Iewes.

When he had anſwered *Parmenio* in this ſort, he gaue the high Prieſt his hand, and went with him into the City, being conducted by the Prieſts: after this, when he came vnto the Temple, he offered ſacrifice, according to the high Prieſts direction, whom he honoured likewiſe with very great reuerence. And when as likewiſe *Iaddus* ſhewed him the prophecy of *Daniel*, wherein he declared that a certaine man of the nation of the Greekes, ſhould deſtroy the eſtate of the Perſians, and that in his opinion it ſhould be: thereof *Alexander* was very ioyfull, and diſmiſſed the multitude that attended him, for that time. The next day aſſembling the Iewes, he commanded them to demand certaine fauours at his hands: whereupon the high Prieſt anſwered, that he required the exerciſes of the ordinances of their forefathers, and that euery ſeuenth yeere they might be exempted from tributes. Which was granted them fully. They beſought him likewiſe, that by his permiſſion the Iewes that were in the countries of Babylon and Media, might liue according to their lawes. And he promiſed them willingly to doe all that which they deſired. He made Proclamation alſo among the people, that if any one of them ſhould beare armes with him (in liuing according to the cuſtome of their nation) he was ready to receiue them with him: and diuers tooke pleaſure to ſerue vnder him in the warres.

After that *Alexander* had in this ſort demeaned himſelfe in Ieruſalem, hee marched with his armie againſt the neighbouring Citie: and whereſoeuer hee went, hee was receiued with great affection. But the Samaritanes, whoſe Metropolitane Citie at that time was Sichem (ſituate neere vnto the mountaine of Garizim, in which there dwelt diuers Iewes alſo, that were reuolted from their nation) ſeeing how magnificently *Alexander* had entertained the Iewes, they reſolued to demeane themſelues like Iewes. For ſuch is the nature of Samaritanes (as we haue declared heretofore) that when the Iewes are in affliction, they deny all acquaintance with them, (wherein they confeſſe the truth:) but when they perceiue any beame of good aduenture ſhining vpon them, ſuddenly they vaunt of their alliance, ſaying, they are neere akin, and of the race of *Ephraim* and *Manaſſes* the ſonnes of *Ioſeph*. They came therefore to the Kings preſence, and met him neere vnto Ieruſalem, with great magnificence, and demonſtration of ſingular affection towards him. And after that *Alexander* had entertained them, they of Sichem approched neere vnto him (being accompanied with thoſe men of warre that *Sanaballath* had ſent vnto the King) beſeeching him that he would viſit their City, and honour their Temple with his preſence: whereupon he promiſed that at his returne he would viſit them. They required him alſo, that hee would acquit them of the tribute of the ſeuenth yeere, becauſe they did not ſowe in the ſame. He asked them who they were that made that requeſt? They anſwered him, that they were Hebrewes: but that they were called Sichemites by the Sydonians. Hee asked them againe, if they were Iewes? and they ſaid, they were not. Well (ſaid he) I haue made this grant vnto the Iewes: when as therefore I ſhall returne, if I be more particularly informed, I ſhall doe that which ſhall be held requiſit. Thus diſmiſſed he the Sichemites, but hee commanded *Sanaballaths* men of war to follow him into Ægypt; promiſing in that place to impart poſſeſſions vnto them by lot; which afterwards he did (enioyning them to liue in garriſon in the Citie of Thebais, to make good that country.) After *Alexanders* death, his Empire was diuided amongſt his ſucceſſors, and the Temple builded neere vnto the mount Garizim remained intire. And if any one were accuſed in Ieruſalē for eating vnlawful meats, or for tranſgreſſing the Sabbath, or for any ſuch like fault, he fled vnto the Sichemites, ſaying, that he was accuſed vniuſtly. In that time deceaſed the hie Prieſt *Iaddus*: and *Onias*, his ſonne ſucceeded him. This was the eſtate of them of Iernſalem at that time.

The Samaritanes be kinſmen to the Iewes in proſperity, ſtrangers in aduerſitie.

The yeere of the world, 3632. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 332.

The Temple on the mount of Garizim.

Onias, ſonne of Iaddus high Prieſt.

The yeere of the world, 3635. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 329.

THE

THE TVVELFTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES: WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the twelfth Booke.

1 Ptolomey *the ſonne of* Lagus *is made Lord of Ieruſalem, and the reſt of Iudæa by a ſtratagem, and leadeth diuers Iewes with him priſoners into Aegypt.*

2 Ptolomey Philadelphus *tranſlateth the lawes of the Iewes into the Greeke tongue, and diſmiſſing diuers captiues of that nation, he dedicateth many preſents in the Temple of God.*

3 *In what eſtimation the Iewes were with the Kings of Aſia, and how the freedome of thoſe Cities they built, was granted them.*

4 Ioſeph *the ſonne of* Tobias *drieth away the Iewes imminent calamitie, by reaſon of his friendſhip with King* Ptolomey.

5 *The friendſhip and ſocietie betweene the Lacedemonians, and* Onias *the high Prieſt of the Iewes.*

6 *The Iewes diſtracted by ſeditions, call* Antiochus *to their aſſiſtance.*

7 *How* Antiochus *leading his armie to Ieruſalem and poſſeſſing the Citie, ſpoiled the Temple.*

8 Antiochus *forbidding the Iewes to vſe the lawes of their forefathers, onely the ſonne of* Aſmonæus *called* Matthias *contemned the King, and put his Captaines to flight.*

9 Matthias *being dead,* Iudas *his ſonne ſucceeded him.*

10 Apollonius *a Captaine of* Antiochus *is ouercome in Iewry and ſlaine.*

11 *The ouerthrow and death of* Lyſias *and* Gorgias *ſent out againſt the Iewes.*

12 *How diuiding their armies,* Simon *ouercame the Tyrians and Ptolemaidans, and* Iudas *the Ammonites.*

13 *The death of* Antiochus Epiphanes *among the Perſians.*

14 Antiochus Eupator *ouerthrowing the armie of the Iewes, beſiegeth* Iudas *in the Temple.*

15 Antiochus *giuing ouer his ſiege, plighteth a league of friendſhip with* Iudas.

16 Bacchides *a Captaine belonging to* Demetrius, *being ſent with his armie againſt the Iewes, returneth backe to the King, without the diſpatch of his buſineſſe.*

17 Nicanor *elected Captaine after* Bacchides, *and ſent out againſt the Iewes, is ſlaine with his whole armie.*

18 Bacchides *ſent out once more againſt the Iewes, ouercommeth them.*

19 *How* Iudas *being ouercome in battell, is ſlaine.*

CHAP. I.

PTOLOMEY *the ſonne of* LAGVS *ouercommeth and ſurprizeth both Ieruſalem and Iudæa by a ſtratagem, and leadeth away diuers of the Iewes priſoners into Aegypt.*

ALEXANDER King of Macedon hauing ouercome the Perſians, and eſtabliſhed the eſtate of the Iewes (according as it hath beene ſpoken, he departed this life. Whereupon his dominions & kingdomes fell into diuers mens hands; *Antigonus* was Lord of Aſia: *Seleucus* of Babylon, and the bordering nations: *Lyſimachus* had Helleſpont: *Caſſander* Macedon: and *Ptolomey* the ſonne of *Lagus* held Ægypt. Now when as theſe men were at diſcord amongſt themſelues (whilſt each of them affected the ſoueraignty, & fought the one with the other) diuers great and continuall warres grew to head, which afflicted many Cities: whereby it came to paſſe, that many of the inhabitants thereof died in fight, and all Syria likewiſe vnder *Ptolomey* the ſonne of *Lagus* (who beyond his merit was called *Soter*, that is as much to ſay, as a Sauiour) liued in little ſafetie. Hee it was that ſeized Ieruſalem by a ſtratagem, and

The death of Alexander, and the wars of his ſucceſſors.

The yeere of the world, 3643. before Chriſts Nativity, 321.

The yeere of the world, 3643. before Christs Natiuity, 321.

Ierusalem surprized by policy, and the Iewes led away captiue.

and policie: for hee entred the Citie vpon a Sabbath day, vnder pretext to offer sacrifice; and whilest the Iewes suspected nothing, but spent the day in idlenesse and quiet, hee surprized the Citie without resist, and ouerpressed the Citizens with hatefull captiuitie. *Agatharchides* the Cnidian (who wrote the Acts of *Alexanders* successors) witnesseth no lesse, reproching vs of superstition; as if intending thereby, that by that meanes we lost our Citie. He writeth to this effect. There is a certaine nation, which are called Iewes, who inhabit a Citie which is called Ierusalem, both strong and mightie. They suffered it to fall into *Ptolomeis* hands, because they would not stand vpon their guard, and through their importunate superstition, they permitted themselues to be subdued by a Tyrant conquerour. See here what *Agatharchides* saith in this place of our nation. But *Ptolomey* leading away with him diuers prisoners of the better quarters of Iudæa, and the places neere vnto Ierusalem, of Samaria and mount Garizim, sent them into Ægypt to inhabit there: and being assured that those of Ierusalem were most firme in maintaining their oathes and promises, according as it appeared by their answer made to *Alexander*, when as after the discomfiture of *Darius*, hee sent Embassadours vnto them: hee put diuers of them into his garrisons, giuing them the same priuiledges in the Citie of Alexandria, which the Macedonians had. After he had receiued their oath, that they should be faithfull vnto his successors, in memory of the great trust and fauours he had bestowed on them, many of the other Iewes likewise of their owne accord went into Ægypt, partly allured thereunto by the plentie of the countrey, partly by the liberalitie of *Ptolomey* towards their nation. Yet were there continuall seditions betwixt their posteritie and the Samaritanes: for that they would keepe and maintaine the customes and ordinances of their forefathers; whereupon diuers warres arose amongst them. For they of Ierusalem said that their Temple was the true Sanctuary of God, and would that the offerings and sacrifices should be sent thither: the Samaritanes contrariwise commanded them to be brought to the mount Garizim.

Sedition betwixt the Iewes and Samaritanes as touching the Temple.

CHAP. II.

PTOLOMEY PHILADELPHVS *causeth the lawes of the Iewes to be translated into the Greeke tongue: and dismissing many captiue Iewes, dedicateth many presents in the Temple of God.*

The yeere of the world, 3680. before Christs Natiuitie, 284.

Hedio in Rufinus, chap 2. The library of Ptolomey Philadelphus.

AFTER him *Philadelphus* succeeded in the kingdome of Ægypt, and held it for nine and thirty yeeres space. He it was that translated the law into the Greeke tongue, and deliuered the Iewes from that seruitude, wherein they were enthralled in Ægypt, to the number of sixescore thousand, vpon the occasion that ensueth. *Demetrius Phalerius* Master of the Kings library, endeuoured to his vttermost to gather vp all sorts of books that were in the world, and bought all that which was agreeable to the Kings intent, who aboue all things was curious to assemble diuersitie of bookes. Hee being one day demanded by the King, how many thousands of volumes he had already gathered: hee answered him, that hee had already assembled about some two hundred thousand volumes: but that shortly he would gather to the number of fiue hundred thousand. Besides, he certified him, that he had beene lately aduertised that there were diuers volumes among the Iewes, wherein many things as touching their lawes and policies were written, which were worthy of note, and deserued to be put in so memorable and famous a library as his was: which being written and set downe in the Hebrew tongue, were very laborious and difficult to those that should attempt to translate them into the Greeke tongue. For their characters seeme to haue some reference to the Syriacke, and their pronunciation likewise not much dissonant from the same: and notwithstanding they haue their phrase proper and peculiar vnto themselues. For which cause there was no impediment, but that they might be translated: for the King defraying the charge, might easily cause it to be done, to the end that being faithfully translated, they might be afterwards placed in his Library. Hereupon the King praising *Demetrius* care in collecting and gathering bookes, wrote vnto the high Priest of the Iewes, commanding that this translation might be finished. In the meane time a certaine man called *Aristæus*, who was intirely beloued and befriended by the King, by reason of his modestie, and had diuers times before that present resolued with himselfe to sollicite the King, to dismisse all the Iewes that were in his kingdome, supposing that at that instant hee had fit opportunitie offered him to make his request, hee spake vnto *Sosibus* the Tarentine, and *Andrew* the chiefe Captaine of the Kings guard, beseeching them to fauour him in that which he intended to moue the King in. Hauing therefore sounded the affections of these noble men, he addressed himselfe

himſelfe vnto the King, and ſpake vnto him after this manner: Since, my ſoueraigne, it behoueth vs not to deceiue our ſelues by diſſimulation, but it neceſſarily importeth vs to diſcouer the truth: wheras we haue concluded with our ſelues, not onely to tranſcript, but alſo to tranſlate the lawes of the Iewes, the rather to performe ſome acceptable ſeruice to your Grace; what honeſt pretext is there left for vs to attaine thereunto, as long as there are ſo great a number of Iewes kept in thraldome in thy kingdome? You ſhall therefore do a worke anſwerable to the greatnes of your courage and benignitie, if you deliuer them from their miſery, conſidering that hee who gaue them their law is God, who gouerneth your kingdome (as by diligent inquiſition I haue certainly apprehended) for both they and we adore one God Creator of all things, whom we call by the name of *Iupiter*, for as much as he maintaineth our life & the liues of all men. For that honour therefore which you owe vnto God, ſend backe theſe people into their countrey, and permit them to inhabit the ſame, who amongſt all men are moſt ſingularly affected to their religion. Neither hath your Grace occaſion to ſuſpect, that I offer theſe ſupplications and prayers vnto you in their fauour, and for their profit, becauſe I am either allied or deſcended of any of their tribes: But where there is but one God, who is the Maker of all men, and I my ſelfe am aſſured, that he taketh pleaſure in thoſe men that addict themſelues to beneficence, this is the onely cauſe that induceth me to make this requeſt vnto you. When *Ariſtæus* had ended this diſcourſe of his, the King beholding him with a cheerefull and pleaſant countenance, asked him how many thouſands he thought they were, whoſe liberty he required? *Andrew* (being hard at hand) anſwered, that there were more then one hundreth and twenty thouſand. Whereupon the King replyed, Is this demand *Ariſtæus* a matter of ſmall conſequence, which thou requireſt? *Soſibius* and the other aſſiſtants anſwered, that his reacknowledgement which he made vnto God, who had giuen him the kingdome, was worthy the greatneſſe of his courage; ſo that reioycing at this their content, he charged him at ſuch time as they deliuered the men of warre their pay, they ſhould ouer & aboue the ſame, pay euery one of them that had priſoners with them, ſixſcore drachmes: and as touching the requeſt made by them, he promiſed them to diſpatch his letters pattents, in moſt ample manner, to bring a happy iſſue to *Ariſtæus* ſuit; or rather to ſatisfie the will of God, which was eſpecially to be reſpected. Whereunto conforming himſelfe, he ſent out his Proclamation: certifying thereby that he not onely ſet them at liberty, who had beene brought thither by his father, or thoſe of his army who attended him; but them alſo who before-time had beene in his kingdome; or that ſithence likewiſe had beene brought thither: and notwithſtanding it was told him that the money that would be required for their ranſome, would amount to more then foure hundreth talents; yet ceaſed he not to confirme that which he had promiſed. But that it may more plainly appeare how great his royall magnificence was, I haue thought good to inſert in this place the copie of the Edict, which he ſent abroad to this effect: Whoſoeuer of you that in my fathers ſeruice (by bearing armes vnder him) haue made any roades into Syria and Phœnicia, and after the conqueſt of Iudæa haue taken any priſoners, and brought them to our Cities and countries, with an intent to ſell them: all they alſo, who haue heretofore detained any, or at this preſent haue any ſuch captiues in their poſſeſſion, they are to ſet them at libertie that liue vnder their thraldome, receiuing for the ranſome of euery perſon ſixeſcore drachmes: namely, the men of warre, at ſuch time as their wages ſhall be paid them: as for the reſt, they ſhall receiue their money out of the Kings treaſurie. For I am of that opinion, that contrary to my fathers mind, and againſt all right, they haue beene taken priſoners, and that their country hath bin in this ſort euilly intreated, by the inſolency of the ſouldiers, who haue thought to make their profit and merchandize by them, in transferring them into Ægypt. Hauing therefore an eſpeciall reſpect of iuſtice, and intending to ſhew mercy to thoſe who are wrongfully oppreſſed, I command that all thoſe Iewes, who are detained in ſeruitude be diſcharged, and that they who held them captiue, receiue the ranſome publiſhed by vs; ſo as no deceit or fraud be vſed therein. And to the end that our ordinance be exactly and fully fulfilled, our will is, that this Edict of ours be publikely proclaimed three daies after it ſhall come vnto your hands, and that thoſe, who hold ſuch priſoners in their poſſeſſion, declare how many priſoners they hold. For we ſuppoſe, that in ſo doing, it ſhall redound to our profit. Moreouer, it ſhall be lawfull for any man that will, to accuſe the contemners of this decree, and our pleaſure is that ſuch as contradict the ſame, ſhall haue their goods confiſcate to the Kings vſes. When this Edict of the Kings publiſhed to this effect, was proclaimed abroad, and that onely point was omitted, that concerned thoſe that beforetime had beene, and afterward the ſecond time were led away priſoners, in whoſe behalfe hee had giuen no direction; he ſhewed himſelfe moſt bountifull in like manner toward theſe:

The yeere of the world, 3684. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 280.

The King of Ægypts Proclamation touching the liberty of the Iewes, ſollicited by Ariſtæus.

The yeere of the world, 3684. before Christs birth, 280.

theſe: And gaue order that the number and tallie ſhould be ſpeedily gathered, and the money diſtributed to the Committees, and Treaſurers appertaining to him. Which being ſpeedily performed in the ſpace of ſeuen daies, all the Kings ordinance was accompliſhed, and there was laid out for the ranſomes of them all, to the ſumme of more then foure hundreth and ſixtie talents: For the Maſters exacted ſixeſcore drachmes for the children alſo, grounding themſelues vpon the Kings Edict, by which it was ordained that for euery perſon they ſhould haue that ſumme, extending the ſame euen vnto the children.

Theſe things being thus magnificently exployted, according to the Kings command, hee gaue *Demetrius* in charge to make a Decree, as touching the tranſlation of the bookes of the Iewes. For the King did nothing raſhly, but adminiſtred all things with great wiſedome, and circumſpection; and for that cauſe the copie of *Demetrius* ſuggeſtion, and the letters ſent to this effect, are orderly regiſtred, and recorded in writing: the number likewiſe of the preſents that were ſent, and by whom they were offered. So that whoſoeuer ſhall behold the ſame, he ſhall incontinently iudge by the curious workemanſhip, the high perfection of the workeman, and by the excellencies of the pieces, he ſhall incontinently know by whom each of them was faſhioned.

Demetrius exhortatory letter to Ptolomey as touching his Library.

The copie of the aduice and ſuggeſtion made by *Demetrius* is this: *Demetrius* to the great King, Health. Moſt mightie Prince, Since you haue committed the truſt vnto mee to finde out thoſe bookes that are deficient in your Library, and to ſearch for ſuch volumes as hitherto haue beene hid from my ſight, to the end that I might gather them and perfect them, and that thoſe which are loſt, might be reſtored with all the diligence that thereunto belongeth, after that I had vſed herein all the care that in me was poſſible; I giue you to vnderſtand, that amongſt others we want the bookes of the lawes of the Iewes. For in that they are written in Characters and Hebrew words, wee haue no notice thereof; where-through they haue beene more negligently handled then was behoouefull: for that vntill this day it hath neuer hapned, that any Princes thought hath extended ſo farre. It therefore behoueth thee to haue them exactly interpreted; for ſince that thoſe lawes proceeded from God himſelfe, it is moſt certaine that of all other lawes in the world they are the wiſeſt and incorrupteſt. For which cauſe, *Hecatæus* the Abderite ſaith, that neither Poets nor Hiſtorians haue made any mention of them; neither of thoſe, who haue beene policied and gouerned vnder the ſame: becauſe in themſelues they are pure, and are not to be declared by impure lips. May it therefore pleaſe your Maieſty to write vnto the high Prieſt of the Iewes, commanding him to ſend you ſixe Ancients of euery tribe, ſuch as he ſhall know to be moſt expert in their law, by whom we may cleerely apprehend the ſenſe contained in thoſe bookes, to the end that hauing the faithfull interpretation of thoſe things that are contained therein, we may collect and gather them together, to the full ſatisfaction of your Maieſties deſire.

The Kings liberalitie towards the Iewes.

When the King had in this ſort beene both aduiſed and ſuggeſted, hee wrote vnto *Eleazar* the high Prieſt of the Iewes, as touching this matter: giuing him likewiſe to vnderſtand of that liberty by him granted vnto the Iewes that were in his kingdome: He ſent him alſo fiftie talents of gold, to make cups, ewers and veſſels, with an infinite number of precious ſtones, commanding his Cofferers, who had the charge of his Iewels, to ſuffer the workemen to chooſe what ſtones they beſt liked. Furthermore, he willed that a hundreth talents ſhould be giuen for the ſacrifices and oblations, and other vſes of the Temple. But after that I haue declared what was the Copy of the Letter ſent vnto *Eleazar* the high Prieſt, and the manner how hee obtained that Sacerdotall dignitie; I will ſet downe both the rich preſents, and their curious workemanſhip.

After the death of *Onias* the high Prieſt, his ſonne *Simon* ſurnamed the Iuſt, ſucceeded him in his place, who for that cauſe was ſo called, by reaſon of the piety which he ſhewed toward God, and the good affection which he bare vnto his countrimen. This *Simon* dying & leauing behind him one only ſon, of young & tender yeeres, who was called *Onias*: his brother (which was this *Eleazar* of whom we ſpeake at this preſent) tooke vpon him the Prieſthood, and to him wrote *Ptolomey* in ſuch manner as is hereafter expreſſed. King *Ptolomey* to the high Prieſt *Eleazar*, health: Whereas diuers Iewes dwelt in my kingdome, whom my father had honoured (though during the raigne of the Perſians they were drawne thither as priſoners) ſome of whom he hath eſtabliſhed to be Chieftaines in war, vnder honorable wages & conditions: To other ſome borne in his time in Ægypt, he hath committed his forts and garriſons, to the end they might be reſpected among the Ægyptians: After that I haue bin called to the Gouernment, I haue behaued my ſelfe graciouſly towards all men, and eſpecially towards thoſe of your nation, of whom I haue deliuered more then one hundreth thouſand out of captiuitie, diſburſing their ranſome out of

Ptolomeis Epiſtle to Eleazar for interpreters to tranſlate the Bible.

mine

mine owne cofers: I haue likewiſe inrouled ſome of thoſe that were of age in the companies and bands of my men of warre: I haue receiued ſome into my Court, whom I tooke to bee faithfull and loyall, & in my opinion well-worthy of ſuch preferment: ſuppoſing that the moſt acceptable and the deareſt preſent I might offer vp vnto God, for his prouidence extended toward mee in aduancing me to the kingdome, was to performe the ſame. And being deſirous not onely to gratifie them, but alſo all thoſe Iewes that are in the whole world, I haue determined to cauſe your law to bee tranſlated; that after it hath beene tranſcripted out of Hebrew into Greeke, I might place it in my librarie. You ſhall therefore do well, if you chuſe me out ſixe diſcreete and learned men of euery tribe amongſt you, who are already ſtept in yeeres, and ſend them vnto me, who by reaſon of their age ſhall be well inſtructed in your lawes, and ſufficiently enabled to expound the ſame. For in ſo doing, I ſhall accept it at your hands, as a great honour. For this cauſe I ſend vnto you *Andrew* the principall Captaine of my guard, and *Ariſtæus* alſo (whom we eſpecially honour) to conferre with you: by whom I haue ſent you one hundreth talents of ſiluer, as the firſt fruits of thoſe gifts and ſacrifices, which we intend to offer in the Temple. You ſhall doe vs an eſpeciall fauour, if you ſignifie your mind vnto vs by your letters.

The yeere of the world, 3684 before Chriſts Natiuity, 280.

As ſoone as *Eleazar* had receiued the Kings letters, he returned him an anſwer full of honour and affection, according to the tenour which enſueth: The high Prieſt *Eleazar* to King *Ptolomey*, Health. If you, your Queene *Arſinoe*, & your children be in health, all our affaires likewiſe haue no leſſe fortunate ſucceſſe. Wee haue receiued your princely letters with no ſmall ioy, and haue both read and conſidered vpon the contents thereof; we haue alſo publiſhed them in the preſence of all the people, and haue declared vnto them your pietie towards God, and haue ſhewed them thoſe viols which you ſent vs, twenty of gold, and thirty of ſiluer; with fiue veſſels, and a Table which in way of preſent you haue ſent vnto vs. We haue likewiſe ſhewed them thoſe hundreth talents which *Andrew* and *Ariſtæus* (very vertuous and excellent learned men, and honoured by you amongſt your deareſt friends) haue brought vnto vs, to be employed in ſacrifices and other neceſſities of the Temple. Know therefore, that whatſoeuer ſtandeth either with your content or profit, wee will enforce our owne natures, to the end we may acknowledge the benefits, which you haue diuers waies beſtowed vpon our nation. We haue therefore duely and continually offered ſacrifice for you, your Queene *Arſinoe*, your children and friends: the people likewiſe haue prayed that God would ſend you happy ſucceſſe in whatſoeuer you deſire, that your kingdome may be continued in peace, and that the tranſlation of our law may be accompliſhed in ſuch ſort, as you deſire, for your owne commodity. To that intent we haue choſen ſixe Elders out of euery Tribe, whom we ſend vnto you, together with the originall of our law. Our requeſt is, that according to your accuſtomed pietie and iuſtice, you returne vs both our lawes and theſe Interpreters in ſafety, as ſoone as they haue ſatisfied your expectation. Fare you well.

Eleazars letters in anſwer to Ptolomey.

This is the anſwer which the high Prieſt ſent vnto him. Yet haue I thought it to be a matter meerely vnneceſſarie to ſet downe the names of the ſeuentie two Elders in particular, who were ſent by *Eleazar* together with the law, notwithſtanding they were ſet downe in the Epiſtle. Yet thinke I it not amiſſe, to recite the excellency and faſhion of thoſe preſents that were ſent by the King, and offered vp vnto God, to the end that all men may know how zealous he was towards the ſeruice of God. For in performance therof, he ſpared no immeaſurable expence, but continually aſſiſted the workemen, and examined their workemanſhip, to the end that nothing might be careleſly finiſhed, or negligently performed. I will therefore ſet downe (as neere as in me lieth) the excellencie of euery piece (although it may be thought that the courſe of hiſtorie requireth it not) but therefore will I diſcourſe the ſame, becauſe my deſire is by ſo doing to expreſſe vnto the Readers, how great the liberality and generoſitie of the King hath beene. And firſt of all I will begin to deſcribe the Table.

The deſcription of thoſe preſents which Ptolomey dedicated in the Temple of Ieruſalem.

The King deſirous to make it great in all dimenſions, deſired to know the greatneſſe of that which was at Ieruſalē, to the intent that he might cauſe it to be far greater. And hauing certaine notice how great it was, and that there was no let but that he might make his far greater, he ſaid that he would haue it fiue times greater then the other: but that he feared, leſt being ſo great, it would be vnfit to offer ſacrifice thereupon; and his intention was, that the oblations, which hee offered, ſhould not only ſerue for ſhew, but that they might alſo be ſomwhat proper for the vſe and ſeruice of the Temple. For this cauſe, concluding that the firſt was of ſufficient and conuenable meaſure, hee reſolued his ſhould not exceede the other in greatneſſe; but that equalling the ſame in quantitie of gold, it might exceed the other in varietie and beauty of workmanſhip. For he was ingenious to obſerue the nature of diuers things, and to inuent new and vnex-

The golden Table.

The yeere of the world, 3684. before Christs Nativitie, 380.

pected fashion: so that by his ripe iudgement, hee shewed the workemen such inuentions, as beforetime had not beene in vse; and commanded them to make and finish them, hauing alwaies an eye to the module, that he had proposed them to worke by. He vndertooke therfore to make the Table of two cubits and a halfe in length, of one in bredth, and of one and a halfe in height, all of massiue gold: about the which there was made a border, a hand breadth large; enriched with mooving waues, on which there was a bend grauen with admirable art, appearing on three sides: For being triangulary, euery angle presented the same engrauing; so that when it was turned, it seemed that one and the same, and no waies different figure, represented it selfe: within the inside of this border it was inchased with diuers goodly figures, but on the outside it was farre more excellently beautified and wrought, because in that part it was most open to the eye. For this cause the vpper part of the Table appeared to be of two parts, and of three angles, which (as we said) were apparant at such time as the table was turned, each one seeming of equall magnitude with the other. Vpon the graued bends there were precious stones inchased, distant by equall proportion the one from the other, and fastned by golden buttons tyed by loopes. The sides of the borders (which presented themselues to the eye) were beautified with rich stones, disposed after the manner of an ouall; and there was a border of golden twigs engrauen round about the Table: vnder the ouals there was a crowne garnished with clusters of diuers sorts of fruits, the clusters of grapes hung downe, the spikes of corne stood vpright, and all was inclosed with pomgranats, and the precious stones were inchased in gold thorow the whole circuit of the Table, to present each sort of fruit in their natiue colours. There was also a ranke of ouals vnder the crowne, not vnlike to the former, made of gold: so that on both sides, both the variety and delicacie of the worke appeared, both in the bends and borders; as also in the table, in which there appeared not any difference, on what soeuer side it was turned; and from the top vnto the lower foote one and the same workmanship appeared. For it had a plate of gold some foure fingers broad, comprehending the breadth of the Table, on which the feet of the same were staied, which were afterwards fastned to the border by buttons and claspes of gold, to the end that the excellent and curious workmanship might the better be seene, and that on what side soeuer it were turned, it might alwaies seeme the same. They engraued also on the same a labyrinth, in the midst whereof there were diuers kinds of precious stones, shining like starres: & amongst the rest there were Rubies and Emeralds of most orient brightnes, as also all other sorts of stones that either are esteemed or desired for their beauty or price. Neere vnto this labyrinth from the one end vnto the other, there were certaine corded pleits in the middle like vnto a Rhombus or Losenge, vpon which there were certaine pieces of Crystall and Amber, enchased and placed the one by the other in equall distance, and proportion: which gaue a marueilous contentment to whomsoeuer beheld the same: The Chapters of the feet were made after the forme of a Lilly; the leaues whereof bent themselues vnder the Table, whereas otherwaies the stalke seemed to be stretched out straight. The base of the same was an hands bredth large, adorned with a Carbuncle in euery part. The breadth thereof was eight fingers, on which all the plate of the feete was staied; and on euery one of them was there ingrauen by curious workmanship Iuie, and vine branches loaden with clusters of grapes; so made to life, that they seemed to be very grapes indeed. For the whole was so subtill and delicate, that when the wind blew, the workemanship waued and was carried vp on high; so that it seemed that these fruits were rather naturall, then counterfaited by art. The work was made after a new fashion, as if it consisted of three pieces: and notwithstanding it was so well shut and closed together, that the seames and ioynts might not any waies be seene. The thicknes of the table was no lesse then halfe a cubit.

See heere what this present was, which through intire affection the King presented; wherein the price of the stuffe, the diuersitie and beauty of the workmanship, and the excellencie of the engrauing was accomplished in perfection. Moreouer, in this hee so farre inforced himselfe to perform so much, that if it might not surpasse the other which was already in the temple, at least-wise in art, new inuention and excellencie of proiect, it might be farre more excellent and admirable. He gaue besides this, two vessels of gold, scaled from the bottome as farre as the halfe part of the Cup; and besides that, inriched with diuers precious stones curiously and diuersly enchased. And in the midst of them there was a labyrinth a cubit hie, made of all sorts of precious stones, and at the foote thereof were ingrauen spires, after the manner of twigs, and fast by them a certaine fould like vnto a net made in ouall fashion, that ascended euen vnto the brims. The midst thereof was filled with little targets, of the greatnes of foure fingers, made of precious stones, and round about the edges thereof were lillies, iuy, flowers, and vines with their clusters

Two golden standing cups.

A cluſters of grapes engrauen round about. This was the beauty and excellency of thoſe two cups, each of them containing twenty and foure pintes. There were alſo others made of ſiluer, ſo tranſparent, as if they had beene of the pureſt cryſtall, thorow which all things that were put into them, were naturally and manifeſtly diſcouered. Hee cauſed alſo thirtie ewers to bee made, in which all the gold that was not couered with precious ſtones, was ſhadowed with Iuie leaues, and vine branches moſt curiouſly engrauen: and all theſe things were not onely miraculouſly wrought by the wonderfull cunning of the workemen; but were in like ſort ſeconded by an ambitious diligence of the King, who thinking it not enough that without parſimonie he had vndertaken the charge, did oftentimes (forſaking his more ſerious affaires) viſit the ſhops, and examine the workes; and that which more and more increaſed their diligence, was, for that they ſaw him ſo intent vpon the buſineſſe, which made them the more earneſt vpon their worke.

The yeere of the world, 3684. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 208.

Two ſiluer ſtanding cups. Thirty viols. Ptolomeis charge and diligence in the finiſhing of his preſents.

And theſe were the preſents which were ſent by this King to be dedicated in the Temple of Ieruſalem. All which being conſecrated & laid vp in the Temple by the high Prieſt *Eleazar*, after he had greatly honored thoſe that brought them thither, and deliuered into their hands certaine preſents to be tendred in his behalfe vnto the King, he diſmiſſed and ſent them backe againe. No ſooner were they arriued in Alexandria, but the King (hauing notice thereof, and how the ſeuentie two Elders were come with them) he ſent to ſeeke out his Embaſſadors, *Andrew* and *Ariſtæus*, who came and preſented him with letters from the high Prieſt *Eleazar*, and anſwered him to all that which he demanded of them face to face. And being deſirous to communicate with the Elders that came from Ieruſalem to expound and interpret the law, he contrary to his ordinary cuſtome and manner, diſmiſſed all thoſe that reſorted thither for their particular affaires, to whom he was accuſtomed to giue audience euery fift day; as it was his ordinary manner alſo to giue monethly ſatisfaction to forraine Embaſſadours. Hauing therefore for that time diſmiſſed them, he kept thoſe by him whom *Eleazar* had ſent vnto him; who comming to his preſence (accompanied with thoſe preſents which the high Prieſt had deliuered them to preſent vnto him, with the originall wherein the law was written with golden letters) he asked them where their bookes were: and they diſcouering and opening them, ſhewed them vnto him. After the King had ſeene them, he was very much aſtoniſhed, to ſee the membranes and parchments ſo delicate, and to behold the whole forme thereof ſo perfectly conioyned, that it was impoſſible to diſcouer the ſeames: and he told them that he gaue them thanks for that they were come vnto him, and more great thanks vnto him, that he had ſent them, and the greateſt and moſt ſpeciall thanks vnto God, who was the Author of theſe lawes. Whereupon, the Elders and thoſe that aſſiſted them, cryed out all together, and wiſhed that all good hap might befall the King: who through the exceſſiue ioy that he conceiued, burſt out into teares: For *naturally extreme ioy and moſt grieuous ſadneſſe haue like effects*. After he had commanded that theſe bookes ſhould be committed to their truſt, who were deputed to that office, at length he ſaluted the Elders, telling them that it was very behoouefull for him firſt of all to debate with them vpon the matter, to which intent hee had ſent for them: and afterwards to giue them entertainment: In a word, hee confeſſed vnto them, that their acceſſe was ſo gratefull vnto him, that he promiſed them, ſo long time as he liued, he would euery yeere renue and honour the memory of the ſame (and by good hap it was the very ſame day wherein he ouercame *Antigonus* by Sea.) His pleaſure was alſo, that they ſhould be his gueſts, and he cauſed diuers goodly lodgings to be aſſigned them vnder the Caſtle.

The 70. Interpreters comming to Alexandria are royally entertained.

Nicanor likewiſe, who had the charge to entertaine ſtrangers, commanded *Dorotheus* (who was ordinarily imployed in the ſame) to prepare for euery one of them ſuch things, as were neceſſary for their dyet and entertainment. For ſo was it ordained by the King, that in euery Citie that had any particularitie in their manner of life; there ſhould be a Commiſſary appointed to prouide for forrainers that arriued in that place, to the intent they might be intreated according to their cuſtomes: intending thereby, that their entertainment ſhould be the more agreeable vnto them, and that they might be the leſſe tired with forraine nouelties. This cuſtome of his was put in practice at this time by *Dorotheus* care and exact diligence, who in his owne perſon diſpoſed all that which was neceſſary for that hoſpitality. He prepared two places to banquet in, in two ſeuerall parts (according as the King had commanded him) ſo that ſome of them might ſit on either ſide of him, and the reſt might be placed neere vnto his table, omitting nothing of that which concerned either their honour or kinde of enteruiew. When they were in this ſort placed, the King commanded *Dorotheus* to entertaine them in like manner, as he was wont to doe thoſe, who repaired vnto his Court from Iudæa. Hereupon, he diſmiſſed the Ægyptian Prieſt, and other that were woont to make the ordinary prayers: which done, he commanded that one

The yeere of the world, 3684. before the Natiuite of Christ, 280.

The banquet that Ptolomey made for the Iewes, and their prayers before meat.

of the elders called *Eliseus* (who in like sort was a Priest) to blesse the table: whereupon he standing vpright in the midst of them all, besought God to blesse both the King & his subiects with all happinesse. Whereupon there arose an applause and acclamation of all men, intermixed with ioyfull delight; which being ceased, they fell to their banquet, and made good cheere, with that which was set before them. When the King had held his peace so long as he thought conuenient, he began at last to play the Philosopher, asking of euery one of them certaine questions in Physicke, praying them to decide and discusse the same: and when as each of them in order had very pertinently answered to the question that was propounded vnto them, the King tooke great pleasure therein, and for twelue daies space hee continued this feast. Whoso desireth to know the questions that were proposed vnto them in particular, let him reade the booke which *Aristeus* hath written to that effect. In a word, the King was not onely astonished at their answers, but the Philosopher *Menedemus* also: who hauing affirmed that all things were administred by diuine prouidence, and that it appeared what the vertue and excellency of this discourse was, this qnestioning debate was finished. But the King protested in their presence, that their accesse had infinitely contented and instructed him, in that by their meanes he had obtained the good hap to bee informed by them how to gouerne his kingdome. Whereupon hee commanded that each of them should haue three talents giuen him, and that they might bee conuayed to their lodgings. Some foure dayes after, *Demetrius* tooke them with him, and led them ouer that trench of the Sea, that containeth seuen furlongs, and that bridge which couereth the Iland with the continent, and towards the northermost end therof, he assigned them a lodging remote from all noise, and fit for contemplation: to which place after he had brought them, he besought them, that since they had all those things that were necessary for the interpretion of their lawes, they would intend the same without any discontinuance of the worke, vntill they had brought it to perfection; and they for their parts imployed all their labour and diligence that was in them possible, to the end the interpretation might be exact, intending onely and continually this labour from the morning vntill three houres after noone: after which time they imployed the rest of the day in their refection; and to that end they were furnished in all aboundance with all sorts of victuals. Ouer and besides, *Dorotheus* presented them with a part of diuers dishes, which were prepared for the King: for so had his Maiestie commanded it. Thus euery morning entred they the Kings Palace, and after they had saluted him, they retired themselues to their accustomed place; and after they had washed their hands in the Sea-water, and were purified, they set them downe in that manner to proceed, and prosecute their translation. Now when the law was fully interpreted, and the worke was fully finished in the space of seuentie and two daies: *Demetrius* assembled all the Iewes in that place where the law had beene translated, and caused it to be read ouer in the presence of the interpreters themselues. Which done, the assembly approoued the exposition of the interpreters; and praised *Demetrius*, by whose suggestions, and inuention they inioyed so great a good. They requested likewise, that this exposition should be perused, and ouerread by the Nobles and Gouernours. After this, both the Priest, the Elders of the interpreters, and the Magistrates of the people required, that since this translation was so happily atchieued, it might remaine vnaltered; so that no iot thereof might be changed.

The translation of the Bible into the Greeke tongue.

Which resolution being allowed by all men, it was ordered, that if any man perceiued any thing in that translation, which was either exuperant or deficient, he should consider thereupon and giue notice thereof, to the end it might bee corrected: dealing herein very discreetly, to the end that that which had once beene adiudged good, should continue inuiolable for euer. The King therefore was highly contented, seeing his endeauours and purpose in that behalfe so happily and profitably finished: but aboue all things, he tooke pleasure in reading of the law, admiring at the deepe conceit and wisedome of the Law-maker; and began to question with *Demetrius*, by what meanes it came to passe, that neither any Poet, nor Historiographer had made mention of that law, notwithstanding that in it selfe it was so admirable. To whom *Demetrius* gaue this answer: that no man was so hardy to touch that worke, by reason that it was diuine and euery way venerable: assuring him also, that certaine men who had attempted to set their hands thereto, had beene punished by God: giuing him to vnderstand, how *Theopompus*, intending to reduce certaine contents of that law into his history, had beene distraught in minde for more then thirtie daies, and that hauing some intermission of his fit, he appeased God by prayer; thereby easily coniecturing what was the cause of his malady. Moreouer, he was certified by a vision that appeared vnto him in his sleepe, that this inconuenient befell him, in that he had too curiously searched into sacred and diuine matters, and had intended to communicate the same with pro-

Gods iustice vpon those Ethnicks that intermeddled with the Sacred Scriptures.

A prophane men: from which enterprize ſith he had deſiſted, he recouered his right wits againe. He likewiſe inſinuated further, that *Theodeſtes* the tragicke Poet, intending to make mention in ſome of his Poems of a certaine hiſtory written in the ſacred Scriptures, was ſtrooken blind; and acknowledging the cauſe hereof to proceede from his audacious preſumption, he was reſtored his ſight after he had appeaſed Gods diſpleaſure. *The yeere of the world, 3684. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 380.*

When the King had conſidered on theſe words, according as *Demetrius* had diſcourſed them vnto him, he proſtrated himſelfe on the earth, and commanded that the bookes ſhould be carefully kept, to the end they might continue in their pure integrity. Furthermore, he exhorted the Tranſlators to repaire oftentimes vnto him from Iudæa, aſſuring them that in ſo doing, the matB ter would redound both to their honour and profit; telling them that for that time hee thought good to diſmiſſe them: but when they ſhould returne vnto him again of their owne motion, they ſhould obtaine all that which their wiſedome deſerued, or his magnificence might impart vnto them. This ſaid, he gaue them leaue to depart, after he had giuen each of them three ſeueral ſutes of apparell, two talents of gold, and a cup that was in value worth a talent, and a certaine bed or curious ſeate to ſit and banquet vpon. This gaue he them for themſelues. But to *Eleazar* the high Prieſt he ſent by them ten couches, whoſe feete were of ſiluer, and the furniture correſpondent, and a veſſell of thirty talents. Tenne purple robes likewiſe, and a magnificent Crowne, and one hundred pieces of fine linnen: and beſides that, he ſent in way of preſent vnto the Temple, Ewers, Baſons, and two golden veſſels: beſeeching *Eleazar* by his letters, that if any one of his C ſubiects had a will to come vnto him, he would permit him, aſſuring him that he would highly eſteeme the conuerſation of ſo learned men: and that he had riches which he would imploy with great pleaſure in ſuch affaires. See heere how *Ptolomey Philadelph* eſteemed and honoured the Iewes.

The preſents which the King beſtowed vpon the Interpreters, and thoſe he ſent to Eleazar.

CHAP. III.

How the Kings of Aſia honoured the nation of the Iewes, and gaue them liberty and freedome to dwell in thoſe Cities that were builded by them.

D THEY receiued honor likewiſe at the hands of the Kings of Aſia, becauſe they had borne armes vnder them. For *Seleucus* ſurnamed *Nicanor*, highly reſpected them, and permitted them to dwell in thoſe Cities, which he built in Aſia and lower Syria; yea in Antioch likewiſe, which was the Metropolitane and chiefe City. Moreouer he ordained, that they ſhould be held in as great eſtimation, as either the Macedonians or Greekes that inhabited therin: ſo that euen vnto this day that order is continued (as it appeareth by this) for that the Iewes refuſing to anoint themſelues with forraine oyle, doe receiue a certaine ſumme of money from the maſters of the exerciſes in lieu of the oyle. Which when the people of Antioch intended to aboliſh, during the preſent warre, *Mutianus* at that time Gouernour of Syria, oppoſed himſelfe againſt them. Againe, when as *Veſpaſian* and his ſonne *Titus* had conquered the world, although E the Alexandrians and Antiochians required them, that the priuiledges that the Iewes enioyed might continue no more; yet could they not obtaine the ſame. Whereby the humanity and valour of the Romanes may appeare, and in eſpeciall of *Veſpaſian* and *Titus*, that notwithſtanding they had been ſo trauelled by the wars of the Iewes, and were ſo bitterly incenſed againſt them, for that they had not by laying down their armes ſubmitted themſelues, but had continued war againſt them to the vttermoſt; yet depriued they them not of their fore-ſaid priuiledges, but ſurmounted their diſpleaſure, which they had long before conceiued againſt them: and in like ſort had not regard to the requeſt of two ſo puiſſant Cities, as Alexandria, and Antioch were: In ſuch ſort as they granted nothing in fauour of them, neither ordained any thing in diſfauour of thoſe whom they had ouercome in warre, to the intent to aboliſh one only iot of thoſe priuiledF ges which they had in times paſt; but ſaid that they that had reſiſted them by armes, & who had bin ouercome, were ſufficiently puniſhed for their obſtinacy: and as touching thoſe that had not committed any offence, they ſaw no reaſon to depriue them of their rights and prerogatiues. We know likewiſe, that *Marcus Agryppa* was of the ſame opinion, as touching the Iewes. For whereas the Ionians were ſedicioully bent againſt them, and beſought *Agryppa* that it might be onely lawfull for them to make vſe of the priuiledge, which *Antiochus Seleucus* Nephew (whom the Greekes intituled by the name of God) had giuen them; requiring that if the Iewes were of their blood, they might be tied to adore the ſame gods which the Ionians worſhipped: When as therfore

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 3. The immunities and priuiledges granted to the Iewes by Seleucus Nicanor, king of Syria.

The priuiledge in Antioch continued to the Iewes.

The yeere of the world, 3684. before Christs Natiuitie. 280.

fore this matter was referred to the determination of the Iudges, the Iewes had the day, and obtained the liberty to liue according to their owne lawes and customes: and he that at this time pleaded their cause, was *Nicholas Damascene*. For *Agryppa* pronounced, that it was vnlawfull for them to innouate any wayes: And if any man desire to haue exact knowledge hereof, let him read the hundred twenty three, and twenty fourth booke of the histories of *Nicholas*. Neither ought this iudgement of *Agrippacs* to seeme in any sort strange: for at that time our Nation had not by any warres procured the Romans displeasure. But vpon iust occasion may a man admire the magnanimity of *Vespasian* and of his sonne *Titus*, who behaued themselues with such moderation after so great a warre, and so grieuous battels, as they had fought against vs.

Antiochus the great, King of Asia and Syria, vexeth the Iewes.

Now will I returne to my purpose, from whence I haue digressed. At such time as *Antiochus* the great raigned in Asia, the countrey of Iewry was grieuously spoiled, and both the Iewes and the inhabitants of Cœlosyria endured many miseries. For *Antiochus* making warre against *Ptolomey Philopator* and his sonne, called *Ptolomey* the Famous, they were pittifully perplexed. For whether *Antiochus* either ouercame or was ouercome, they were continually spoiled: so that betwixt the prosperity and aduersity of *Antiochus*, they fared like a shippe tossed and tormented with a storme. Finally, after *Antiochus* had ouercome *Ptolomey*, he conquered Iewrie. After the death of *Philopator*, his son sent a great army into Cœlosyria vnder the conduct of *Scopas*, who seized a great number of those Cities; and our nation also was inforced by warre, and conquered by him. Not long after this, *Antiochus* fought with *Scopas*, neere vnto the flood Iordan, and obtained the victory, discomfiting the greater part of the enemies army; at which time *Antiochus* recouered againe those Cities of Cœlosyria, which were before-time surprized by *Scopas*. He tooke Samaria also: which when the Iewes perceiued, they submitted themselues of their owne accord vnto him, and hauing entertained him in the Citie of Ierusalem, they gaue both his army and his Elephants abundance of prouision, and willingly assisted him with their forces, to subdue those garrisons which *Scopas* had planted in the fortresses of the higher City. For which cause *Antiochus* supposing it to be a matter behouefull for his honour, to acknowledge and remunerate the affection and forwardnes which the Iewes had expressed in his seruice, wrote vnto his Captaines and friends, signifying vnto them how forward the Iewes had bin in his wars: and to expresse likewise what gifts he intended to bestow vpon them.

The yeer of the world, 3742. before christs Natiuity, 222.

Ptolomey Epiphanes king of Egypt warreth against the kings of Syria

The yeere of the world, 3760. before Christs Natiuity, 204.

Hereafter I will insert the copie of his letters, which he wrote in fauour of them, after I haue recited that which *Polybius* the Megalopolitane writeth, answerable to this purpose, which I will recite out of the sixteenth book of his histories. *Scopas* (saith he) the Generall of *Ptolomeys* army, marching towards the mid-land, did in one winter ouercome the whole nation of the Iewes. He reciteth also in the same booke, that after that *Scopas* had beene ouercome, *Antiochus* seized Bathanæa, Samaria, Abila, and Gadara; and anon after the Iewes, which dwelt at Ierusalem where the Temple was, ioyned themselues with him: and although we are to speake more amply and particularly of that apparition that hapned neere vnto the Temple; yet notwithstanding we will defer the recitall thereof vntill another time. This is that which *Polybius* hath written. But to returne vnto our purpose: I wil recite in this place the copy of those letters which were sent by the King. King *Antiochus* to *Ptolomey*; Health. Whereas the Iewes haue giuen vs a most apparent testimony of their affection towards vs, since the first time of our entrance into their country, and haue magnificently entertained vs at such time as we were in person before their City, by presenting themselues before vs with all their Elders; and haue also furnished vs largely with all that which was necessary for our souldiers and our Elephants; and haue likewise taken armes with vs against the Ægyptian garrison: we haue thought it a matter answerable to our honor, to affoord thē some satisfaction in repairing their City, ruinated by humane casualties, to the intent it might be inhabited and peopled againe, by gathering together those Iewes that are scattered abroad in diuers places, and planting them againe in the same. And in especiall (to the end that the seruice of God may be renued) we haue set downe a certaine summe of money to be imployed in sacrifices, and in buying beasts for their offerings, wine, oyle, and incense; that is to say, twenty thousand sicles of siluer; and for fine floure according to the law of the place, one thousand, foure hundred and sixtie measures of wheate, and three hundred, seuenty and fiue measures of salt. And my will is, that all these things that are abouenamed, be deliuered vnto them according to the forme of our ordinance. We likewise command, that the worke of the Temple be finished with the galleries, and other necessary buildings; and that all the stuffe of timber be brought out of Iudæa and other places, and especially out of Libanus: without any taxe or tillage: which exemption also shall take effect in all other necessaries, that are requisite towards the reparation of so famous

Polybius the Megalopolitane of Scopas Ptolomeis Captain.

Antiochus Epistle to Ptolomey, as touching the liberty of the Iewes.

A mous a temple. My pleasure likewise is, that all they of the same Nation gouerne their estate, according to their owne lawes. Let the ancient Priests and Scribes of the temple also, and the singing men be freed from all taxations, that are paid by the powle, and the tributes of the crowne, and al other whatsoeuer. And to the end that the city may be the sooner builded, I grant vnto all them that inhabit the same at this present, or that hereafter shall transport themselues thither within the moneth of October to inhabit, the same exemption of all charges for three yeeres space. We forgiue them moreouer the third part of their tributes, to the intent they may recouer themselues of their losses. We will also that those Citizens that haue bin forcibly led from thence into seruitude, be set at liberty, both they themselues, as also those that are of their alliance; commanding their goods to be restored vnto them. Farewell.

The yeere of the world, 3760. before Christs Natiuitie, 204.

B These were the contents of this Letter. And to yeeld the more honour vnto the Temple, he sent an Edict thorow all his kingdome to this effect: That it should not be lawfull for any stranger to enter within the inclosure of the Temple, without the Iewes permission; except those that should be purified, according to the law and custome of the place. That no man should bring into the City any flesh of horse, mulet, wild or tame asses, leopards, foxes, or hares, or generally of any cattell prohibited to be eaten by the lawes of the Iews. That it should not be lawful likewise for any man to bring their skinnes into the City, or to nourish any such beasts in the same; but that it might only be lawfull to vse those beasts which might be sacrificed vnto God, according to the law of their ancestors. That whosoeuer should contradict those inhibitions, he should pay

C 3000. drachmes of siluer vnto the Priests. Furthermore, to expresse his piety & fidelity towards vs, at such time as he heard of the troubles that hapned in Phrygia and Lydia, he wrote also vnto *Zeuxis* gouernour of one of the higher prouinces, & his intire friend, commanding him to send certaine of our nation from Babylon to Phrygia, writing vnto him to this effect: King *Antiochus* to *Zeuxis* his father, Health. If thou art well, I am glad of it: I likewise am no lesse healthy. Vnderstanding that those of Lydia & Phrygia are newly grown to rebellion, I haue thought good (according to my duty) to preuent the same: and whil'st I consulted with my friends what was to be done, it hath been thought fit that two thousand families of the Iewes, with all their houshold s should be sent thither, all which should be drawne out of Mesopotamia and Babylon, to

D plant them in garisons, and places of securitie. For I am perswaded of their good affection and zeale towards vs, both in respect of their deuotion towards God, as also for the testimony which our predecessors haue borne of them; namely, that they are faithfull, and ready to execute that wherein they are employed. And although it be a difficult matter to remoue them, yet resolue I my selfe that it shall be done; and withall, I permit them to liue according to their lawes. Now when they shall arriue in that place, thou shalt bestow on euery one of them places to build them houses on, with sufficient lands both for tillage and to plant their vineyards in: for which they shall pay no tribute for ten yeeres space: and during such time as they may gather of their owne for their sustenance, they shall be allowed their prouision of corne for them and their seruants. Our wil is also that they, who shal be employed on necessary affaires, be sufficiently prouided of that they need, to the intent that being so bountifully dealt withall by vs, they may shew

E thēselues the more affectionate in that which concerneth vs. Thou shalt giue order also to the vttermost of thy power, that this natiō be no waies ouerpressed, or interessed by any man. Farewel.

The Edict of Antiochus the great in honour of the Temple.

Antiochus Epist. to Zeuxis, in which he maketh honorable mention of the Iewes.

The yeer of the world, 3764. before Christs Natiuity, 200.

Hitherto we haue sufficiently declared, what friendship *Antiochus* the great bare vnto the Iewes. After this, *Antiochus* contracted alliance and friendship with *Ptolomy*, who gaue him his daughter *Cleopatra* in marriage, and assigned him for her dowrie Cœlosyria, Samaria, Iudæa, and Phœnicia: and for that these two Kings diuided the tributes betweene them, the chiefest in authoritie in euery Prouince, redeemed the exaction of their countrey, and paid the sum agreed vpon to the Kings treasurie.

Antiochus friendship and confederacie with Ptolomey.

The Samaritanes molest the Iewes.

The yeere of the world, 3770. before Christs Natiuity, 194.

At that time the Samaritans puffed vp with their prosperitie, vexed the Iewes, spoiling their country, & leading them away prisoners perforce. This hapned vnder the high Priest *Onias*. For after the decease of *Eleazar*, *Manasses* his vncle obtained the Priesthood; and after the death of *Manasses*, *Onias* the son of *Simon* surnamed the Iust, enioyed this dignity. *Simon* was brother to *Eleazar*, as I haue heretofore declared. This *Onias* was of no great capacity, & withall was very couetous: by which means he failed to pay the twenty talēts of siluer, which his predecessors were wont to pay to the Kings of Egypt, of that tribute which the people paid vnto him. Wherupon *Ptolomey Euergetes*, the father of *Philopater*, was grieuously incensed against him; so as he sent an Embassador to Ierusalem to accuse him, for that he failed to pay his accustomed tribute, threatning him, that if henceforward hee receiued it not, hee would diuide his countrey amongst his souldiers,

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 4. Onias the hie priest, prouoketh the King of Egypt for non paiment of his tribute.

The yeere of the world, 3770. before the Natiuitie of Christ, 194.

ſouldiers, and ſend them to inhabit the ſame. When the Iewes were aſcertained of his complaints, they were confuſed, and amazed: but *Onias* was no whit mooued thereby, becauſe he was wholly giuen ouer to couetouſneſſe.

CHAP. IIII.

IOSEPH *the ſonne of* TOBIAS *preuenteth the imminent calamitie of the Iewes, and becommeth* PTOLOMIES *friend.*

The taxation of the high Prieſt for offending the King.

BVT a certaine man called *Ioſeph*, the ſonne of *Tobias*, and of *Onias* ſiſter, who was the high Prieſt, being young in yeeres) but honoured in Ieruſalem for his wiſedome, foreſight, and iuſtice) hauing certaine notice by his mother of the arriuall of this Embaſſadour, came vnto the Citie (for he had beene abſent in the village of Phicala where he was borne) and ſharply reproued *Onias* his vncle on the mothers ſide, for that he did nor any waies prouide for the ſecuritie of his Citizens, but ſought to draw his countrey-men into a generall hazzard, for that he retained in his hands that money which was leuied for the tribute: Whereby hee told him that he had obtained the gouernment ouer the people, and purchaſed the high Prieſthood. And that if he were ſo bewitched with money, that for the loue of the ſame he could haue the patience to ſee his countrey in hazzard, and behold his Citizens alſo ſuffer all that which cruelrie could inflict vpon them; he counſelled him to repaire vnto the King, and to require him to beſtow the whole or the halfe of the tribute vpon him. Hereunto *Onias* anſwered, that hee would no more execute the gouernment, and that if it were poſſible for him, hee was ready to giue ouer the Prieſthood, and that therefore hee would not repaire vnto the King, becauſe hee was not any waies mooued with theſe occurrences. Whereupon *Ioſeph* asked him, if hee would permit him in the peoples behalfe to goe Embaſſadour vnto *Ptolomey*. Whereunto *Onias* anſwered that he gaue him free leaue. Vpon this occaſion *Ioſeph* went vp into the Temple, and ſummoned the people to a generall aſſembly, exhorting them to be no waies troubled, and to conceiue no feare through the negligence of his vncle *Onias*, requeſting them to be confident in heart, and eſtranged from al ſiniſter ſuſpicion; promiſing them that he himſelfe would go in Embaſſage vnto the King, and faithfully plead their cauſe before him, & perſwade him that they had committed no inſolent neglect, or contempt againſt his maieſtie. Which when the people vnderſtood, they gaue *Ioſeph* hearty thankes. Whereupon he preſently came downe from the temple, and honourably entertained the Embaſſadours that came from *Ptolomey*, and hauing preſented them with gifts of great price, and feaſted them magnificently for many daies, he ſent them backe to their Prince; aſſuring them that he would in perſon follow them. And the rather was hee incited to this iourney, becauſe the Embaſſadour had perſwaded him to repaire into Egypt, vnder ſuch aſſurance, that he would obtaine all his requeſts at *Ptolomeys* hands; the rather for that hee was won with the yonng mans free ſpirit and noble entertainment.

The Kings Embaſſadour honourably entertained, who reporteth Ioſephs liberalitie vpon his returne into his countrey.

Aſſoone as the Embaſſadour returned into Egypt, he certified the King of *Onias* ingratitude, and *Ioſephs* humanitie: certifying him that hee would come in perſon to intreat pardon for the people, for that offence they had committed againſt him; and the rather, for that he was in eſpeciall authoritie among the people: and ſo farre vſurped hee vpon *Ioſephs* praiſes, that both the King and the Queene *Cleopatra* had a good opinion of him, notwithſtanding hee was as yet abſent. But *Ioſeph* ſent vnto Samaria to his friends, and borrowed money, making his preparation for his voyage. Hauing therefore furniſhed himſelfe with apparell, veſſels, and horſes, with the expence of almoſt twenty thouſand drachmes, he arriued in Alexandria.

At that very time it chanced that the Princes, and gouernours of Phœnicia and Syria repaired thither to buy their tributes: for the King was accuſtomed euery yeere to ſell them to the men of moſt reſpect in euery city: Theſe meeting with *Ioſeph* on the way, began to mock at his baſeneſſe and pouerty. But when he came to Alexandria, and had intelligence that the King was at Memphis, he ſet forward & went out to meet him. When as therfore the King, accompanied with the Queene & *Athenion* his friend, who had diſcharged the place of Embaſſadour in Ieruſalem, came riding onward in his charriot; *Athenion* (who had beene honourably entertained by *Ioſeph*) perceiuing him vpon the way, certified the King that it was he, of whom he had ſpoken vpon his returne from Ieruſalē; proteſting on his behalf that he was both a good & honorable young man. Whereupon *Ptolomey* embraced him aboue the reſt, and made him mount his charriot. Where he was no ſooner ſeated, but the King began to accuſe *Onias* for that which hee had committed. But *Ioſeph* ſaid vnto him, Pardon him, O King, and haue reſpect to his olde yeeres. For you know

A know that ordinarily old men and young children haue one and the ſame vnderſtanding; but for our ſelues, who are yong, you ſhall haue what you pleaſe to require, without any pretext or cauſe of diſcontent. Hereupon the King tooke pleaſure in the good behauiour and pleaſant diſcourſe of the young man, and began to loue him the more, as if he had receiued a preſent atteſtation of his wiſedome: whereupon he commanded that he ſhould be lodged in his owne Palace, and that daily he ſhould accompany him at his princely Table. *The yeere of the world, 3770. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 194.*

As ſoone as the King came backe to Alexandria, the Lords of Syria ſeeing *Ioſeph* ſitting neere vnto the King, were ſore diſpleaſed: and the day drawing neere wherein they were to receiue the aſſurance of their tribute, they that were of the greateſt reckoning in their Country farmed the ſame; ſo that the tributes of Cœloſyria, Phœnicia, Iudæa, and Samaria, amounted together to eight thouſand talents. Whereupon *Ioſeph* ariſing, blamed the farmers, for that they had plotted amongſt themſelues to beate downe the price of the tributes, promiſing to giue the double; and that he would likewiſe returne the forfeitures that were leuied vpon the goods of ſuch as offended; which were farmed together with the tributes. The King gaue eare to this diſcourſe of his with great content, and ſaid, that he approued the ſale of theſe tributes vnto *Ioſeph*, who in this ſort augmented his reuenue. When as therefore he was demanded whether he could giue ſureties: he made him anſwer with a bold courage: O King (ſaid he) I will giue thee ſuch pledges as are both worthy and honourable, and ſuch as you cannot miſtruſt. When as therefore the King inſtanted him to produce them: I will (ſaid he) O King, preſent thee for ſureties, thy ſelfe, and the Queene thy wife, that one of you may be a ſurety for me to the other. *Ptolomey* ſmiling hereat, granted him the farme of the tribute, without further ſurety. This fauour of his diſpleaſed thoſe Gouernours of the Cities that were come into Ægypt, in that they ſaw themſelues contemned and conſtrained to returne with ſhame vnto their houſes. But *Ioſeph* obtained 2000. footmen from the King, to the end to enforce the tribute from thoſe Cities, who were negligent in their paiments: and after he had borrowed fiue hundreth talents of the Kings friends in Alexandria, he departed into Syria. The tributes of Cœloſyria committed to Ioſeph.

As ſoone as he came to Aſcalon, he demanded the paiment of the tribute at the Citizens hands, which they not onely refuſed to performe, but moreouer vpbraided him with iniurious words. For which cauſe laying hold on about ſome twenty of the principals among them, he put them to death: and hauing gathered their ſubſtances together, hee ſent the King ſome thouſand talents, certifying him of that which he had done. *Ptolomey* admiring at his wiſedome, and allowing of his execution, permitted him to diſpoſe of all things at his pleaſure. The Syrians vnderſtanding hereof, were ſore abaſhed; and perceiuing that the Aſcalonites were ſlaine by *Ioſeph*, through the ſeuerity of his iuſtice and their diſobedience, they opened him the gates, and receiued him willingly, and paied him their tributes. Wheras alſo the Scythopolitanes in way of contumacie refuſed to lay downe according to order, their accuſtomed tributes; he ſlew the chiefeſt amongſt them: the confiſcations of whoſe goods he ſent vnto the King. When as therefore he had gathered much ſiluer, and made great gaines of the purchaſe of the tributes, to the intent to eſtabliſh and make his power of more continuance, he liberally employed his gettings; conſidering with himſelfe, that it was a part of wiſedome to keepe and entertaine his good hap, by thoſe riches which he himſelfe had gotten: For he ſent many preſents both to the King and Queene, and beſtowed liberall bounty both on their familiars and fauourites, and alſo on all thoſe which had any authority, credit or fauour in the Court, to winne and bind them vnto him by his beneuolence. And in this felicity of his continued he the terme of twenty two yeeres; during which time he was the father of ſeuen children by one wife, and of another called *Hircanus*, whom he begot on the daughter of his brother *Solymius*, whom he married vpon this occaſion which enſueth. The Aſcalonites and Scythopolitanes puniſhed for their contẽpt. Ioſephs wealth and children.

Walking vpon a time in Alexandria in the company of his brother (who led with him his daughter already mariageable, to the intent to beſtow her vpon ſome Iew of good quality (whilſt he ſate at meate with the King, there entred into the banquet a certain faire damſell, trained vp in dancing, with whom growing enamoured, he told his brother thereof, praying him that ſith by the lawes of their countrey it was forbidden that a Iew might marry with a ſtranger, that he would hide his fault, and be a faithfull aſſiſtant vnto him, to the end that hee might enioy her whom his heart deſired. His brother promiſed him to ſhew his willing forwardneſſe herein; and in the meane time he adorned and decked his owne daughter, and brought her by night vnto his bed: whereupon he lay with her (not knowing who ſhe was, by reaſon he had drunke ouermnch) and had her company. Which comming to paſſe diuers times, he was as yet far more

burningly

The yeere of the world, 3770. before Christs birth, 194.

burningly inflamed with the loue of this Dancer, and told his brother that he was in danger to G
be enamoured all his life time; & that notwithstanding the King would not grant her vnto him.
His brother told him that he ought not to vexe himselfe, promising him that he should assuredly
enioy her whom he loued, and that already she was his wife; opening vnto him how all things
had hapned, and how he had rather wrong his owne daughter then to suffer his brother to fall
into dishonour. After that *Ioseph* had praised the kinde and naturall affection of his brother to-
wards him, he tooke his daughter to wife, who bare him a sonne called *Hircanus*, as it hath beene
said. Who being thirteene yeeres old, gaue testimony of that naturall spirit, and dexterity that
was in him; by reason whereof his brethren conceiued a certaine hatred against him, the rather,
for that he excelled them in all things, and had such parts in him, as might draw them to emulate H
him. Whereas therfore *Ioseph* was desirous to know which of his children had the ripest iudge-
ment, and vnderstanding; hee sent them one after another to those Masters, who were most re-
nowned for Science in that time; but all of them returned backe vnto him rude, and illettered,
by reason they were negligent and idle. Whereupon, he sent *Hircanus* the youngest of them
after all the rest, into a desart place distant from the high way some seuen daies iourney, and gaue
him with him three hundreth couple of Oxen, to sowe the ground in that barren place, hiding
from him before his departure the yokes that should couple them together.

Hircanus of spring and towardnesse.

When as therefore he came vnto the place, and perceiued that the yokes were missing, he as-
ked aduice of some of the husbandmen: who counselled him to send some one backe vnto his fa-
ther to fetch the couples. But he supposing that he ought not to lose so much time as would bee
spent in sending backe a messenger, deuised a cunning expedient stratageme, more then might be
expected from one of his yeers. For he caused tenne couple of Oxen to be slaine, and distributed
the flesh amongst his workmen, and made them cut the skinnes, and fashion couples thereof, and
hauing yoked his Oxen, he caused the land to be manured, according to his fathers direction; and
afterwards returned home vnto him. Who loued him the more intirely, by reason of his wise-
dome, and the subtilty of his vnderstanding; praising besides that his resolution and execution,
esteeming him the more, for that he was his onely true son, to the generall discontent of the rest.

Ioseph sendeth his sonne Hircanus to Ptolomey.

When as therefore newes was brought vnto *Ioseph*, that about that time King *Ptolomey* was
blessed with a young sonne, and how all the chiefest Lords of Syria, and the countries vnder his
obeysance, repaired to Alexandria in great pompe to celebrate the birth day of the Kings sonne; K
hee being of himselfe vnable (by reason of his age) to repaire thither, he sounded his children,
whether any one of them would goe and visit the King. When as therefore the eldest sons had
excused themselues, and made refusall to vndertake the iourney, pretending that they were of in-
sufficient ability to performe the message, and all of them gaue counsell that their brother *Hir-
canus* might be sent: *Ioseph* tooke great pleasure thereat, and calling for *Hircanus*, asked him if he
would goe to King *Ptolomey*: who promised to vndertake the iourney, and told his father that
he needed no great sum of money to performe the voyage; becausse in the way he would trauell
frugally, & content himselfe for the whole expence with ten thousand drachmes. *Ioseph* was ve-
ry glad to heare of his sonnes prudence; and after *Hircanus* had kept silence for awhile, he coun-
sailed his father, that he should not present the King with any thing out of Iudæa, but that hee
should write vnto his factor in Alexandria, commanding him to deliuer such summes of money
as he thought conuenient to buy that which he found to be most magnificent & of best esteeme
in that Citie. *Ioseph* imagining with himselfe, that perhaps he would only employ some ten ta-
lents in presents, and allowing his sonnes counsell, wrote vnto his factor *Arion* (who had the vse
of almost three thousand talents of his in Alexandria.) For gathering vp his money in Syria, hee
was wont to send it thither; and as oft as the prefixed time came wherein the Kings tributes were
to be paid, he commanded *Arion* to defray the same. Hauing therefore letters of credence vnto
him, he iournied towards Alexandria. Whereupon his brethren wrote presently vnto all the
Kings friends, that by some meanes they would make him away.

The yeere of the world, 3780. before Christs Natiuity, 184.

Treason intended against Hircanus.

As soone as hee was arriued in Alexandria, and had deliuered his fathers letters to *Arion*;
Arion asked him how many talents he would haue? hoping that he would craue but ten, or some
little ouerplus: but when *Hircanus* had told him that he had need of a thousand, he waxed wroth
and reproued him for his prodigalitie, telling him how his father had gathered his goods with
much trauel, & thrifty sparing; and refusing his demands, he praied him to imitate his fathers ex-
ample who begot him: and in a word he told him, that hee would deliuer him no more then
ten talents; & that for no other vse, then to buy gifts to present the king withall. Whereupon *Hir-
canus* waxing angry, caused *Arion* to be kept in prison: All which his wife certified to *Cleopatra*,
praying

ing her that she would moderate the young man (for *Arion* was in great estimation with the Queene, who for this cause acquainted the King with the matter. Whereupon *Ptolomey* sent for *Hircanus*, and said vnto him; that he maruelled that being sent vnto him from his father, he had not as yet visited him; and besides that, he had committed his fathers agent to prison: he therefore commanded him to yeeld him a reason thereof. Whereunto he answered, that there was a law among the Iewes, that no man should taste of the sacrifices that had not first of all visited the Temple, and sacrificed vnto God; and that in that respect he had not hitherto visited his Maiesty, because he expected certaine presents to present his Highnesse with from his father, who was his bounden seruant. Furthermore, he alleadged, that he punished his fathers seruant, because he had disobeyed his commandement, which he ought not to doe, whether his master were either noble or ignoble: and if (said he) we chastise not such men, as they haue deserued, expect (O King) that you also shall be neglected by your subiects.

The yeere of the world, 3780. before Christs Nativitie, 184.

Hircanus apologie of his actions.

When *Ptolomey* heard these words, he began to smile, and wondred at the magnanimitie of the yong man. *Arion* perceiuing that the King held himself satisfied, and that he was like to haue no assistance at his hands, deliuered *Hircanus* the thousand talents, and by this meanes was he set at liberty. Some three daies after, *Hircanus* came and saluted both the King and Queene; who entertained him graciously, and feasted him kindly, for the affection sake which they bare vnto his father. He priuily enquiring among the marchants, bought one hundreth young lads well lettered, and in the flower of their age; paying a talent for euery one; and the like number of Virgins for so many talents. Being therefore inuited to a banquet by the King, with all the Princes and other Lords, he was placed beneath them all, because that (by reason of his young yeeres) they that assigned the places, according to euery mans dignity, made small account of him. Now when as all the guests, after they had eaten their meates, laid all their bones before *Hircanus*, so that the table was loaden round about him, a certain pleasant fellow of the Kings called *Triphon* (whose merry conceits and iests the King very willingly listned vnto) during the time he was at meat, being sollicited by those that were at the table, came vnto the King and said vnto him, See here, my liege, what store of bones are before *Hircanus*: hereby you may coniecture, that his father hath fleeced all Syria, as he hath bared these bones of flesh. The King laughing at *Triphons* words, asked *Hircanus* how he came by so many bones before him? Not without great cause (said he) O King; for dogs deuoure the flesh with the bones, as these doe (in which speech he glanced at those who sate with him at the table, because they had no bones before them) but men eate the flesh, and cast the bones away, as I doe, because I am a man. The King wondring at his discreete answer, commanded all the rest to applaud him, in approbation of his witty vrbanity.

Hircanus iests

The next day he sought out all the Kings friends, and the Principals in court, and saluted them one by one, enquiring of their seruants, what presents they would court the King with vpon the birth of his sonne? Who told him, that some of them would giue twelue talents, and other some that were in dignity, would present them according to their ability. Whereupon *Hircanus* made a shew of discontent, in that he wanted power to offer such a present, pretending that he had no more but fiue talents. All which these seruants presently reported to their masters: who were very ioyfull thereat, for the hope they had conceiued that *Ioseph* should be blamed, and would offend the King through the abiectnes of his present. Now when the day of the solemnity was come, and they likewise that pretended to present the King most magnificently, offered no more then twenty talents: *Hircanus* presented the hundreth young Lads he had bought, to the King, and the Virgins vnto *Cleopatra*: for whom hee had paid a talent by the powle. At this vnexpected magnificence of his gift, al men were amazed: but besides this, he gaue gifts of diuers talents to the King and Queenes fauourites and seruants, and their attendants; whereby hee warranted himselfe from the danger that might fall vnto him by their means. For the brothers of *Hircanus* had written vnto them, to murther him. *Ptolomey* was highly delighted in the great magnificence of this young man, and willed him to aske whatsoeuer gift he best liked at his hands. But he required no other thing, but that it would please the King to recommend him by his letters, to his father and brethren. When as therefore the King had singularly honoured him, and had giuen him many bountifull rewards, he wrote vnto his father and his brethren, & all his Gouernours, and Commissaries, and in that sort sent him away. His brothers hearing newes how hee had in all things highly contented the King, and that hee returned with great glory, they issued out to meete with him, with an intent to murther him, with their fathers knowledge. For he being displeased with him, by reason of his abouenamed large expence, had no care to warrantize him: yet concealed he his discontent for feare of the King. But when his brothers came and encountred

Hircanus founding what other men would giue, gaue more then the rest, for which he receiueth another kingly reward.

Hircanus brothers assailing him on the way, are slaine and discomfited.

countred him on the way, he ſlew diuers of thoſe that accompanied them, and two of his bre- G
thren alſo were left ſlaine vpon the place, and the reſt fled vnto Ieruſalem vnto their father. And
when as vpon his repaire vnto Ieruſalem, he perceiued that no man entertained him, he was a-
fraid, and departed preſently from thence to the other ſide of Iordan, where he paſt his life in re-
ceiuing and gathering the tributes of the Barbarians. In that time *Seleucus* ſurnamed *Soter*, the ſon
of *Antiochus* the great raigned in Aſia. At that time alſo died *Ioſeph*, *Hircanus* father, who was a
man of good conceit and great courage; who eſtabliſhed the people of the Iewes in their entire
peace, and hath releaſed them from pouerty and many diſaſters, and had held the tributes of Sy-
ria, Phœnicia, and Samaria for the ſpace of twenty two yeeres. His vncle *Onias* dyed alſo about
the ſame time; leauing the Prieſt-hood to his ſon *Simon*; after whoſe death, his ſonne *Onias* was H
made High Prieſt: to whom *Arius* King of Lacedemon ſent an Embaſſade and letters, the co-
py whereof hereafter enſueth.

The yeere of the world, 3780. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 184.

Ioſephs death. Onias, and after him Simon his ſon High Prieſt. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 4.

CHAP. V.

The friendſhip and ſociety of the Lacedemonians, with ONIAS *the High Prieſt of the Iewes.*

The letter of the King of Lacedemon to the High Prieſt of the Iewes. 1 *Machab.* 12.

ARIVS King of Lacedemon, to *Onias* Health: We haue found out a certaine writing wher-
in it is recorded, that the Iewes and Lacedemonians are of the ſame race, and both of
them deſcended from *Abraham*. It is therfore requiſite, that ſince you are our brethren,
that you giue vs to vnderſtand wherein we may pleaſure you. The like will we doe alſo, and will
repute that which is yours to be ours; as that which is ours, ſhall in eommunity be yours. *De-*
moteles our meſſenger bringeth you our letters folded in ſquare, the ſeale whereof is an Eagle
holding a Dragon in her talons. Theſe were the contents of the Lacedemonians letters: After
the death of *Ioſeph* it came to paſſe, that the people began to mutine in the quarrell of his chil-
dren. For the elder brethren made warre againſt *Hircanus*, who was the younger, by meanes
whereof the people were diuided: The greater part of them followed the Elder faction, and the
High Prieſt *Simon* alſo, by reaſon of his affinity with them, followed their party. Whereupon
Hircanus reſolued to repaire no more vnto Ieruſalem, but fixing his habitation on the other ſide
of Iordan, he made continuall war againſt the Arabians, ſlaying a great number of them, and ta-
king many priſoners. He builded a huge tower of white marble from the bottome to the top, &
on the ſame planted he the figures of many liuing creatures in ſculpture of great height. About
the ſame he drew and forced a deepe trench of flowing water; & hauing hewed the front of the
rocke that ſtood oppoſite againſt his building, he made diuers caues therin, many furlongs long.
He alſo made diuers chambers therin, both to eate, ſleep, and dwell in. He drew thither likewiſe
currents of ſpringing water, in ſo great aboundance, that it gaue much delight to thoſe that dwelt
there, and great ornament to the whole building. The mouth of euery caue was ſo little, that but
one onely man could enter at once: which he therefore made ſo narrow, becauſe they might the
better ſerue for his ſecurity and refuge; that if ſo be he were at any time aſſailed by his brethren,
he might auoid the danger of ſurprizall. Moreouer, he builded many huge halles, which he ador-
ned with great and goodly gardens: and this place thus builded, was called by him Tyre, and is
ſituate betweene Arabia and Iudæa, on the other ſide of Iordan, not far from the country of El-
ſebonitis. He commanded in this country ſome ſeuen yeeres, all that time that *Seleucus* raigned
in Syria. After whoſe death, his brother *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *Epiphanes*, obtained the kingdome.
Ptolomey alſo King of Egypt (who was likewiſe called *Epiphanes*) died, and left two children very
young behind him, of whom the eldeſt was called *Philometer*, and the yonger *Phiſcon*. When as
therefore *Hircanus* perceiued *Antiochus* grew mighty and ſtrong, and feared to be puniſhed by
him for his executions done againſt the Arabians, he ſlew himſelfe with his owne hands, and
Antiochus enioyed all his goods.

Sedition amongſt the people after Ioſephs death.

Hircanus afflicteth the Arabians with continuall warre. Hircanus buildeth a ſtrong tower.

The yeere of the world, 3790. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 174.

Antiochus Epiphanes king of Syria. The ſons of Ptolomey Epiphanes, Philometer and Phyſcon. Hircanus killeth himſelfe. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 6. 1 *Machab.* 1.

CHAP. VI.

A mutinie of the rich Iewes againſt the other.

Ieſus created High Prieſt by Antiochus Epiphanes. Ieſus depriued of the Prieſthood.

ONIAS the High Prieſt being dead about this time, *Antiochus* gaue the Prieſthood to *Ie-*
ſus his brother. For that ſon, vnto whom *Onias* had left the ſucceſſion, was as yet very
young (of whom we will ſpeake in conuenient time and place.) This *Ieſus* (*Onias* bro-
ther) was depriued of the Prieſthood, through the Kings diſpleaſure conceiued againſt him, who

gaue

gaue it ſhortly after to his younger brother called *Onias:* For *Simon* had three ſonnes, who, as we haue declared, ſucceſſiuely poſſeſſed the Prieſthood: this *Ieſus* cauſed himſelfe to be called *Iaſon*, as his other brother cauſed himſelf to be called *Menelaus*, wheras his name was *Onias*. But *Ieſus*, who had firſt of all beene eſtabliſhed in the place of the high Prieſt, aroſe againſt *Menelaus*, who was elected in the place after him. The people therefore were diuided into factions, and *Tobias* ſonnes were on *Menelaus* ſide: but the greater number of people followed *Iaſon:* ſo that *Menelaus* and the ſonnes of *Tobias* being grieuouſly vexed by them, retired themſelues to *Antiochus*, giuing him to vnderſtand, that it was their intent to forſake the religion and ordinances of their fathers, and to follow that of the Kings, & to liue after the manner of the Greeks; exhorting him to giue them licence to erect a place of Exerciſes in Ieruſalem. Which when *Antiochus* had granted them, they ſo demeaned themſelues, that there appeared no more ſigne of Circumciſion in them; ſo that at ſuch time as they were naked, there was no difference betweene them and the Greekes, and neglecting all the ordinances and cuſtomes of euery countrey, they conformed themſelues to the behauiour and manners of other nations. *Antiochus* hauing all things in his kingdome, according to his hearts deſire, reſolued to make warre in Ægypt: deſiring to be poſſeſſed of the ſame, both for that he contemned *Ptolomeies* ſonnes age (who were as yet weake) as alſo for that they were not as yet capable to manage their ſo mightie eſtates. Arriuing therefore neer to Peluſium with a great power, he circumuented by a ſubtill policy the young Ptolomey *Philometor*, and ſubdued Egypt: for after he had beſieged Memphis and taken the ſame, hee came to Alexandria, with an intent to beſiege the City, and to lay hold of the King who was therein. But he was driuen, not only from Alexandria, but alſo out of al Egypt, by the ſummons that was ſent him in the name of the Romans, who commanded him to depart, and diſlodge his army out of that countrey, as we haue heeretofore declared in another place. Now will I more largely and particularly diſcourſe the acts & geſts of this King, who ouercame Iudæa, and ſpoiled the temple: for hauing onely made a brieſe mention of him in my former workes, I thinke it neceſſary in this place to make a more exact recitall of his Hiſtory.

The yeere of the world, 3790. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 174.

Onias ſurnamed Menelaus ſubſtituted in his place.

The wars betwixt Iaſon & Menelaus.

Apoſtates from the Iewiſh religion.

Antiochus enforced to depart out of Egypt.

The Hiſtory of Antiochus Epiphanes.

CHAP. VII.

ANTIOCHVS *leadeth out his army againſt Ieruſalem, taketh the City, and ſpoileth the Temple.*

AFTER that King *Antiochus* was returned out of Egypt, and for the feare of the Romans, had forſaken that countrey, hee led his army againſt Ieruſalem, and encamped before the City, and ſurprized it by ſurrender, in that the gates of the City were ſet open vnto him by thoſe of his faction: all which hapned in the hundreth, forty and third yeere of the raigne begun by *Seluchus*. Now when he ſaw himſelfe Lord and maſter of Ieruſalem, he ſlew diuers of the contrary faction; and after hee had gathered together many great and rich ſpoiles, he returned backe to Antioch. This misfortune hapned ſome two yeeres after the ſurprizall of the City, in the hundreth, forty and fiue yeere of the raigne of that family, on the fiue and twentieth day of that month which we call Chaſleu, and the Macedons Apellaus, the Romanes Decembuer; in the hundreth, fiftie and three Olympiade; at which time he neither ſpared them who gaue him peaceable entrance, and opened him the gates, and effected him the meanes to ſpoile the ineſtimable riches of the Temple, with greater freedome: but being no leſſe tyrannous to the friend, then to the offender, he ſpared neither. For hauing ſeene what quantity of gold was in the Temple, and how huge a number of preſents and precious ornaments were in the ſame, he was ſo ouercome with couetouſneſſe, that he brake and violated all conuentions and conditions. After therefore he had ſpoiled the Temple, and carried away the veſſels dedicated vnto God, the golden candleſticke, the golden altar, the table of the ſhew-bread, the cenſers, and pulled downe the curtaines made of fine linnen and ſcarlet; after hee had emptied the treaſures that were hidden, and left nothing behind him of any value: hee drowned all the Iewes in grieuous lamentations. For he inhibited and forbad them to offer their vſuall and daily ſacrifice vnto God, according to the preſcript order of the law: and after he had ſpoiled the whole City, he ſlew a part of the inhabitants, and carried away the reſt of them into captiuitie, with their wiues and children, to the number of ten thouſand. Furthermore, he burned the faireſt buildings of the City, and razed the walles, and raiſed a fortreſſe in the lower City. For the Temple was as it were a high citadell, commanding the reſt. For this cauſe, hauing incloſed it with high walles

Antiochus entring Ieruſalem ſpoileth the Temple.

The yeer of the world, 3796. before Chriſts Natiuity, 168.

The yeere of the world, 3798. before Chriſts Natiuity, 166.

The yeere of the world, 3798. before Christs Natiuitie. 166.

Antiochus abrogating Gods law thorow extreme tyranny enforceth the Iewes to idolatrie, and fortifieth the temple. Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 7.

and towers, he planted a garison of Macedonians therein, with whom remained the rabble and scumme of the wicked Apostate Iewes, who were giuen ouer to all impieties, and who also afflicted their fellow Citizens with many and mischieuous iniuries. The King also commanded that an Altar should be erected in the temple, on which he caused swine to be slaughtered, offering sacrifice contrary to religion and ordinance of the Iewes. He constrained them likewise to forsake their deuotion towards God, and to adore those Idols whom he reuerenced for Gods, building in euery City and Borough both Temples & Altars, on whom he ordinarily caused swine to be offered. He forbad them likewise to circumcise their children, threatning to punish him whosoeuer he were, that was found to doe the contrary. Moreouer, hee chose certaine ouersecrs that should constraine them to fulfill his commandement; so that a great number of Iewes, some of their owne accord, other some for feare of threatned punishment, endeauoured themselues to satisfie the Kings decree. But those men who were of vpright hearts, and valiant minds, little respected these menaces: For hauing more respect to their lawes & customes, then to the torments wherewith they were menaced, if they performed not the edict; they were beaten, and exposed to most cruel punishment, for many daies, amidst the which they yeelded vp the ghost. For after they were whipt and maimed in their bodies, they were crucified and tortured aliue: they strangled the women also with their circumcised children, whom according to the Kings command they hung about the neckes of their parents, who were crucified: And if in any place they found any sacred scripture, they defaced and burnt it; and they with whom it was found, were put to a most cruell death.

The diuel seeketh to abolish the Bible. The variable wits of the Samaritanes, which made them so odious in the sight of the Iewes.

The Samaritans seeing this affliction of the Iewes, claimed them no more for their kinsmen, and called their temple of Garizim no more the temple of God, but (as we haue heretofore declared) they shewed their owne corrupt & vnconstant natures, and challenged their descent from the Medes and Persians, as in effect they were: for which cause they sent Embassadours to *Antiochus* with letters to this effect, *To King Antiochus the mightie God, the suggestion of the Sidonians that dwell in Sichem.* Our Ancestors enforced by the continuall pestilence that ranged in their countrey, and induced by a certen ancient superstition, haue bin accustomed to obserue that day as a festiuall, which the Iewes call their Sabbath; and hauing builded on the mount of Garizim a temple, & dedicated it vnto a god, who hath no name, hath offered vp in the same diuers and solemne sacrifices. But since that you haue inflicted punishment on the Iewes, according as their wickednes deserueth, the cõmissaries of the King, supposing that we were tied to their customes (by reason of some alliance between vs) couple vs with them, and charge vs with the same accusations: wheras we are borne Sidonians, as it appeareth by the rolles of our common-weale. We therefore beseech you, who are our benefactor and Sauiour, to command your gouernour *Apollonius*, and your steward *Nicanor*, not to molest vs any more, by charging vs with those accusations which appertaine vnto the Iewes: who neither are tied vnto vs by alliance, neither accord with vs in manners; but that our temple, which hath not hitherto borne the name or title of any God, may now be called the temple of *Iupiter* of Greece: by which meanes we shal be deliuered from all trouble, and being at liberty to attend our affaires, we may the easier & more willingly pay you greater tributes. To this request of the Samaritanes the King answered, sending them backe their owne letter: King *Antiochus* to *Nicanor*; Health. The Sidonians of Sichem haue sent vs this suggestion; which we annexe vnto these our letters. Since therefore they, who were sent vnto vs to this intent, haue sufficiently approoued both to vs and our councell of friends, that they are vtterly strangers vnto those crimes, wherewith the Iewes are charged, and are desirous to liue according to the lawes of the Græcians, we absolue them in as much as concerneth this cause, and their temple, which hereafter shall be called by the name of *Iupiter* of Greece: we haue written to the like effect also to *Apollonius* our Magistrate. Giuen the forty and sixt yeere, and the eleuenth of the moneth Hecatombæon, which signifieth August.

The yeere of the world, 3799. before Christs Natiuitie, 165.

CHAP. VIII.

ANTIOCHVS *forbiddeth the Iewes to vse their lawes: onely* MATTHIAS *the sonne of* ASMONAEVS *contradicteth him, and obtaineth the victory against* ANTIOCHVS *Captaines.*

AT that same time there dwelt a certen man in Modin (a village of Iury) whose name was *Matthias*, who was the son of *Iohn*, and who was the sonne of *Simon*, the sonne of *Asmonæus* a priest of the ranke of *Ioarib*, borne in Ierusalem: This *Matthias* had fiue sonnes,

Iohn

A *Iohn* called *Gaddis*, *Simon* called *Matthes*, *Iudas* called *Machabæus*, *Eleazar* named *Auran*, and *Ionathan* called *Apphus*. This *Matthias* oftentimes complained vnto his ſonnes, as touching the miſerable eſtate of their Common-weale, the ſacke of their Citie, the ſacriledge of the Temple, and the miſeries of the people, telling them that it were better for them to die for the law, then to liue in ignominie. When as therefore the Commiſſaries deputed by the King, came vnto the Borough of Modim, to conſtraine the Iewes to performe that which was enioyned them, and to command them to ſacrifice, according to the ordinance; requiring *Matthias* (who ſurpaſſed the reſt in honour, and other qualities, but in eſpeciall in excellency of deſcent and nobilitie) to begin firſt of all to offer ſacrifice, to the end that the reſt might follow him and be induced by his example; promiſing him that in ſo doing, the King would honour him greatly: *Matthias* anſwered thereunto, that he would in no ſort commit that idolatry, aſſuring them that notwithſtanding all other nations of the world, either in reſpect of loue, or for feare of iuſtice ſhould obey the edicts of *Antiochus*; yet that neither he, nor any of his children could or would be induced to forſake their fathers religion. Now as ſoone as hee had returned this anſwer, and held his peace, a certaine Iew ſtepped forth to offer ſacrifice according to *Antiochus* ordinance; wherewith *Matthias* was in ſuch ſort diſpleaſed, that both he and his ſonnes fell vpon him, and with their ſwords hewed him in pieces. He ſlew *Apelles* the Kings Captaine likewiſe, with certaine other ſouldiers, who would haue withſtood him. And not content herewith, he ouerthrew the Altar, crying out with a loud voice: If (ſaid he) any one be affectioned to the lawes of his fathers, and the ſer-
C uice of God, let him follow me: and this ſaid, he ſuddenly retired himſelfe into the deſart with his ſonnes, leauing the Borough vtterly diſpoſſeſſed. The reſt doing the like, retired themſelues into the deſart, with their wiues and children, and made their habitation in certaine caues. The Kings Captaines hauing intelligence hereof, gathered thoſe forces that were at that time in the Cittadel of Ieruſalem, and purſued the Iewes into the deſart. And hauing ouertaken them, they laboured firſt of all, to make them ſubmit themſelues, and to make choice of that which ſtood with their profit, rather then to indanger themſelues, and inforce them to chaſtice their diſobedience, with blood in warre. But the Iewes reſpected them not a whit, but contradicted them in their demands, who had already concluded and reſolued among themſelues, rather to die then commit ſuch an impietie: For which cauſe they (who omitted no opportunitie) aſſailed the
D Iewes on a Sabbath day, and burned them within their caues, who neither reſiſted their enemies, nor ſo much as clozed vp the mouthes of their caues: And therefore abſtained they from all defence by reaſon of the day, reſoluing with themſelues, in no ſort to violate the Sabbath day (for we are commanded to ceaſe from all labour on that day.) There were therefore about ſome thouſand ſtifled in their caues, accounting both men, women and children. Yet notwithſtanding, diuers eſcaped, who ioyned themſelues with *Matthias*, whom they appointed likewiſe for their Captaine; who declared vnto them that they ought to fight on the Sabbath day, aſſuring them that if they did it not, but ſcrupulouſly obſerued the law, they themſelues ſhould be enemies vnto themſelues, if perhaps the enemy ſhould aſſaile them that day, and ſhould not ſtand vpon their guard: for by that meanes they ſhould be deſtroyed without reſiſt. By theſe words he perſwaded them to doe as hee had ſaid: and vntill this day it is a cuſtome among vs, that if need require, we make no difficultie to fight on the Sabbath day. *Matthias* therefore hauing aſſembled a ſufficient number of men about him, deſtroyed the Altars, and ſlew thoſe that had forſaken their religion, as many of them as he could lay hands on. For diuers were ſcatte-
red heere and there among the nations, for the feare they had; theſe commanded he to circumciſe their children that were not circumciſed; driuing thoſe from euery place, whom *Antiochus* had ordained to ſee his law executed.

The yeere of the world, 3799. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 165.

The zeale and pietie of Matthias and his ſonnes.

An Apoſtata ſlaine by Matthias.

Matthias with his ſonnes flyeth into the deſart.

The Iewes are ſlaine on the Sabbath day, which ſlaughter maketh Matthias more weary.

Matthias rooteth out all Idolatry.

After therefore *Matthias* had gouerned for the ſpace of one yeere, hee fell ſicke of a moſt deſperate diſeaſe; for which cauſe he called for his ſonnes, and ſpake vnto them after this manner: My ſonnes, I muſt now walke the way that is deſtinated vnto all men: I therefore recommend and exhort you to follow my deliberation, and diligently to obſerue the ſame, remembring you of the intent of me your father, who haue begot and nouriſhed you, which is, to maintaine the lawes of our countrey, and to eſtabliſh our eſtate, which is vpon the point to be ouerthrowne, except you ſubmit vnto thoſe who either voluntarily or forcibly betray the ſame: ſhew your ſelues therefore to be worthy ſons of me who am your father; ſtrengthen your hearts with courage to ouercome all force and neceſſitie; thinking with your ſelues, that if God ſee that you be ſuch, he will not forſake you, but taking pleaſure in your vertue, he will once more grant you the fauour to recouer your former peace and libertie, and will eſtabliſh you in aſſured poſſeſſion

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 8.

Matthias exhorteth his ſons to pietie fortitude and concord.

The yeere of the world, 3799. before Christs Natiuitie, 165.

of your ancient lawes. True it is, our bodies are mortall and subiect vnto destiny, but the memory of our vertuous actions are enfranchised by immortalitie: being therefore stirred vp with the loue thereof, striue and bestirre your selues to obtaine honour, to the end that proiecting mighty things, you make no difficulty to hazzard your liues in the execution of the same. Aboue all things, I exhort you vnto concord, to the end that in whatsoeuer one of you shall bee found » more naturally apt and fitted then another, he may prosecute the same without any contradicti- » on of the rest. I charge you also to obserue and obey your brother *Simon* (who is a politique and » valiant man) in whatsoeuer he shall counsell you. As touching your Chieftaine, you shall serue » vnder *Machabæus*, because he is both valiant and strong: for he shall reuenge the iniuries and out- » rages, which haue beene done to our nation, and put our enemies to flight: second him therefore » with men of valour, and such as feare God: and by this meanes you shall augment your forces.

CHAP. IX.

MATTHIAS *dieth, and his sonne* IVDAS *succeedeth him.*

1. *Mac.* 3. Matthias death. Iudas Machabæus appointed Gouernour.

AFTER *Matthias* had spoken in this sort vnto his sonnes, and prayed God to fauour their enterprizes, and to restore the people to their ancient policy, and the accustomed fashion of their life, which they had in former times continued and obserued; he died anon after, and was buried in Modin. After the people had grieuously lamented and mourned for him, for a certaine time; and performed publikely such honour in his funerals, as was agreeable to his estate: his sonne *Iudas Machabæus* tooke vpon him the gouernment of the warres, in the hundreth forty and sixt yeere; and by the assistance both of his brethren and other Iewes, hee draue the enemies out of the countrey, and put those of his owne nation to death, who had forsaken their religion; and purged the countrey of all vncleannesse, which had beene brought into it.

CHAP. X.

APOLLONIVS *Generall of* ANTIOCHVS *his army, commeth into Iurie, and is discomfited and slaine.*

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 9. Iudas Machabæus ouercommeth Apollonius in battell. Seron Gouernour of Cœlosyria is put to flight in Iudæa.

WHEN *Apollonius*, who was *Antiochus* Generall in Samaria heard hereof, he gathered his army together, and inuaded Iudæa: against whom *Machabæus* made head, and ouercame him in a battell, wherein there died many, and amongst the rest *Apollonius*; whose sword *Machabæus* got as his part in the spoile. There were a great number of them also who were wounded, and much bootie was taken in the enemies campe: after which execution inriched with spoiles, he retired himselfe. But *Seron* Gouernour of Cœlosyria hearing hereof, and vnderstanding that diuers had ioyned themselues with *Iudas*, and that hee had already about him a sufficient power to keepe the field, and bid the battell; hee thought that it concerned him to begin to punish those, who resisted the Kings Edicts. For which cause, after he had assembled all the forces that hee had, and besides them hired certaine apostate or fugitiue Iewes, hee marched forth against *Iudas*, and came as farre as Bethoron a village in Iewry, where he incamped. *Iudas* also came out to meete with him, determining with himselfe to bid him battell: and seeing that his souldiers would hardly be drawne out to fight (both by reason of their inequalitie of number, as also for that they had eaten no meate, but had fasted a long time) he encouraged them, saying, that the meanes to obtaine victory, and to haue the vpper hand ouer » their enemies, consisted not in the greatnesse of their number; but in their deuotion towards » God: whereof they had a most euident example in their forefathers, who had oftentimes de- » feated with a small number of men, diuers thousands of their enemies, because they fought for » iustice, for their law, and for their children: for the greatest force (said he) that a man may haue, » is to be innocent and without iniury. By these words perswaded he his souldiers, so that without any feare of the multitude of their enemies, they all together ranne vpon *Seron*, and encountring with him, they discomfited the Syrians. For their Chieftaine being slaine, all the rest betooke them to their heeles, in which thing onely consisted the safetie of their liues. *Iudas* therefore, pursuing them as farre as the champaine, slew about eight hundreth of them. The rest saued themselues in those quarters that bounded vpon the Sea.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

LYSIAS *and* GORGIAS *lead their armies into Iewry, and are ouerthrowne.*

The yeere of the world, 3799. before Christs Natiuitie, 165.

WHEN King *Antiochus* heard these tidings, hee was highly displeased at that which had hapned: he therefore assembled all his forces, and hiring diuers strangers and mercenary Ilanders, he prepared himselfe to inuade Iudæa about the Spring time. But after the muster of his army, when he truly found that his treasure failed him, and that he was in great scarcitie of money (for all his tributes were not truly paid him, because the Nations were rebellious) being likewise in his owne nature a man of great and magnificent spirit, that could not be contented with that which he then had, he resolued first of all to goe into Persia, to gather his tributes. He therefore left the charge of his affaires with *Lysias* (a man very much esteemed by him, and such a one as gouerned all the countrey from Euphrates, as farre as the borders of Ægypt, and the lower Asia) giuing him likewise a part of his army and some of his Elephants. To him had the King giuen charge to see his sonne *Antiochus* well and carefully trained vp, vntill his returne: commanding him expressely, that when he had conquered Iudæa, he should make the inhabitants thereof his slaues, and sell them to those that would giue most, and destroy Ierusalem, and vtterly abolish that race. The King hauing giuen this charge to *Lysias*, led forth his army towards the countrey of Persia, in the hundred, forty and seuenth yeere: and after he had passed Euphrates, he marched onward toward the Gouernours of the higher countrey.

Antiochus preparatiō to inuade Iudæa.

Antiochus committing his kingdome Prouinces & son to Lysias charge, departeth into Persia.

As for *Lysias*, he chose *Ptolomey* the sonne of *Dorymenis*, *Nicanor* and *Gorgias* (men of great power and authoritie amongst the Kings friends) and gaue them forty thousand footmen, and seuen thousand horsemen, to inuade Iewry. Who marching as farre as the Citie of Emaus, encamped in the plaine field, and strengthened their army with diuers allies out of Syria, and of the countries thereabouts, and with diuers Iewes also, who were Apostates. There came also certaine Merchants with them, with an intent to buy those that should be taken prisoners, bringing Giues with them, to manicle those that should be apprehended, and money to pay for them.

The yeere of the world, 3800. before the Natiuitie of Christ, 164.

When *Iudas* had viewed the campe, and numbred the enemy, he encouraged his souldiers, exhorting them to repose their confidence and hope of victory on God, willing them to inuocate and call vpon him, according to their law, and that clothing themselues in sackcloth, they should humble themselues according to their accustomed manner in such extreme dangers, and call vpon God with supplications and prayers; and that in so doing, God would haue compassion on them, and giue them force to stand against their enemies, and put them to shame. When as therefore he had arranged his battell, according to the ancient custome of his countrey, by thousands and hundreths, and sent away those that were newly married, and such as had newly bought possessions, for feare lest such men being too niggard of their liues, or distracted by such affections, should not fight couragiously; he stood vp in the midst of them, inciting his souldiers to fight valiantly, in these or such like words: My countrimen and companions, neuer haue wee hitherto had any occasion more necessary, wherein we ought to expresse our courages, and contemne our dangers, then at this present. For at this time, if you fight couragiously, you may recouer your liberty: which of it selfe is so acceptable vnto you all, that being of it selfe most desired, ought the rather more earnestly to bee affected, because by it onely you shall winne the meanes to serue God. As therefore you shall be disposed at this time, you may obtaine the same, and withall enioy a happy life (which consisteth in liuing according to our lawes, and ancient customes) if you behaue your selues valiantly: but if you proue cowards in fight, you are to expect no worse then the extremity of infamy, and hope no lesse then the vtter extermination of all your race. Thinke therefore with your selues, that if you fight not, you must die: and on the other side, assure your selues that in fighting for your liberty, for your lawes, and for piety, you shall obtaine immortall glory: prepare your courages therefore in such sort, that to morrow morning you may bid your enemies battell. Thus spake *Iudas* to his army, to encourage them.

Hedio & Russinus, chap. 10. Ptolomey, Gorgias, and Nicanors war in Iudæa.

Iudas oration to his soldiers.

Whil'st thus hee was intent about the future battell, certaine tydings was brought him, that *Gorgias* was sent with one thousand horsemen, and fiue thousand footmen, to the end that (vnder the conduct of some fugitiues, he might by night time, and when he least suspected him, set vpon him: Whereupon he decreed the very same night to breake into the enemies army, especially for that he knew that their forces were diuided. Hauing therefore refreshed both himself & his army somewhat liuely, and left a number of fires in his campe, he marched all the night, and sought out the enemy, who was at Emaus. *Gorgias* perceiuing that the Iewes had forsaken their campe, supposed

1 *Mach.* 4.

The yeere of the world, 3800. before the Natiuitie of Christ, 164.

ſuppoſed that they were retired for feare into the mountaines to hide themſelues: For which cauſes trauelling onward, he determined to ſearch diligently in what place they might be. But early in the morning, *Iudas* accompanied with three thouſand men (who were ſlenderly armed by reaſon of their pouerty) ſhewed himſelfe vnto his enemies, who were at Emaus; and after hee had ſurueyed and ſeene their warlike diſcipline, and mighty number, and how ſouldier-like they were encamped, he exhorted his followers, telling them that it concerned them to fight, notwithſtanding they ſhould be naked: for although they were in that eſtate, yet God (who tooke pleaſure in the greatneſſe of their courage) had already giuen them the victory againſt a number of armed ſouldiers: and ſuddenly hee commanded the trumpets to ſound, ſo that ruſhing in vpon his enemies on the ſudden, he diſmayed them, and diſcomforted their hearts. And after he had ſlaine diuers of them who reſiſted, and put all the reſt to flight, he purſued them as farre as Gadara; and the Plaines of Idumæa, of Azot, and of Iamnia. In this encountry there died about ſome three thouſand of the enemy. Notwithſtanding, *Iudas* would not permit his ſouldiers as yet to take the benefit of the ſpoile, becauſe they were as yet to fight againſt *Gorgias* and his army, aſſuring them, that as ſoone as they had valiantly executed the ſame, it ſhould be lawfull for them to make their booty, without feare, becauſe they ſhould haue no further enemies, either to feare or expect.

Iudas ouercommeth Lyſias army.

Whileſt he ſpake in this ſort vnto his ſouldiers, they that were with *Gorgias*, diſcouering from the top of a certaine hill, perceiued that the armie that was left behind them, was put to flight; and that their campe was on fire: for although they were farre off, yet did the ſmoake aſſure them of the ſame. When theſe men vnderſtood that the matter had falne out in this ſort, and perceiued *Iudas* and his fellowes in battell ray expected their comming, they feared, and betooke them to flight. When as therefore *Iudas* perceiued that *Gorgias* troupes were diſcomfited, without ſtroke ſtriken, he went out to gather the pillage; and after he had gotten together great ſtore of gold, ſiluer, ſcarlet, and purple, he returned to his dwelling place, with ioy, praiſing God for their happy ſucceſſe: for this victory did not a little aduantage them, towards the attainment of their libertie. But *Lyſias* being confuſed at the diſcomfiture of thoſe whom he had ſent, aſſembled another army of almoſt threeſcore thouſand choſen men, and fiue thouſand horſemen, to inuade Iudæa. After he had therefore made his entry by the mountaines, he incamped in Bethſura, a village of Iudæa.

Iudas gathereth a huge prey.

Lyſias once more inuadeth Iudæa, and loſeth fiue thouſand of his ſouldiers.

Iudas hauing knowledge thereof, came forth againſt him, accompanied with ten thouſand men; and diſcouering the number of his enemies far to exceed his (after he had beſought God by praier that it would pleaſe him to fight with him) he charged the vauntguard of the enemy with ſo great force, that he diſcomfited them, and ſlew about ſome fiue thouſand of them, leauing the reſt in great feare. *Lyſias* knowing the reſolution of the Iewes, and how they were preſt to die, except they might liue in liberty; on the other ſide redoubting their deſperations, more then their forces, he gathered together the reſt of his army, and returned backe to Antioch: where he ſoiourned, hiring many forraine ſouldiers, to make a greater army and preparation to inuade Iewry withall.

The Temple of Ieruſalem.

The yeere of the world, 3801. before Christs Natiuitie, 163.

After that *Antiochus* Captaines had beene diſcomfited ſo many times, *Iudas* aſſembled the people together, and told them, that after they had obtained ſo many victories through the mercy of God, it behooued them to aſcend vp vnto Ieruſalem, & to purifie the Temple that was deſolated; and to offer thoſe ſacrifices ordained by the law. Aſcending therefore thither with a multitude of people, he found the Temple deſart, and the gates thereof burned, and graſſe growing within the ſame, through deſolation. Being therefore confuſed with ſo pitious a ſpectacle, he began to weepe with all thoſe that accompanied him: And hauing choſen out certaine of his beſt ſouldiers, he commanded them to enforce the garriſons that were in the fortreſſe; whiles he himſelfe purged the Temple. Which command of his being exactly & reſolutely fulfilled, he ſent for new veſſels, a candleſticke, a table, an altar of incenſe, all made of gold. He put alſo vailes or hangings to the doores, accuſtomed to be ſpred abroad; and ſet gates to the Temple. And hauing throwne down the altar of burnt offerings, which had bin prophaned by *Antiochus*, he builded a new of all ſorts of ſtones, neither hewne, nor hammered according to art. The fiue and twentieth day of the moneth of Chaſleu (with vs September) there were lights ſet vpon the candleſticks, and perfumes laid vpon the altar, and loaues impoſed vpon the table, & ſacrifices offred vpon the new altar. All which hapned the ſame day three yeeres, wherein before-time the ſacred Religion was changed into prophane and hatefull impiety. For the Temple was ruinated and left deſolate by *Antiochus*, and remained in that eſtate for the ſpace of three whole yeeres. For this deſolation hapned in the hundreth, forty & fift yeere, and the fiue & twentieth day of the moneth called Apellæus or Auguſt; in the hundreth, fifty and three Olympiade: and the Temple was repurged on the ſame day,

The Temple left deſolate for three whole yeeres ſpace. Dan. 12.

in

A in the yeere one hundreth, fortie and eight; and the hundreth, fiftie and fourth Olimpiade. This deſolation of the temple hapned, according as *Daniel* had foreprophecied, foure hundred and eight yeeres before: for he declared euidently that the Macedonians ſhould deſtroy the ſame.

The yeere of the world, 3801. before Chriſts Nativity, 163.

After that *Iudas* had reeſtabliſhed the ſeruice of the Temple, both hee and his countrimen ſolemnized a feaſt for eight daies, omitting not any kinde of honeſt pleaſure, banquetting them ſumptuouſly and magnificently, and honouring God in Hymnes and Pſalmes. Thus reioyced they at this reeſtabliſhment, ſeeing that contrary to all hope after ſo long time, they had recouered the cuſtomes of their countrey, and their ancient Religion: ſo that a decree was made for thoſe that ſhould come after, whereby it was commanded, that for the ſpace of eight daies the

The feſtiuall ſolemnized for the reeſtabliſhment of the Temple.

B rebuilding of the Temple ſhould bee ſolemnized, with the ceremonies and ancient ordinances: and euer ſince that time vntill this day we celebrate this feaſt, called the feaſt of Lights; for this cauſe in my opinion, for that this ſo great felicity began to ſhine vnto vs as a light, contrary to all hope. He incloſed the City likewiſe with a wall, and builded high towers thereon, in which hee planted garriſons againſt the incurſions of the enemies. Hee fortified the City of Bethſura alſo, that it might ſerue as a fort againſt the enemy.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed thus, the nations round about diſpleaſed with the reeſtabliſhment and force of the Iewes, oppreſſed diuers, whom they ſurprized by ambuſhes and treachery. On thoſe *Iudas* made continuall war, to hinder their incurſions, and to make them partakers of thoſe euils they had inflicted vpon the Iewes. So that inuading Acrabathan, hee ſlew the Idumæans

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 13. *Machab. 5.* Iudas maketh continuall war with the neighbouring nations.

C that were deſcended from *Eſau*, and brought away a great prey out of their countrey, & ſhut vp the ſonnes of *Baan* their Prince, who lay in waite for the Iewes; and hauing beſieged them, he ouercame them, ſetting fire on their towers, and killing all the men that were therein. After this he departed from thence, and made warre vpon the Ammonites, who had a great and mighty armie, vnder the conduct of *Timotheus*. Theſe did hee encounter with and ouercome, and tooke their City of Iazor, and burned it, and led away their wiues and children into captiuity, and afterwards returned into Iudæa. The neighbouring nations hearing of his departure, aſſembled themſelues together in Galaad againſt the Iewes, who inhabited the frontiers of Galaad; who hauing retyred themſelues to the fort of Dathema, ſent letters vnto *Iudas*, giuing him to vnderſtand, that *Timotheus* intended to ſurprize the place wherunto they were retreated, and requeſted

D him to deliuer them from this danger. And whileſt he was reading of theſe letters, certaine meſſengers came vnto him out of Galilee, giuing him to vnderſtand, that they were aſſaulted by the inhabitants of Ptolemais, Tyre, Sidon, and other people thereabouts.

Hedio & Ruffinus, cha. 11.

CHAP. XII.

IVDAS *fighteth with the Ammonites,* SIMON *againſt the Tyrians, and others, whom he diſcomfiteth.*

E IVDAS bethinking himſelfe of that which beſt concerned him in theſe two vrgent and inſtant occaſions, commanded his brother *Simon* to take three thouſand choſen men with him, and to goe and ſuccour thoſe Iewes that were aſſailed in Galilee: and himſelfe, accompanied with *Ionathan* his other brother, and eight thouſand fighting men, repaired vnto the countrey of Galaad; leauing the gouernment of the reſt of the forces in the hands of *Ioſeph* the ſonne of *Zachary*, and with *Azarias*, commanding them to haue a carefull and diligent eye to Iudæa, and not to enter battell with any one, vntill his returne. *Simon* arriuing in Galilee, fought againſt his

Simon ouercommeth his enemies in Galilee, deliuereth the Iewes that were captiue.

enemies, and diſcomfited them; and afterwards purſuing them that fled as farre as the gates of Ptolemais, hee ſlew about three thouſand: and after hee had gathered the ſpoiles of ſuch as were ſlaine, hee ſet many Iewes at liberty, who were priſoners; and hauing reſtored them their goods, retired himſelfe backe againe to his countrey. But *Iudas Machabeus*, and *Ionathan* his bro-

F ther hauing paſt Iordan, and marched on the other ſide thereof for the ſpace of three daies, encountered with the Nabatheans, who peaceably came out to meete them; by whom he vnderſtood the eſtate of thoſe that were in Galaad, and how diuers of them were in extreme penurie, incloſed and beſieged in Caſtles and Cities of the countrey by their enemy. Who likewiſe beſought him to make haſte and encounter the ſtrangers, and to ſeeke the means to ſaue their countrimen. For this cauſe he returned into the deſart, and firſt of all aſſailed the inhabitants of Boſra, and tooke their Citie, and ſet it on fire, killing all the men that were therein, who were able to

Iudas and Ionathan ſuccor the Iewes beſieged in Galaad.

Boſra taken and burnt.

beare armes. Neither was he contented therwith, but when night drew on, he marched towards another

The yeere of the world, 3801. before Christs Natiuitie. 163.

another Castle where the Iewes were inclosed, and shut vp by *Timothy* and his army; and attaining the same about the mornings brie, he surprized the enemy, at such time as they were raising their ladders to scale the walles, and addressed their engins for battery: wherupon he caused the trumpet to be sounded, and after he had encouraged his people to fight valiantly and faithfully for their kinsmen and friends being in great danger, & had distributed his forces into three battalions, he set vpon the enemies rereward. *Timotheus* souldiers perceiuing that it was *Machabeus*, whose valor and good hap they had already approued to their great losse, they without delay tooke themselues to flight. But *Iudas* with his army followed after them, and slew about eight thousand of them, and marching towards Malla (a city of the enemies) he surprized the same, and slew all the men therein, and afterwards consumed it with fire. After this, departing thence, he tooke and destroyed Chaspoma, Bosor, and diuers other places in Galaad.

Iudas succoureth the besieged Iewes.

Timothies souldiers slain. Malla taken and burnt. Chaspoma & Bosor taken. Timothy gathereth new forces, and is ouercome by Iudas.

Anon after *Timothy* leuied another great army, and drew out with him all his allies to his succour, and a number of Arabians, whom he had hired for wages: with this army of his passed he the floud, and encamped neere vnto a towne called Rapha; exhorting his souldiers to behaue themselues like valiant men against their enemies the Iewes, and to hinder their passage ouer the streame: foretelling them, that if they should win the passage, both he and his were assured of the worst. *Iudas* vnderstanding that *Timotheus* was prepared to fight, took with him al his forces, and marched hastily against the enemie; so that hauing passed the riuer, hee set vpon them, killing diuers of them that resisted, and grieuously affrighting the rest, who casting away their armes, were constrained to flie. There were some of them, who saued themselues by swiftnesse of foote: and some also, who retired themselues into a temple called Carnain, where they were in hope to be secured and so to escape: but after that *Iudas* had taken in the City where the temple was, he slew them, and burnt the same, enforcing his enemies to suffer diuers and dreadfull sorts of death. After this execution, hee led away with him from Galaad all the Iewes, their wiues and children, and substance, and brought them with him vnto Iudæa. When as therefore hee drew neere vnto the towne of Ephron, which was situate directly in his way, so that it was impossible for him to march any other waies or returne home, except they levelled their way (which they refused to doe) he sent Embassadors to the inhabitants to pray them to open their gates, and to grant him free passage thorow their City. For they had made Baricadoes of stones to cut off the passage. When as therefore the Ephronites would giue no eare vnto him, he besieged their city for a day and a nights space, and took and burned the same, and slew all the men that were therein; and afterwards drew onwards on his way; and so great a number was there of those that were slaine, that he marched vpon the bodies of dead men.

The Iewes are brought out of the country of Galaad into Iudæa. Ephron besieged & burnt.

After they had past Iordan, they came into a great Plaine, wherein the City of Bethsan (by the Greekes called Scythopolis) confronted their eies; from whence they departed and came into Iudæa with ioy and gladnes, singing and praysing God, & vsing their accustomed pastimes and songs of victory. This done, he offered vp sacrifices of thanksgiuing for their happy successe, and the safety of his armie; for that in all those battels and encounters he had not lost one Iew.

An admirable victory of Iudas Machabæus, who in all these conflicts lost not one man.

In the meane while two captaines, to wit, *Ioseph* the sonne of *Zachary*, and *Azarias*, who were left for the garrison of Iudæa (whil'st *Simon* went into the countrey of Galilee against those of Ptolemais, and *Iudas* and *Ionathan* his brother were in Galaad against the Ammonites) desirous also for their part to obtaine the honour and reputation of valiant men of war by some notable exploit; tooke their forces, and went towards Iamnia. Against these issued out *Gorgias*, who was Gouernour in that place, and charged them in such sort, as the Iewes lost some two thousand men, and fled as farre as the marches of Iudæa. This mischiefe fell vpon them, because they had disobeyed *Iudas* commandement, who had prohibited them to fight with any before his return. For besides many other proiects of his warlike prudence, this is to be wondred at, that he foresaw that if they should attempt any thing contrary to his command, they should haue but bad successe therein. *Iudas* and his brethren making war against the Idumæans, gaue them no respit, but continually charged them on euery side: they tooke also the City of Chebron, and destroied all the fortifications in the same, and burnt the towers, spoyling all the countrey of the enemies, and razed the City of Marissa likewise. Afterwards comming to Azot, they tooke and spoiled it, and carried away a great quantitie of booty from thence, and returned backe into Iudæa in safety, ioyfull of their victory.

Ioseph & Zachary ouercome by Gorgias, lose two thousand souldiers.

Chebron and Marissa besieged.

CHAP.

Chap. XIII.

The death of Antiochvs Epiphanes *in Persia.*

The yeere of the world, 3801. before Christs Natiuitie, 163.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 13. 1. *Mac.* 6. Antiochus desirous to spoile Dianaes Temple, besiegeth Elymais, and is shamefully repulsed to Babylon.

The yeere of the world, 3802. before Christs birth, 162.

Antiochus Epiphanes burdened with cares, falleth sicke.

Polybius Megalopolitane of the cause of Antiochus sickneſſe.

AT that time *Antiochus* trauelling along the higher countries of his kingdome, vnderstood that there was a very wealthy Citie in Persia called Elymais, in which there was a rich Temple of *Diana*, repleniſhed with all sorts of presents: wherein also he was enformed, that *Alexanders* armes and curets, who was *Philip* King of Macedons sonne, were reserued there of long time. Vpon these considerations he was incited to repaire vnto Elymais, which he besieged and laboured to take by force. And for that the inhabitants thereof were neither affrighted with his approach, nor terrified with his siege, but sustained the same valiantly, he failed of his purpose. For they draue him from their City, and sallying out vpon him, they pursued him so hotly, that he fled backe to Babylon, and lost a great number of his men. Whileſt thus he was discomfited, for that he had beene frustrated of his hope, newes was brought him of the ouerthrow of his Captaines, whom he had left to warre against the Iewes, and how they of Iewry were now the stronger, and had the vpper hand. This trouble seconding his former discontent, he was surprized with despaire, and fell sicke; which sickneſſe aggrauated with other accidents, increased in such sort, that hee knew well that he should die: and for that cause he called for his most familiar friends, and certified them, that his sickneſſe was violent and desperate, and that he was seized with such affliction, for that he had tormented the people of the Iewes, and destroyed their Temple, committed horrible sacriledge, and contemned the reuerence of God: and whileſt thus he spake vnto them, he gaue vp the ghost. So that I wonder at *Polybius* the Megalopolitane (who is otherwise praise-worthy) for that hee writeth that *Antiochus* died, for that he would haue spoiled the Temple of Diana in the countrey of Persia. For sith he had onely intended to commit sacriledge, but had not effected it, he merited not to suffer punishment for the same. And if it seemeth good vnto *Polybius*, that *Antiochus* was punished by death for this occasion, it is farre more likely to be true, that his death befell him for the sacriledge he had committed in the Temple of Ierusalem. But our purpose is not to argue against those that maintaine, that *Polybius* reasons are of greater truth and consequence, then ours are.

Chap. XIIII.

Antiochvs Evpator *discomfiteth the Iewes, and besiegeth* Ivdas, *and shutteth him vp in the Temple.*

Antiochus appointeth Philip gouernour of his kingdome, and committeth his sonne Antiochus to his charge.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 14. Lysias createth Antiochus the yonger, King, and surnameth him Eupator.

The Macedons in the Castle of Ierusalem doe much harme to the Iewes.

Iudas Machabæus besiegeth the Castle.

The fugitiue Iewes flie out of the Castle, and require Antiochus assistance.

BEfore *Antiochus* gaue vp the ghost, hee called for *Philip* one of his chiefest familiars, and made him Gouernour of his kingdome. And hauing deliuered the Diademe into his hands, his royall robe, and his ring with other iewels, he charged him to beare and deliuer them to his son *Antiochus*, requiring him earnestly to haue care of his bringing vp, and to maintaine the kingdome in his behalfe, vntill he comming vnto the yeeres of discretion, were fit to manage it himselfe. This done, *Antiochus* died, the hundred, forty and ninth yeere of the kingdome of Syria. After that *Lysias* had certified the people of the Kings death, he proclaimed his sonne *Antiochus*, whom at that time he had in his protection, King, surnaming him *Eupator*, (according to the instructions that were giuen him.) About that time, the garrisons and Apostataes that were in the fortresse of Ierusalem, did much mischiefe vnto the Iewes. For setting vpon those at vnawares, who ascended the Temple to worship and offer their sacrifice, they slew them: for the fortresse commanded the Temple. For these causes *Iudas* resolued to cut off these garrisons, and to that intent he assembled all the people, and besieged it. This enterprize was vndertooke in the yeere one hundred and fiftie, after that *Seleucus* had vsurped the gouernment of those countries. Hauing therefore made him certaine engines, and raised diuers rams, he industriously continued the siege: But diuers of those Apostataes that were reuolted, and of that garrison, issued out by night, and assembling together such men as were of so malicious nature as themselues, they came vnto King *Antiochus*, requiring him that he would not suffer them to be abused in such sort by those of our nation; nor so carelesly neglected by them, considering their disgrace grew by his fathers seruice, for whose sake they had forsaken their owne religion, and followed his lawes and ordinances. Furthermore they inferred, that the fortresse was in danger to be surprized by *Iudas*, and his associates, except some present succours were sent vnto them. When *Antiochus* the yonger had notice hereof, he was sore displeased, and sent for his Captaines and friends, commanding

The yeere of the world, 3801. before Christs Natiuitie. 161.

manding them to hire ſtrange ſouldiers, and all thoſe in his kingdome, who were of yeeres to beare armes; ſo that he gathered in ſhort time an army of one hundred thouſand footmen, and twentie thouſand horſemen, and thirtie two Elephants: and with this Equipage departed he out of Antioch, committing his army to *Lyſias* direction. As ſoone as he came into Idumæa, he went vp vnto Bethſura a walled Citie, and very difficult to be ſurprized, which he beſieged and began but with ſuch a diſaduantage, that the Bethſurians reſiſting him valiantly, and ſallying out vpon him, burned thoſe preparations and engines which he had furniſhed for the battery of the towne. When as therefore a long time was conſumed about the ſiege, *Iudas* hauing intelligence of the Kings approach, raiſed his campe from before the Caſtle of Ieruſalem, and marching forward to meet the enemy, he ſhut his army in a certaine ſtreight, in a place called Beth-zacharia, ſome ſeuenty ſtounds diſtance from the enemies campe.

Antiochus marcheth into Iudæa with his army.

Bethſura beſieged.

Iudas with his forces encountreth the King at Beth-zacharia.

The King hauing tidings hereof, raiſed his ſiege from Bethſura, and marched toward the ſtreight wherein *Iudas* army was incloſed, and about the morning hee ſet his ſouldiers in battell array. He firſt of all cauſed his Elephants to march one after another thorow the ſtreight (for that it was impoſſible for them to march in ſquare. About euery Elephant were one thouſand footmen, and fiue hundred horſemen. Theſe Elephants bare high towers on their backs, garniſhed with Archers. Touching the reſt of his forces, he cauſed them to aſcend two ſeuerall wayes by the mountaines, vnder the conduct of his moſt intireſt friends, commanding them with a huge ſhout and cry to charge their enemies, and to diſcouer their golden and brazen bucklers, to the end the reflection thereof might dazle the eyes of the Iewes: whereupon, the mountaines reſounded with fearefull cries of *Antiochus* army: Yet was not *Iudas* any waies amated hereat. For entertaining the charge with a noble courage, hee ſlue almoſt ſixe hundred of the forlorne hope. But *Eleazar*, ſurnamed *Auranes*, *Iudas* brother, ſeeing a huge Elephant among the reſt armed with royall trappings, and ſuppoſing that the King was vpon the ſame, he ranne againſt him with a mighty courage; and after he had ſlaine diuers of them that enuironed the Elephant, and ſcattered the reſt, he thruſt his ſword into the belly of the beaſt, and wounded him to the death: ſo that the Elephant falling vpon *Eleazar*, ſlew him with the waight thereof; and thus nobly died this worthy man, ouerthrowing a great number of his enemies, through his infinite valour. *Iudas* ſeeing his enemies forces ſo great in number, retired backe to Ieruſalem to continue his ſiege: and *Antiochus* ſent part of his army to Bethſura to ſurprize the ſame, and with the reſt he himſelfe marched onward to Ieruſalem.

Eleazar Iudas brother killeth an Elephant.

Iudas returneth to Ieruſalem, and Antiochus followeth him.

The Bethſurites being afraid of this mighty army of the King, and ſeeing their neceſſary prouiſions failed them, yeelded vp their Citie, after they had taken the Kings oath, that they ſhould receiue no outrage. When as therefore *Antiochus* became Lord of this City, he offered them no iniury; onely he thruſt them out diſarmed from the Citie, and planted a garriſon therein. Hee ſpent a long time alſo in beſieging the Temple of Ieruſalem, for that they who kept the ſame, defended it valiantly. For againſt euery engine the King builded and raiſed vp againſt them, they erected a contrary engine. Their onely want was victuals, becauſe their old prouiſion was conſumed, and the ground had not bin manured that yeere becauſe it was the ſeuenth; in which, according to the law, the countrey and ſoile ſhould not be ſtirred: which was the cauſe that diuers of thoſe that were beſieged, fled ſecretly for want of victuals, inſomuch that very few remained for the defence of the Temple. In this eſtate were they who were beſieged in the Temple.

The Bethſurites yeeld vp their Citie.

The Temple of Ieruſalem beſieged.

When as King *Antiochus* and *Lyſias* the Generall had receiued tidings, that *Philip* comming out of Perſia, intended to make himſelfe Maſter and Lord of the countrey; they concluded to giue ouer the ſiege for that time, and to march forward againſt *Philip*, without giuing any inkling thereof either to his ſouldiers or Captaines. He onely commanded that *Lyſias* ſhould communicate the ſame with the Captaines, without diſcouering of his deliberation or enterprize againſt *Philip*; and to tell them that for theſe reaſons he leuied the ſiege: firſt, for the length thereof; next, for the ſtrength of the place; Laſtly, for want of victuals, and for many affaires that required ſome circumſpect and carefull foreſight in the kingdome: Furthermore, for that he thought it moſt expedient to capitulate with the beſieged, and contract friendſhip with all the nation of the Iewes, promiſing and permitting them the exerciſe of their religion, becauſe they onely rebelled, for that they were depriued of the ſame; and for that hee was aſſured, that hauing the grant thereof, they would each of them returne into their owne countries. When *Lyſias* had expreſſed and publiſhed theſe reaſons, all the Armie and the Captaines approoued the ſame.

Antiochus hearing newes of Philips intent to inuade Perſia, giueth ouer his ſiege to meete him.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

ANTIOCHVS *giueth ouer his siege, from before their City, and entreth a league and alliance with* IVDAS.

The yeere of the world, 3803. before Christs Natiuity, 161.

WHEREVPON *Antiochus* sent a herauld to *Iudas* and those that were besieged with him, promising them peace, with permission to liue according to their religion. Which condition they willingly entertained: and hauing taken an oath and assurance from the King; they surrendred vp the Temple. Whereupon *Antiochus* entred the same, and seeing it to be a place so well fortified, he contrary to his oath, commanded his army to leuell the wall that enuironed the same with the ground: which done, he returned to Antioch, leading away with him the High Priest *Onias*, who was called *Menelaus*. For *Lysias* had counselled the King to murther *Menelaus*, if he intended that the Iewes should liue in peace, without any commotion: and the rather, because it was he onely who was the author of all those euils, by reason of the counsaile he had giuen to *Antiochus* his father, to inforce the Iewes to forsake their religion. The King for that cause sent *Menelaus* vnto Berœa a city of Syria, where he commanded him to be put to death, after he had enioyed the High Priesthood for the terme of ten yeers. He was a wicked and impious man, who for his onely ambitious desire of authority had inforced our nation to reuolt from their religion. As soone therefore as *Menelaus* was dead, *Alcimus* was made High Priest, who was called *Iacimus*. Now when *Antiochus* found that *Philip* had already conquered a great part of his countrey, he fought with him, and taking him prisoner, slew him. But *Onias* the son of the High Priest (whom as we haue heretofore declared, was left an Orphan in his infancy) seeing that the King had slaine his vncle *Menelaus*, and giuen the Priesthood to *Alcimus*, who was not of the race of the Priests, and had transferred this honour into another family at the perswasion of *Lysias*, he fled vnto *Ptolomey* King of Ægypt, where being honourably entertained by the King and his Queene *Cleopatra*, he obtained a place in the Heliopolitane signiorie, where he builded a Temple like vnto that which was at Ierusalem: whereof we shall hereafter haue more fit opportunity to speake.

Antiochus maketh peace with Iudas. The wall of the Temple defaced. Onias otherwaies called Menelaus, led away prisoner

Alcimus or Iacimus made High Priest.

The yeere of the world, 3804. before Christs birth, 160.

Philip slaine by Antiochus. Onias the High Priests son builded a Temple in Egypt resembling that at Ierusalem.

CHAP. XVI.

BACCHIDES *Generall of* DEMETRIVS *army, commeth to make warre against the Iewes, and returneth backe againe vnto the King without performance of any thing.*

AT that time *Demetrius, Seleucus* sonne fled to Rome, and tooke possession of Tripolis in Syria, and after he had set the Diademe vpon his head, and had leuied and hired certaine souldiers, he inuaded the kingdome: where he was receiued to the generall content of all men, who submitting themselues vnto him, laid hold on the King *Antiochus* and *Lysias*, and brought them aliue vnto him; but he incontinently commanded that they should be put to death, after that *Antiochus* had raigned two yeeres, as we haue already declared in another place. To this new elected King, diuers Iewes (banished for their impietie) and with them the High Priest *Alcimus* made their resort: who in generall accused their nation, and as principals *Iudas* and his brethren, obiecting against them, that they had slaine his friends, and all such as were on his side; and that among all those that were in the Kingdome and expected his comming, some of them were slaine; and that the rest being driuen from their natiue countrey, were banished into other places: requiring him that hee would send some one of his friends to take knowledge of the outrages committed by *Iudas* and his brethren. *Demetrius* was much mooued by these reports of theirs, and for that cause sent *Bacchides* (who was in times past much esteemed by *Antiochus Epiphanes* for his valour, and to whose gouernment at that time all Mesopotamia was committed:) To whom he gaue an army, ioyning with him the high priest *Alcimus*, with commission to kill *Iudas*, and his confederates. *Bacchides* departing from Antioch with his army, came into Iudæa, and sent a certaine herauld to *Iudas* and his brethren, to intreat with him vpon certaine articles of peace, because his intent was to surprize them by some subtitie and treacherie. But *Iudas* smelling his drift, gaue little trust vnto him: for in that hee came thither with so great an armie, he easily coniectured that he intended no peace; but to make warre: notwithstanding some of the people gaue eare vnto the peaceable proclamation of *Bacchides*; and supposing that there was no sinister intent in *Alcimus*, who was their countryman, they submitted them-

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 15. 1 *Machab.* 7. Demetrius seizeth Tripolis and other cities of Syria, and killeth Antiochus and Lysias. Alcimus the High Priest, with Apostataes accuseth Iudas before Demetrius.

Bacchides killeth diuers that trust his oath.

themſelues vnder his gouernment. Hauing therefore receiued an oath from them both, that neither they, nor any of their followers ſhould any waies be endamaged by them, they committed themſelues to their protection. But *Bacchides* ſetting light by his oath, ſlue threeſcore of them; and by this breach of his faith towards theſe, he cauſed others (who intended to ſubmit themſelues) to forſake and flie his gouernment. As ſoone as therfore he had remooued his army from Ieruſalem, he came vnto the village of Bethzeth, and there apprehending many of thoſe which had fled, and ſome others among the people, he ſlue them all, commanding all thoſe that liued in the country to obey *Alcimus*, to whom he left in that place for the guard of his perſon a part of his army: and that done, he returned vnto Antioch to King *Demetrius*. In the meane while *Alcimus* intending to aſſure his eſtate and gouernment; and ſuppoſing that it ſhould be ſo much the better confirmed, if ſo be he could obtaine the good will of the people, he vſed all kind of plauſible and familiar ſpeech vnto them; and deuiſing with euery man pleaſantly and graciouſly, hee adioyned in ſhort time great forces to thoſe which he had before: amongſt whom there were many fugitiues and vngodly men, by whoſe helpe and aſſiſtance he marched thorow the country, killing all thoſe whom he found to be of *Iudas* faction. *Iudas* perceiuing that *Alcimus* hauing gathered great forces, had already ſlaine diuers of the moſt vprighteſt men, and ſuch as feared God in all his nation, he addreſſed himſelfe alſo to ouerrunne the countrey, and ſlue as many of *Alcimus* partakers, as he could meet with. Who perceiuing in himſelfe that he was vnable to reſiſt *Iudas*, made his account to recouer *Demetrius* fauour. For which cauſe he repaired to Antioch, and incenſed *Demetrius* grieuouſly againſt *Iudas*, accuſing him for inforcing many iniuries againſt him: proteſting that he ſhould endure farre more, except he were preuented and puniſhed by a good army ſent out againſt him.

The yeere of the world, 3804. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 160.

Bacchides vſeth great tyranny in Bethzeth.

Alcimus vſeth popularity & familiarity to win the peoples hearts, & killeth al ſuch as were of Iudas faction.

Iudas reſiſteth Alcimus power.

Alcimus accuſeth Iudas to Demetrius.

CHAP. XVII.

NICANOR *being ſent after* BACCHIDES, *to be Chieftaine of the warre againſt* IVDAS, *is diſcomfited with all his armie.*

DEMETRIVS imagining, that if *Iudas* ſhould increaſe in power, it ſhould be ſome preiudice to his eſtate, he ſent *Nicanor* his moſt intire and faithfull friend, to make war againſt him: (who was one of them alſo, who accompanied him in his flight from Rome.) Hauing therefore furniſhed him, in his owne opinion, with a ſufficient army, and able to make head againſt *Iudas*, he commanded him to ſpare no one of that nation. As ſoone as *Nicanor* came to Ieruſalem, hee intended not incontinently to make warre vpon *Iudas*, but caſt with himſelfe to ſurprize him by ſome ſubtilty: to this intent he ſent him a peaceable meſſage, alleadging that it was neither neceſſary nor conuenient for him to fight or hazzard his fortune; proteſting vnto *Iudas*, that he would offer him no iniurie; and that he reſorted thither with his friends, onely to expreſſe the good affection of king *Demetrius* towards him, and how well he was affected towards the nation of the Iewes. *Iudas* and his brethren beleeued this falſe embaſſage of *Nicanors*, and ſuſpecting no kinde of ſiniſter dealing, they gaue him credit, and entertained both him and his army. When as therefore *Nicanor* had ſaluted *Iudas*, he conferred with him, and in the meane while gaue a ſigne vnto his ſouldiers to lay hands on him: who perceiuing and diſcouering his treaſon betime, incontinently brake from him, and fled vnto his ſouldiers. When *Nicanor* ſaw that his intent and ſubtilty was diſcouered, he reſolued to make open warre vpon *Iudas*, and to bid him battell neere vnto a borough called Caphar-ſalama: in which place obtaining the victory, he conſtrained *Iudas* to retire himſelfe into the fortreſſe in Ieruſalem. When as therefore *Nicanor* returned from the ſiege of *Iudas* in the Temple of Ieruſalem, certaine of the Prieſts and Elders went out to meet with him, and after they had done their reuerence, they ſhewed him thoſe ſacrifices, which (as they ſaid) they intended to offer vnto God for the Kings proſperity and health. But he blaſpheming, threatned them; that if the people did not deliuer *Iudas* into his hands, he would deſtroy the Temple vpon his return, and with theſe menaces he departed out of the city. Which when the Prieſts heard, they began to ſhed aboundant teares, praying God that it might pleaſe him to defend his ſacred Temple, together with thoſe which called on his name therein, from the violence and outrage of their enemies.

When as therfore *Nicanor* departing from Ieruſalem, arriued neere vnto the borough of Bethoron, he encamped there; and to that place a great ſupply of ſoldiers came vnto him out of Syria. Now *Iudas* was encamped in another borough called Adas, about thirty furlongs diſtant from Bethoron, hauing with him at the moſt not aboue one thouſand men. Notwithſtanding he exhorted

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 16. Demetrius ſendeth Nicanor againſt Iudas.

Nicanor diſſembling with Iudas, laboured to ſurprize him.

Nicanor threatneth the people, that except they yeeld vp Iudas, he will deſtroy the Temple.

exhorted his ſouldiers not to be afraid of the multitude of their enemies; neither to thinke with themſelues againſt how many they were to fight; but againſt whom, and for what recompence they were to fight, to the intent they might altogether couragiouſly ſet vpon the enemy, at ſuch time as he ſhould lead them forth to the onſet. Whereupon aſſailing *Nicanor*, there aroſe a dangerous conflict betweene them; wherein *Iudas* had the vpper hand: for hee ſlew a great number of the enemy, and finally, *Nicanor* himſelfe fighting couragiouſly, was ſlaine; and ſo ſoone as he fell downe dead, his army betooke them to flight. For hauing loſt their Chieftaine, they diſperſed themſelues, and caſt away their weapons: *Iudas* ſpeedily purſuing them, made a great ſlaughter, and by ſound of trumpet certified them of the neighbouring villages, that he had diſcomfited the enemy. Whereupon the inhabitants thereabout vnderſtanding heereof, betooke them to their weapons, and meeting with thoſe that fled in the foreward, ſlew them, ſo as no one eſcaped from this battell, notwithſtanding they were to the number of nine thouſand. This victory hapned on the thirteenth day of the moneth Adar, as our countrimen call it, and the Macedonians Diſtre: And hereof each yeere there is both a ſolemne feaſt and memoriall obſerued. From this time forward the nation of the Iewes were in quiet without any inuaſion, and liued in peace for a little time: but afterwards they were troubled with the like combates and dangers. Whereas therefore the high Prieſt *Alcimus* intended to beate downe an old wall of the Sanctuary, which had beene builded by the holy Prophets, he was ſuddenly ſtrooken by God; ſo that he incontinently loſt his ſpeech, and fell to the ground; and after he had endured many grieuous torments for diuers dayes, at laſt he died miſerably, after he had enioyed the Prieſthood for the ſpace of foure yeeres.

The yeere of the world, 3804. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 160.

Iudas and his followers put Nicanor and his ſouldiers to flight.

Adar, March.

Alcimus the high Prieſt dyeth.

After his death, the people with a generall conſent gaue his place to *Iudas*. Who vnderſtanding of the great power of the Romanes, and how they had conquered Gaule, Spaine, Carthage, Greece, and the Kings *Perſeus* and *Philip*, and beſides all theſe, the great King *Antiochus* determined to make friendſhip with them, and ſent *Eupolemus* the ſonne of *Iohn*, and *Iaſon* the ſonne of *Eleazar* his two intire friends vnto Rome, to intreat the Romanes to be their allies and confederates, and to write vnto *Demetrius*, that he ſhould giue ouer to warre againſt the Iewes. When the Embaſſadors that were ſent from *Iudas*, were arriued in Rome, the Senate entertained them; and after they had diſcourſed with them vpon the occaſion of their Embaſſage, they accepted and concluded vpon their alliance, and made a Decree, the Copie whereof was then brought into Iudæa, and the originall reſerued in the Capitoll, engrauen in a Table of Braſſe. Which arreſt or Decree of the Romanes, as touching their alliance and good affection they bare vnto the Iewes, contained theſe Articles: *That no man vnder the obedience of the Romanes, ſhould maintaine warre againſt the nation of the Iewes: neither ſhould furniſh them with victuals, ſhips, or ſiluer, who ſhould make warre vpon them. And if any enemies ſhould aſſaile the Iewes, the Romanes ſhould giue them ſuccour to the vttermoſt of their power. And that likewiſe if any one ſhould make warre againſt the Romanes, the Iewes ſhould ſuccour them. That if the Iewiſh nation would adde or diminiſh any thing of that aſſociation, it ſhould be done with the common aduice of the people of Rome, and that that which ſhould be ordained, ſhould remaine irreuocable.* This arreſt was written by *Eupolemus* the ſonne of *Iohn*, and by *Iaſon* the ſonne of *Eleazar*, at ſuch time as *Iudas* was high Prieſt, and his brother *Simon* Generall ouer the Armie. See heere, how the firſt amitie and alliance was contracted betweene the Romanes and the Iewes.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 17. 1 *Mach.* 8.

Iudas couenanteth a peace with the Romanes.

The decree of the Romanes touching ſocietie and friendſhip of the Iewes.

CHAP. XVIII.

BACCHIDES *is ſent once againe into Iudæa, and obtaineth a victory.*

WHEN as *Nicanors* death, and the diſcomfiture of his army was reported to *Demetrius*, hee ſent a new army into Iudæa, vnder the conduct of *Bacchides*: who departing from Antioch, and repairing to Iudæa, encamped in Arbela a Citie of Galilee: where hauing inforced, conquered, and taken a great number of thoſe that were retired into caues, he departed from thence, and repaired in all haſte to Ieruſalem. And vnderſtanding that *Iudas* was encamped in the village of Berzeth, he marched out againſt him with twenty thouſand footmen, and two thouſand horſemen. Now *Iudas* had not on his ſide in all aboue two thouſand men, who perceiuing the multitude of *Bacchides* ſouldiers were afraid; ſo that ſome of them forſaking their campe, fled away: by which meanes there remained no more with *Iudas*, but eight hundred men. Seeing himſelf therfore abandoned by ſo many of his men, and preſſed by his enemies, who gaue him

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 18. 1 *Mach.* 9.

Demetrius ſendeth Bacchides with forces into Iury.

Bacchides meeteth Iudas with 20000. ſouldiers.

The yeere of the world, 3804. before Christs Natiuitie. 160.

Iudas with a small army intendeth to assaile a mightie Host.

him neither truce nor time to re-assemble his forces, he resolued to fight with those eight hundreth which he had: whom he exhorted to be of good courage, and to fight valiantly: but they answered, that they were insufficient to make head against so high an army, and counselled him to retire, and to stand on his guard for that time, vntill he had gathered forces that might be able to confront the enemy. But *Iudas* replyed to this effect: God forbid (said hee) that the Sunne should see mee turne my backe vpon mine enemies. And if by this meanes I meete with my death, and that I must needs spend my last blood in this battell, I will neuer soyle so many notable actions so worthily atchieued, nor staine so much glory obtained with so great vertue by one ignominious flight. And hauing in this sort exhorted the small remnant of those souldiers that were with him, hee commanded them that without any apprehension of danger, they should bend themselues altogether against the enemy.

CHAP. XIX.

IVDAS *ouercome in the battell, dyeth.*

Bacchides disposeth his army and fighteth with Iudas.

BVT *Bacchides* drew out his army, and arranged them in battell, placing the horsemen on both the wings; his light-armed souldiers and archers in the front of the army; and after these a strong band, called the Macedonian Phalanx; and hee himselfe led the right wing of the battell. And in this array he approached *Iudas* campe, and caused the trumpets to be sounded, commanding all his souldiers to giue a great shout, and to charge their enemies. *Iudas* did the like, and encountred *Bacchides*; so that on both sides there was a most cruell conflict, which continued vntill the Sun-set. And when as *Iudas* perceiued that *Bacchides* and the flower of his army fought in the right wing, he chose out a certaine number of his most resolute followers, and drew towards that quarter, and setting vpon them, he brake their squadron; and afterwards thrusting into the midst of them, he forced them to flie, and pursued them as farre as the mount Aza. They of the left wing, perceiuing the flight of those in the right, went after *Iudas*, and inclosed him on the back-part. Hee being vnable to flie, and seeing himselfe inclosed by his enemies, resolued with his souldiers to fight it out. When as therefore hee had slaine a great number of his enemies, and being infeebled more through wearinesse, then by the wounds receiued of them, hee fell to the ground, and was himselfe at last slaine likewise: adding this honourable manner of death to his former notable and valiant exploits. His souldiers seeing him dead, and hauing no Gouernour of respect left amongst them after the losse of so valiant a Captaine, betooke them all to flight. *Simon* and *Ionathan* his brothers vpon intreatie recouered his body, and carried it to Modim (a place where his father was buried) there was hee interred by all the people, who wept for him diuers dayes, and honoured him publikely according to the custome of their countrey. Such was *Iudas* end, who was a valiant man, a great warrier and very respectiue of the commandements of his father *Matthias*, hauing done and suffered all that he might for the libertie of his countrey. Being therefore after this manner adorned with vertue, he hath left behind him a perpetuall renowne of his worthy acts, and an honourable memory of himselfe obtained by the libertie, in which hee reestablished his nation, retyring them from the seruitude of the Macedonians: who dyed also after he had discharged the office of the high Priest, for the space of three yeeres.

Iudas dispersed the enemies army, killeth some, and at last is slaine himselfe.

Iudas is buried in Modim.

THE

THE THIRTEENTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES: WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the thirteenth Booke.

1 Ionathan, *after his brother* Iudas *death, ſucceedeth him in the gouernment.*
2 Ionathan *hauing wearied* Bacchides *by warre, compelleth him to draw to a league, and to depart away with his army.*
3 Alexander *the ſonne of* Antiochus Epiphanes, *maketh warre vpon King* Demetrius.
4 Demetrius *ſendeth an Embaſſadour to* Ionathan *with preſents, perſwading him to be of his faction.*
5 Alexander *by greater proffers then* Demetrius *did offer, and by offering the high Prieſts place to* Ionathan, *draweth him to fauour his faction.*
6 *Of the Temple of God builded by* Onias.
7 *How* Alexander, *after the death of* Demetrius, *highly honoured* Ionathan.
8 Demetrius *the ſonne of* Demetrius, *ouercomming* Alexander, *poſſeſſeth the kingdome, and plighteth friendſhip with* Ionathan.
9 Tryphon Apamenus, *after he had ouercome* Demetrius, *reſerueth the kingdome for* Antiochus, Alexanders *ſonne, who receiueth* Ionathan *into fauour.*
10 Demetrius *being ouercome by the Parthians,* Tryphon *breaketh his couenant of peace, and laying hold on* Ionathan, *traiterouſly killeth him, and afterwards aſſaulteth* Simon *his brother.*
11 *How the nation of the Iewes committed both the Prieſthood and the Gouernment of the army to* Simon.
12 Simon *driuing* Tryphon *into Dora, beſiegeth him, and entreth friendſhip with* Antiochus *ſurnamed* Pius.
13 *A debate ariſing betweene* Antiochus *and* Simon, Cendebæus *the Kings Captaine is driuen out of the countrey.*
14 *How* Simon *was traiterouſly ſlaine at a banquet by* Ptolomey *his father in law.*
15 *How* Ptolomies *endeauours being made fruſtrate,* Hircanus *obtaineth the gouernment.*
16 *How* Antiochus *ſurnamed the Iuſt, leading an armie againſt* Hircanus, *for three hundreth talents is both reconciled and tyed in league of friendſhip.*
17 Hircanus *expedition into Syria.*
18 *How* Antiochus Cyzicenus *aſſiſting the Samaritanes, is both conquered and enforced to flie.*
19 Ariſtobulus *was the firſt that ſet the Diadem on his head.*
20 *The acts of* Alexander *King of the Iewes.*
21 *The victory of* Ptolomey Lathurus *againſt* Alexander.
22 Demetrius Eucærus *ouercommeth* Alexander *in battell.*
23 *The expedition of* Antiochus Dionyſius *into Iewry.*
24 Alexander *being dead, his wife* Alexandra *ſucceeded him in the kingdome.*

CHAP. I.

IONATHAN *after the deceaſe of his brother* IVDAS, *ſucceedeth him in the gouernment.*

WE haue declared in our former booke, how the nation of the Iewes (after they had beene vnder the ſubiection of the Macedonians) recouered their libertie: wee haue likewiſe diſcouered the great and grieuous conflicts, which *Iudas* their Captaine performed, and in which he finally died in the behalfe of their libertie: how likewiſe (after the death of *Iudas*) all the wicked Apoſtate Iewes, who had reuolted from their religion, tooke courage, moleſting and doing many iniuries to the reſt of their countreymen. Finally, how beſides their malice, the famine inuaded the countrey; ſo that diuers being vnable to ſuſtaine theſe two

The yeere of the world, 3805. before Chriſts Natiuity, 159.

The yeere of the world, 3805 before Christs Natiuitie. 159.

mortall ſcourges of famine & war, were cõſtrained to ſubmit themſelues vnto the Macedonians. In the meane while, *Bacchides* gathering togethe the falſe Apoſtataes (who were falne from the religion of the Iewes, with an intent to liue after the prophane manner of the Paganes) committed the gouernment of the countrey vnto them: who laying hold on *Iudas* friends and partakers, betrayed and deliuered them to *Bacchides:* who firſt of all tormented and beat them at his pleaſure, and afterwards put them to death. This ſo grieuous affliction (then which the Iewes had neuer endured a worſe, ſince their returne from Babylon) was the cauſe that thoſe of *Iudas* faction, who were yet aliue, fearing the totall and cruell ruine of their nation, addreſſed themſelues to *Ionathan* his brother, exhorting him to imitate his brother *Iudas* vertues, and to haue no leſſe care of his countreymen, then the other had; who fought for their libertie vntill his laſt breath, requiring him not to abandon the gouernment of his nation, eſpecially in that ſo miſerable eſtate wherein they were plunged. *Ionathan* anſwered them, that hee was ready to die for them, and being in all things eſteemed no leſſe valiant and politique then his brother *Iudas*, he was proclaimed Generall and Chieftaine of the Iewes.

The Iewes compelled by the Apoſtates and by famine, ſubmit themſelues to the Macedonians.

Bacchides murthereth thoſe of Iudas faction.

Ionathan by the publike inſtigation of the Iewes vndertaketh the gouernment.

Bacchides hauing notice hereof, feared leſt *Ionathan* ſhould be no leſſe infeſtuous to the King and Macedonians, then his brother *Iudas* before him had beene; for which cauſe he ſought the meanes to make him away by Treaſon. But both *Ionathan* and his brother *Simon* gat intelligence hereof; and hauing diſcouered his practice, they tooke all their families with them, and fled into the deſart that confined the Citie Ieruſalem: and retiring themſelues neere vnto a water called the lake of Aſphar, they remained in that place. When *Bacchides* perceiued that they miſtruſted him, and were driuen thither; he went out againſt them with all his forces, and being encamped on the other ſide of Iordan, hee gathered his army together. *Ionathan* knowing well that *Bacchides* came out to ſeeke him, ſent his brother *Iohn* (ſurnamed *Gaddis*) vnto the Arabians Nabatheans, to commit the truſt of their goods vnto their hand, vntill the end of the warre betwixt him and *Bacchides:* for the Arabians were his friends. Whileſt therefore *Iohn* marched towards the Nabatheans the ſonnes of *Amaræus* laid an ambuſcado for him (who were of the Citie of Medaba) and after they had furiouſly ſet vpon him on the way, and laid hold on whatſoeuer he brought with him, they at length ſlew him and all his company: for which fact of theirs, they were ſhortly after puniſhed by his brethren, as we will make manifeſt in that which afterward followeth.

Bacchides draweth out his forces againſt Ionathan.

Iohn the brother of Iudas is ſlaine by Amars ſonne.

Bacchides aſſaileth Ionathan on the Sabbath day, and loſeth two thouſand of his men.

When *Bacchides* knew that *Ionathan* was incamped in the marſhes of Iordan, he made choice of the Sabbath day to ſet vpon him, hoping that he would not defend himſelfe on that day, becauſe of the prohibition of the law. But he contrary to his expectation, incouraged his companions, and declared vnto them how it concerned their liues to be valiant, for that it was impoſſible for them to eſcape, becauſe they were ſhut vp in the midſt betwixt the flood and the enemy: for they had the enemy before them, and the flood on their backes. As ſoone therefore as hee had made his prayer vnto God, that it might pleaſe him to grant him the victory, he ſet vpon the enemie with a ſtout courage, and ſlew a great number of them: and perceiuing *Bacchides* how with great fierceneſſe hee ſet forward againſt him, he ſtretched out his right hand to ſtrike him; but he preuenting the ſtroke by ſtepping aſide, *Ionathan* and his companions leapt into the riuer, and ſo ſaued themſelues by ſwimming ouer to the other ſide of Iordan, becauſe the enemies durſt not paſſe the water to purſue them. Whereupon *Bacchides* returned incontinently to the Caſtle of Ieruſalem (after he had loſt about ſome two thouſand of his men.) After this, he fortified diuers Cities (which were beforetime ruinated) namely Iericho, Emaus, Betheron, Bethella, Thamnata, Pharathon, Techoa, and Gazara, and builded in euery one of them certaine towers, and great and ſtrong walles, and afterwards he planted garriſons therein, to ſally out vpon the Iewes, and vexe them; but in eſpeciall he fortified the Cittadel of Ieruſalem, in which he kept for hoſtages the children of the principalleſt men of Iudæa.

The Caſtle of Ieruſalem fortified.

Simon reuengeth his brother Iohns blood, on the ſonnes of Amaræus.

About that time there came a certaine man to *Ionathan* and his brother *Simon*, bringing them newes that the ſonnes of *Amaræus* would ſolemnize their nuptials, and were to lead the bride from the Citie of Gabatha, which was daughter to one of the nobleſt amongſt the Arabians: for which cauſe ſhe ſhould be conducted with great magnificence and ſumptuous pompe. *Ionathan* and his brother, ſuppoſing that a fit opportunity, was offered them to reuenge their brothers death, and to puniſh the Medabanes for the wrongs they had done vnto their brother, they tooke with them the greateſt forces that they could, and marched towards Medaba; where they lay in ambuſh vnder the couert of a mountaine. But when they ſaw them that led the bride and accompanied the bridegroome, and a great troupe of their friends likewiſe, according to the accuſtomed

customed manner of marriages, they brake out of their couert, and put them all to the ſword; and after they had ſeized their Iewels, and all other bootie of that company that followed them, they retired backe againe ioyfully hauing obtained their purpoſe: and thus reuenged they the death of their brother *Iohn* vpon the ſonnes of *Amaræus*. For not onely theſe alone, but their friends that accompanied them, with their wiues and children, were all of them ſlaine, to the number of foure hundreth. And in this manner *Simon* and *Ionathan* returned into the marſhes aforeſaid, and aboad there. But *Bacchides* hauing fortified all the garriſons of Iudæa, returned backe vnto the King. And at that time the eſtate of the Iewes was in peace for the ſpace of well-ny two yeeres.

The yeere of the world, 3808. before Chriſts Nativitie, 156.

But the wicked, and ſuch as were reuolted from the religion of the Iewes, ſeeing that *Ionathan* and his followers conuerſed in the countrey in great aſſurance, by reaſon of the peace; they ſent certaine Embaſſadors vnto King *Demetrius*, requiring him to ſend them *Bacchides*, who might apprehend *Ionathan*, declaring that it might eaſily bee done, and that in one night breaking in vpon them, he might murther them all before they were aware. When *Bacchides* by the Kings commandement came into Iury, he wrote vnto all his friends both Iewes & alſo his other allies, requiring them to lay hold on *Ionathan*: but when by no policie nor proweſſe of theirs, they were able to apprehend him (for that *Ionathan* hauing notice of their ambuſhes, ſtood vpon his guard) *Bacchides* the Macedonian was diſpleaſed with the Apoſtataes or fugitiues, obiecting againſt them that they had deceiued both the King and him, and laying hold on fiftie of the principalleſt of them, he put them to death. But *Ionathan* and his brother, with thoſe of their company, retired themſelues vnto Bethalaga (a certaine village in the deſart) for feare of *Bacchides*, in which place he builded towers, and walles to keepe his garriſon in more ſecuritie. *Bacchides* vnderſtanding hereof, tooke the army that hee had with him, and thoſe Iewes that were his confederates, and marched forward againſt *Ionathan*; where battering thoſe fortifications that were made by him, he beſieged him for many daies. But *Ionathan* for all his buſie ſiege and violence, was not a whit terrified, but reſiſted him valiantly; and leauing his brother *Simon* in the Citie to make head againſt *Bacchides*, he ſecretly ſtole out, and gathered a great number of ſouldiers that fauoured his proceedings, and in the night time with valiant courage brake into *Bacchides* campe; and after he had there ſlaine a number of them, he gaue his brother *Simon* notice of his comming: who, aſſoone as he heard the noiſe in the enemies campe, haſtily iſſued forth with his ſouldiers, and burnt all the Macedonians engines, and for his part alſo made a great ſlaughter of them. *Bacchides* ſeeing that he was circumuented by his enemies, and that both before and behind he was preſſed by them, being aſtoniſhed at this ſo hard, ſudden and vnexpected encounter, was almoſt out of his wits; ſo ſore was he confuſed at the iſſue of his ſiege, that fell out altogether contrary to his expectation: for which cauſe he diſcharged all his choler vpon thoſe Apoſtataes, (ſuppoſing he was abuſed by them, who had ſent vnto the King and had cauſed him to be ſent thither:) and full gladly would he haue returned home, could he but make an end of the ſiege without his diſhonour.

Demetrius by the ſollicitation of the fugitiues ſendeth Bacchides againſt Ionathan with an army.

Bacchides diſpleaſed with the Apoſtates for that they could not ſurprize Ionathan, killeth fiftie of them.

Ionathan and his brother beſieged in Bethalaga.

Ionathan ſtealing out of the Citie, aſſaileth Bacchides by night.

Bacchides reuengeth himſelfe on the fugitiues, and is inforced to retreat.

CHAP. II.

IONATHAN *conſtraineth* BACCHIDES *to make peace with the Iewes, and to depart out of the countrey.*

BVT *Ionathan* knowing his deliberation: ſent an Embaſſadour vnto him to conclude a peace and amitie betwixt them, with this condition; that they ſhould each of them deliuer vp thoſe priſoners that were taken on either ſide. *Bacchides* ſuppoſing that his requeſt would be to his great honour, and that a fit occaſion was now offered him, whereupon he might raiſe his ſiege without any diſgrace, promiſed *Ionathan* his friendſhip; ſo that both of them ſwore from that time forward neuer to make warre the one againſt the other; and each of them both receiued, and reſtored their priſoners. Thus returned *Bacchides* into Antioch vnto his King, and after that retreat hee neuer made warre againe vpon Iudæa. But *Ionathan* hauing obtained this ſecuritie, went and dwelt in the towne of Machmas: where adminiſtring and gouerning the Common-weale, he executed ſuch ſeuere iuſtice on thoſe that were reuolted from the religion of their countrey, that he cleanſed the nation of all ſuch kinde of men.

1. Mac. 9.

Bacchides maketh peace with Ionathan.

Ionathan liueth at Machmas puniſhing the wicked.

CHAP.

The yeere of the world, 3813. before Christs Natiuitie, 151.

CHAP. III.

ALEXANDER *the sonne of* ANTIOCHVS EPIPHANES, *maketh warre against* DEMETRIVS.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 11. Alexander the sonne of Antiochus Epiphanes commeth into Syria, and seizeth Ptolomais.

IN the hundreth and sixtie yeere, *Alexander* the sonne of *Antiochus* the Famous came into Syria, and seized the City of Ptolemais, by treason of those souldiers that were therein; who were ill affected towards *Demetrius*, by reason of his arrogancy, which was such, that hee granted no man accesse vnto him: for beeing locked vp in a royall fort defenced with foure towers (which himselfe had builded neere vnto Antioch) he suffered no man to approach his presence, but was careleſse and wholly negligent in his affaires; liuing in pleasure and idleneſse: whereby he grew into great hatred amongst his subiects, as we haue already declared in another place. Now when *Demetrius* knew that *Alexander* had seized Ptolemais, hee gathered all his forces and marched forth against him.

CHAP. IIII.

DEMETRIVS *couenanteth a peace with* IONATHAN.

Demetrius warre against Alexander. 1 *Machab.* 10.

MORE OVER, he sent Embassadors vnto *Ionathan*, that might confirme an alliance and ratifie a friendship betwixt them: for he determined with himselfe to preuent *Alexander*, for feare lest he capitulating with him first of all, should obtaine his assistants. And this did he especially for the feare he had of *Ionathan*, lest remembring those iniuries he had beforetime receiued at his hands, he should oppose himselfe against him. Hee therefore sent vnto him requiring him to assemble his forces, and to make preparation for the warre: commanding likewise, that those Iewes should be deliuered into his possession, whom *Bacchides* had shut vp for hostages in the fortresse of Ierusalem. After that *Demetrius* had demeaned himselfe in this sort, *Ionathan* resorted to Ierusalem, and in the presence of all the people, and of the garrison that was in the fortresse, he read the Kings Letters; and after the reading thereof, the curſed and reuolted Iewes that were in the fortresse were sore afraid, seeing that the King permitted *Ionathan* to leuy an army, and to receiue the hostages. But he receiuing them into his hands, restored each of them to their fathers and mothers: and by this meanes remained *Ionathan* in Ierusalem, where he made diuers reparations and buildings, according as him pleased. For he builded the Citie walles of hewne stone, to make them more forcible against the assaults of warre. Which when they perceiued who were in the garrisons thorowout all Iudæa, they forsooke them all, and retired backe to Antioch, except they that were in the Citie of Bethsura, and those in the fortresse of Ierusalem: for they consisted for the most part of those Iewes that had abandoned their religion, who for that occasion feared to forsake their garrisons.

The Macedonians forsaking their garrisons, resort to Antioch.

CHAP. V.

ALEXANDER *draweth* IONATHAN *to his partie.*

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 8.

BVT *Alexander* knowing what promises *Demetrius* had made vnto *Ionathan*, and being well assured how valiant he was, and how hee behaued himselfe against the Macedonians; moreouer how hee was vexed by *Demetrius* and his Lieutenant *Bacchides*: Hee told his friends and familiars that it was impossible for him to meet with a better allie at that time then *Ionathan*, who had approoued himselfe a valiant man against his enemies, and for particular causes bare hatred against *Demetrius*, from whom he had receiued many iniuries, and on whom hee had wrought sundry reuenges: for which cause if they thought it good to draw him vnto their side against *Demetrius*; the time was very fit to entertaine and confirme a mutuall peace betweene them: which aduice of his being approoued by his fauorites; he sent a Letter vnto *Ionathan* to this effect: King *Alexander* to *Ionathan* his brother, Health: We haue long sithence vnderstood of your valour and fidelitie, which hath caused vs to send our Embassadors vnto you, to intreat with you of alliance and amitie betwixt vs; and from this day forward, we elect and ordaine you hie Priest of the Iewes, & receiue you into the number of our chiefest friends. Moreouer in way of present, I send you a purple robe, and a crowne of gold, exhorting you, that since you are thus honoured by vs, you will in like sort yeeld vs an answerable respect and friendship. *Ionathan* hauing receiued this Letter, inuested himselfe in the habit of the high Priest, and the day

Alexander endeuoureth to draw Ionathan to his faction, by presenting him with the high Priesthood.

of

A of the feast of the Tabernacles, which was the fourth yeere after the death of his brother *Iudas*. (For during all that time there had not beene any high Priest.) He assembled also a great number of souldiers, and caused a great quantitie of armours and weapons to be forged. *The yeere of the world, 3813. before Christs Nativitie. 151.*

When *Demetrius* heard these newes, hee was much troubled, and accused himselfe of sloth and too much negligence in looking to his affaires, for that hee had not preuented *Alexander* in the courteous entertainment of *Ionathan*, but had suffered him to take the benefit of this occasion. He sent Letters likewise to *Ionathan* and the people, containing that which followeth: King *Demetrius* to *Ionathan*, and to all the nation of the Iewes, Health. Since you haue obserued the friendship that you beare vnto vs, and haue not intangled your selues with our enemies, notwithstanding their diuers sollicitations, we praise your fidelitie, and pray you to persеuere in the same estate, assuring you that you shall receiue the like fauours from vs, in all integritie. For I will forgiue you the greater part of the tributes and taxes that you haue vsually paid, either to the Kings my predecessors, or to me; and from this time forward, I acquit you from those tributes you are to pay hereafter. And moreouer, I release you of the price of salt, and of the gold which you were wont to giue vnto vs for our Crowne. We likewise acquit you of the thirds of the fruit of your lands, and the halfe of the fruit of your trees, which heretofore you haue beene accustomed to pay me, to keepe and hold them peaceably from this time forward. I acquit you also at this present for euer, of all that which the inhabitants of Iudæa, and the three Prouinces annexed thereunto, Samaria, Galilee, and Peræa, are bound to pay me; willing and commanding that the C City of Ierusalem be held sacred, and to haue the right of the freedome, except from all tributes and tenths, both in it selfe, and also all the countrey belonging thereunto. And I commit the fortresse in the same to the hands of *Ionathan* the high Priest, permitting him to plant such a garrison therein, as in his opinion shall be held both honest and lawfull; and such as will faithfully maintaine it to his vse. I will also that all the Iewes, who are imprisoned in my countrey, be set at libertie. Moreouer, it is my pleasure, that no horses of the Iewes be taken vp to runne poast for vs: I grant also on the Sabbaths, and other festiuall daies; yea, three daies also before euery one of those feasts, liberty and freedome be vsed. And my will is, that the Iewes, who inhabit within my dominions, be likewise freed of all molestations. The like priuiledge grant I them that will beare armes with me, to the number of thirtie thousand: who in what place soeuer they shall be, D shall haue no worser entertainment then mine owne army: and part of them will I place in my garrisons; the rest shall be of my guard; and I will make them Captaines in my Court, and will permit them to liue according to the ordinances of their countrey, which they shall obserue: and I will also that the three gouernments annexed to Iudæa be made subiect vnto the same lawes. My pleasure is in like manner, that the high Priest shall take order, that no Iew adore in any other Temple then in Ierusalem, and of my owne charge I giue euery yeere a hundreth and fiftie thousand sicles of siluer to be imployed in making sacrifices: and that which shall bee ouer and aboue those sacrifices, my pleasure is that it shall be yours. Moreouer, I acquit the Priests and Ministers of the Temple, of the ten thousand drachmes of siluer (which the Kings leuied on the Temple) becausе they appertaine vnto the Priests who serue in the Temple; as I haue bin rightly informed. I grant also to all those who shall repaire vnto the Temple of Ierusalem, for refuge, and within the precincts thereof (whether it be for money due vnto the King, or for any other cause) that they be acquit thereof, and receiue not any damage in their goods. I permit also, that the Temple be repaired and builded at my charge. My will is also, that the walles of the City be reedified, and that certaine towers be builded about the same, at my costs. Furthermore, if there be any places fit to build fortresses and strong holds in, thorow all the countrey of Iudæa, and to place garrisons in them, my will is that all this be done and fortified, at the charges leuied out of mine owne coffers. These are the promises and offers that *Demetrius* made vnto the Iewes.

Demetrius studieth by promises to assure himself of Ionathans friendship.

The battell betweene Alexander and Demetrius, and of Demetrius death.

But King *Alexander* hauing gathered great forces, as well of strange and hired souldiers, as of those who in Syria had reuolted from *Demetrius*, let forth his whole army against the enemy; and after the ensignes were displayed and the onset giuen, the left wing of *Demetrius* compelled *Alexanders* souldiers that fought against it to flie; and his men pursuing them hard at heeles, spoiled their campe. But the right wing in which the King himselfe was, being forced to retire, was discomfited: and as for the rest, they betooke them all to flight; but *Demetrius* fighting valiantly, slew some of his enemies, and in pursuing other some, who could not endure his fierce assault, was in the end, by setting spurres to his horse, mainely carried into a deepe and muddie bogge, whereinto by misaduenture his horse fell, and being vnable to get out, he was slaine in that place. For being discouered by his enemies, they turned backe vpon him; and hauing inclosed him they,

The yeere of the world, 3813. before the Natiuitie of Christ, 151.

they altogether ſhot their arrowes againſt him: who being on foot and fighting valiantly, was G at length ſlaine, after he had receiued diuers wounds, and was no more able to ſuſtaine himſelfe. Thus dyed *Demetrius*, who departed this life the eleuenth yeere of his raigne, as we haue diſcourſed in another place.

CHAP. VI.

ONIAS *winneth the fauour of* PTOLOMEY PHILOMETOR, *and obtaineth leaue of him to build a Temple in Egypt, which was called the Temple of* ONIAS.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap 4. Onias the ſon of Onias the high Prieſt ſeeketh to build a Temple in Egypt.

BVT *Onias* the ſonne of the high Prieſt, called alſo *Onias* (who flying out of his countrey liued in Alexandria, with *Ptolomey Philometor*, as wee haue heeretofore declared) ſeeing all Iudæa deſtroyed by the Macedonians, and their Kings; and intending in his heart to purchaſe an immortall memory, hee determined to beſeech the King *Ptolomey*, and the Queene *Cleopatra* by Letters, that it might be lawfull for him to build a Temple in Ægypt, reſembling in all points that which was at Ieruſalem, and that hee might haue libertie to plant Leuites and Prieſts in the ſame, of his owne kinred: And hereunto was he eſpecially mooued, by a certaine prophecy of *Eſay*, who more then ſixe hundreth yeeres before, had foretold that a Temple ſhould be aſſuredly builded in Ægypt, in honour of the Almightie God, by a Iew. Being therefore incited by this Oracle, hee wrote a Letter to *Ptolomey* and *Cleopatra*, to this effect:

The yeer of the world, 3814. before Chriſts Natiuity, 150.

During the time that I was imployed in your warres, and by Gods fauourable aſſiſtance haue
» done you many ſeruices, I haue viſited Cœloſyria and Phœnicia, and haue beene in the Citie of
» Leontopolis (which is in the territories of Heliopolis.) I haue alſo viſited diuers other places,
» wherein the Iewes haue Temples, againſt all right and honeſtie: which is the cauſe that they
» agree not among themſelues: as alſo the like hath hapned among the Ægyptians, through the
» multitude of temples, and the great diuerſitie of religions. And hauing found out a very con-
» uenient place neere a Caſtle called Bubaſtis in the Plaine, where there is ſtore of all ſorts of
» ſtuffe for building and cattell fit for ſacrifice: I beſeech you that it may be lawfull for me to pu-
» rifie the temple that is leuelled in that place with the ground, and dedicated to no ſacred pow-
» er; and that in the place thereof, it may be lawfull for me to erect and build a Temple in ho-
» nour of the higheſt God, according to the patterne and the ſame dimenſions of that Temple,
» which is in Ieruſalem, for the preſeruation and proſperitie both of you, your Queene, and chil-
» dren; and to the intent that thoſe Iewes that dwell in Ægypt may aſſemble and ſerue God there-
» in; for that by how much the more there is vnitie and concord among themſelues, by ſo much
» the more may they be diſpoſed to your ſeruice. For to this effect is the prophecy of *Eſay*, which
» ſaith thus: *There ſhall be* (ſaith he) *a Temple for our Lord God in Egypt:* many other things alſo
» hath he foretold as touching this place.

This is the effect of that which *Onias* wrote vnto King *Ptolomey*. And by his anſwer which he made hereunto, a man may eaſily coniecture what pietie was both in him, and *Cleopatra* his ſiſter, and wife. For they haue returned the ſin and tranſgreſſion of the law, which through this meanes fell vpon *Onias* head, by this anſwer that enſueth: King *Ptolomey* and Queene *Cleopatra* to *Onias* the
» high Prieſt, health. We haue peruſed your Letters, by which you require vs to giue you licence
» to cleanſe the Temple, that is defaced at Leontopolis, in the ſeigniory of Heliopolis, in the place
» called Bubaſtis in the Plaine. We maruell very much, that a Temple builded in a place ſo vn-
» cleane and full of execrable beaſts, ſhould be agreeable vnto God: but ſince that you informe vs,
» that the Prophet *Eſay* did long time ſithence prophecy the ſame, we giue you licence, if it may
» be done according to the law, and with this condition, that we commit not any ſin againſt God.

A Temple builded in Ægypt by Ptolomies conſent.

Vpon this anſwer, *Onias* (taking poſſeſſion of the place) builded therein a Temple, and erected an Altar vnto God, according to the module of the Temple of Ieruſalem; but farre leſſe, and leſſe rich. Yet thinke I it no wayes requiſit to declare the dimenſions thereof, neither the veſſels in the ſame, becauſe I deſcribe them particularly in my ſeuenth booke of the warres, and captiuitie of the Iewes: neither wanted there ſome Leuites and Prieſts, who being anſwerable to *Onias* in deuotion and zeale, frequented the Diuine Seruice in that place, and renued the ceremonies. But let this ſuffice for the preſent as touching the Temple.

The warres of the Iewes, *lib. 7. cap. 37.*

Sedition betwixt the Iewes and Samaritanes, as touching their Temple.

But it came to paſſe, that the Iewes of Alexandria, and the Samaritanes that brought in the ſeruice and worſhip of the Temple vpon the mount Garizim, vnder Alexander the great, fell at oddes, and debated their differents before *Ptolomey*. For the Iewes ſaid that the Temple in Ieruſalem

ſalem builded,according to *Moſes* lawes and ordinances,was the lawfull Temple;but the Samaritanes maintained,that that which was builded on mount Garizim,was the true Temple. They therefore beſought the King that it would pleaſe him to ſit in iudgement, with the aſſiſtance of his friends,to heare their allegations in this behalfe,and to condemne the party vnto death,who ſhould be found faulty in his proceſſe. Now the aduocates which pleaded for the Samaritanes, were *Sabbæus* and *Theodoſius:* and *Andronicus* the ſonne of *Meſſalam* defended the cauſe of thoſe of Ieruſalem, and the other Iewes. And both of them ſwore both by God and the King, that they would bring their prooues according to the law, beſeeching *Ptolomey* to adiudge him to death,whom he ſhould finde to haue falſified his oath. The King therefore ſate downe with his friends, both to heare the cauſe,and determine vpon their differents. But the Iewes of Alexandria were ſore mooued and diſpleaſed againſt them, that had drawne the preeminence of the Temple in Ieruſalem into queſtion,and were highly diſcontent that a Temple ſo ancient and famous, and ſo eſteemed and honoured thorow the whole world, ſhould in ſuch ſort bee diſgraced. When as therefore the day of audience was come, *Sabbæus* and *Theodoſius* ſuffered *Andronicus* to declaime firſt:who began to approoue the lawfulneſſe,holines,and religion of the Temple in Ieruſalem out of the Law;and by the ſucceſſiue gouernment of the high Prieſts,who from father to ſonne,and from hand to hand, had receiued this honour; therein alleadging that all the Kings of Aſia had honoured the Maieſtie of that place with preſents and rich oblations: wheras neither in record of men, nor courſe of antiquity, the Temple of Garizim had beene in any eſtimation. By theſe and ſuch like words, *Andronicus* perſwaded the King,that the Temple of Ieruſalem was builded according to the ordinance of *Moſes,* inuiting him to adiudge *Sabbæus* and *Theodoſius* to death. This may ſuffice as touching the differents of the Iewes of Alexandria, and ſuch things as befell them during *Ptolomey Philometors* time.

The yeere of the world, 3814. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 150.

CHAP. VII.

ALEXANDER *after* DEMETRIVS *death honoured* IONATHAN *greatly.*

AFTER that *Demetrius* was ſlaine in fight (according as wee haue heretofore declared) *Alexander* was King of Syria, who wrote to *Ptolomey Philometor,* requiring his daughter in marriage, telling him that it was a matter anſwerable to his dignity, to contract affinity with him; firſt,ſince he had obtained his fathers Empire by the fauour of God: and next,for that hee had ouercome *Demetrius. Ptolomey* yeelding a willing eare to theſe his demands, and entertaining them with great pleaſure,wrote backe that hee was very glad that he had recouered his fathers kingdome; promiſing him to giue him his daughter in marriage; giuing him to vnderſtand,that he would meete him at Ptolomais,and bring his daughter vnto him to that place, and there celebrate the nuptials. After he had written theſe letters, *Ptolomey* made his ſpeedie repaire to Ptolemais, and led with him his daughter *Cleopatra;* where meeting with *Alexander* (according to their appointment) he deliuered him his daughter,with ſuch a dowry of gold and ſiluer, as well beſeemed his Kingly magnificence. Vnto the ſolemnizing of this marriage, *Alexander* by letters inuited the High Prieſt *Ionathan,* commanding him to repaire vnto him to Ptolemais. Where,after he was arriued,and had both preſented his ſeruice with other magnificent preſents to both the Kings; hee was highly honoured by both,inſomuch as *Alexander* conſtrained him to put off his ordinary garments,and to put on a purple robe,and after that to ſit vpon a royall Throne; commanding his Captaines to march before him thorow the City; and to command by publike edict, that no man ſhould dare to ſpeake any thing againſt him; neither offer him any cauſe of diſcontent in what ſort ſoeuer. All which the Captains performed;ſo that they,who purpoſely and maliciouſly repaired thither to accuſe him, ſeeing the honour that was done vnto him by this publication, fled away haſtily, for feare leſt ſome miſhap ſhould befall them. This King *Alexander* loued *Ionathan* ſo intirely, that he affoorded him the chiefeſt place amongſt the number of his deareſt friends.

Hedio & Ruffinus, cha. 5. 1 *Mach.* 11. Alexander King of Syria marrieth Cleopatra, Ptolomeis daughter

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

DEMETRIVS *the ſonne of* DRMETRIVS *ouercommeth* ALEXANDER, *obtaineth the Kingdome, and contracteth friendſhip with* IONATHAN.

The yeere of the world, 3818. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 146.

IN the hundreth, ſixty and fift yeere (of the raigne of the Greekes) *Demetrius* the ſonne of *Demetrius* (accompanied with diuers hired ſouldiers, whom *Laſthenes Candidot* furniſhed him with) departed out of Candia, and came into Cilicia. Which newes as ſoone as *Alexander* heard, he was grieuouſly vexed and troubled: for which cauſe he inſtantly poſted from Phœnicia to Antioch, with intent to aſſure the affaires of his kingdome in that place, before the arriuall of *Demetrius*. He left behind him for his Gouernour in Cœloſyria *Apollonius Danus*: who comming vnto Iamnia with a great army, ſent a meſſenger vnto the High Prieſt *Ionathan*, ſignifying vnto him, that it was not conuenient that he onely ſhould liue in aſſurance at his owne eaſe and in authority, without ſubmitting himſelfe vnto a King; and that it was a great indignity for him in all mens eyes, for that he had not inforced himſelfe to ſtoope vnder the obedience of a King. For which cauſe (ſaid he) deceiue not thy ſelfe, neither hope thou by ſculking in the mountaines, or depending on thy forces, to continue thy greatnes; but if thou truſteſt to thy power, come downe into the field, and encounter with me and my army in the Plaine, to the end that the iſſue of the victory may ſhew which of vs is moſt valiant. Be not thou ſo ignorant that the nobleſt of euery City beare armes vnder one, who haue alwaies ouercome thy predeceſſors. For which cauſe I challenge thee to meete me in that place where we may vſe our ſwords and no ſtones; and where the vanquiſhed ſhall haue no aduantage by his flight. *Ionathan* whetted by this bitter meſſage, choſe out ten thouſand of his beſt ſouldiers, and departed from Ieruſalem accompanied with his brother *Simon*, and came vnto Ioppe, and encamped without the City (becauſe the Citizens had ſhut the gates againſt him) for they had a garriſon planted in that place by *Apollonius*. But as ſoon as he addreſſed himſelfe to batter the Citie, the inhabitants were afraid, for feare leſt he ſhould ſurprize the ſame by force, & for that cauſe they opened him the gates. *Apollonius* vnderſtanding that Ioppe was taken by *Ionathan*, he tooke three thouſand horſemen, and eight thouſand footemen with him, & came into Azot; whence he departed, leading out his army with a ſober march, foote by foote; and arriuing at Ioppe, he retired backe to draw *Ionathan* into the field, aſſuring himſelfe vpon his horſemen, and grounding his hope of victory vpon them. But *Ionathan* iſſuing out boldly, purſued *Apollonius* as far as Azot: who finding himſelfe in the champaine field, turned back vpon him and charged him. *Ionathan* was in no ſort abaſhed to ſee the thouſand horſemen, that *Apollonius* had laid in ambuſh neere vnto a certaine ſtreame, to the end they might charge the Iewes behind, but diſpoſed his army in ſuch ſort, that his ſouldiers on euery ſide turned their faces vpon the enemie; commanding his men to defend themſelues on both ſides, fighting with thoſe that aſſailed them either in the vantguard or the rereward. This battell continued vntill euening, and *Ionathan* had giuen his brother *Simon* a part of his forces, charging him to ſet vpon the enemies battell: as for himſelfe, he drew himſelfe and his ſouldiers into a forme of a battalion reſembling a Tortuſe, to the end that being couered with their bucklers, ioyned the one with the other, they might beare off the horſemens arrowes: to which all of them ſhewed themſelues obedient. The enemies horſemen ſhooting all their arrowes againſt them, did them no harme; for they pierced not as farre as the fleſh, but lighting vpon the bucklers (enclozed and faſtned the one within the other) they were eaſily beaten backe and borne off, and fell downe being ſhot all in vaine. But when as the enemies were wearied with ſhooting from betimes in the morning vntill euening, and that *Simon* perceiued they could charge no further, he ſet vpon them with his ſouldiers ſo couragiouſly, that he put them all to flight. The horſemen of *Apollonius* perceiuing that the footmen were diſarraid, grew heartleſſe likewiſe, and wearied alſo, for that they had fought vntill the euening: and hauing loſt the hope that they had in their footemen, they tooke their flight in great diſorder and confuſion: ſo that they brake their rankes of themſelues, and were ſcattered thorow all the plaine. *Ionathan* alſo purſued them as farre as Azot, and taking the City by aſſault, he ſlew diuers of them, conſtraining the reſt that were in deſpaire to flie into the Temple of Dagon, which is in Azot; and taking the City by aſſault, he burned it with the villages round about, and ſpared not the Temple of Dagon, but burned it and all thoſe that were therin. The number as well of thoſe that were ſlain in the battell, as of thoſe that were conſumed by fire in the Temple, was eight thouſand men. Hauing therefore in this ſort diſcomfited this army, he departed from Azot, and marched towards Aſcalon: and as he was encamped without the City, the Aſcalonites came out vnto him, and both preſented and honoured

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 6. Demetrius the ſonne of Demetrius paſſeth out of Greece into Cilicia, & ſeeketh to make himſelfe Lord of Syria.

A man confident in battel.

Apollonius fighteth with Ionathan, & is put to flight.

Ionathan purſueth the enemy as farre as Azot, and burneth Dagons temple, and killeth 8000. men.

red him. He willingly entertaining their good affection, departed from thence, and iournied towards Ieruſalem charged with great ſpoiles, which after his victory againſt his enemy, he draue before him, after he had ſpoiled the countrey.

The yeere of the world, 3818. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 146.

As ſoone as *Alexander* heard that *Apollonius* the Generall of his armie was diſcomfited, and forced to flie, he made a ſhew that he was glad thereof, pretending that it was againſt his will that *Ionathan* had beene moleſted by warre, who was both his friend and his ally. Whereupon he ſent an Embaſſadour vnto him, to ſignifie vnto him how much hee reioyced at his victory, offering him preſents and honours, with a chaine of gold, ſuch as the Kings were accuſtomed to giue to thoſe of their kinred: he likewiſe gaue him *Accaron* and the countrey therunto belonging, to him and his heires for euer.

Alexander ſendeth preſents to Ionathan.

About the ſame time King *Ptolomey Philometor* ſet out an army by ſea, and another by land, to repaire into Syria, and to ſuccour his ſonne in law *Alexander*: and in his way all the cities entertained him very affectionately, according as *Alexander* had commanded them, and conducted him as farre as the Citie of Azot: in which place all of them exclaimed before him, and challenged Iuſtice at his hand, for that the temple of Dagon was burned and deſtroied; accuſing *Ionathan* for the firing thereof, and the ſlaughter of many people therein. But *Ptolomey* hearing theſe accuſations, anſwered them not a word: But when *Ionathan* came to meete him at Ioppe, hee courted him with royall preſents, and all the honour that was poſſible, and after he had kept him company as farre as the flood called Eleutherus, he diſmiſſed him, and ſent him backe to Ieruſalem. When *Ptolomey* was come to Ptolemais, he hardly eſcaped death, and that contrary to all expectation by *Alexanders* owne complotting, and *Ammonius* his friends mediation: Which treacherie being diſcouered, *Ptolomey* wrote vnto *Alexander*, requiring him that *Ammonius* might be puniſhed for his treaſon and conſpiracies practiſed againſt him, which in their natures required a ſeuere and cruell puniſhment. But ſeeing that *Alexander* deliuered him not vp into his hands, he coniectured and concluded, that he himſelfe was the author thereof, and conceiued a hainous diſpleaſure againſt him. In like manner before that time *Alexander* had offended the Antiochians, by the meanes of the ſaid *Ammonius*, who had loaden them with many wrongs and incommodities: but in the end *Ammonius* was puniſhed for theſe his outragious miſdemeanors, and diſgracefully ſlaine like a woman, whileſt in a womans attire, he ſought to hide himſelfe, as we haue expreſſed it in another place.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 7. Ptolomey Philometor repaireth into Syria with an army to aſſiſt his ſon in law Alexander. Ionathan meeteth with Ptolomey, and is honourably entertained by him. Treaſon intended againſt Ptolomey, and diſcouered: for which cauſe he taketh away his daughter from Alexander, and giueth her to Demerius for his wife.

At that time *Ptolomey* began to accuſe himſelfe for beſtowing his daughter in marriage on *Alexander*, and for refuſing *Demetrius* to be his friend and confederate: ſo that hee brake off the affinity that he had with him; and after he had withdrawne his daughter from him, hee preſently ſent Embaſſadours vnto *Demetrius* to confirme a league of peace and affinity with him; promiſing him to beſtow his daughter vpon him in marriage, and to eſtabliſh him in his fathers kingdome. *Demetrius* very ioyfull to heare of this Embaſſage, accepted both of the confederation and marriage. There only remained one difficulty for *Ptolomey* to ſurmount, which was, how he might perſwade the Antiochians to admit *Demetrius*, againſt whom they were ſo grieuouſly incenſed, for the indignities which his father *Demetrius* had offered them; but this difficulty ouercame he by this meanes that enſueth. The Antiochians hated *Alexander*, becauſe of *Ammonius* (as we haue expreſſed heretofore) and by that meanes were the more eaſily drawne to driue him out of the City. Hee perceiuing himſelfe to bee thruſt out of Antioch, came into Cilicia. Whereupon *Ptolomey* came vnto Antioch, and was both by the Citizens and ſouldiers therein, proclaimed King, and was conſtrained to take two Diadems, the one as King of Aſia, the other as King of Ægypt. He was a man of a gentle and iuſt nature, no waies ambitious; but ſuch a one as prudently did forecaſt what was to enſue: ſtriuing by all meanes poſſible to auoid the hatred and iealouſie of the Romans. For which cauſe (aſſembling the Antiochians together, hee wrought ſo much with them, that at laſt hee perſwaded them to accept of *Demetrius*, aſſuring them that if he ſhould receiue that benefit at their hands, hee would no more keepe in memorie thoſe things that had fallen out betwixt them and his father: proteſting for his own part, that he would inſtruct him both how to order the courſe of his life honeſtly, & to mannage his publike affaires rightly; & promiſing them that if he attẽpted to work them any incouenient, he himſelfe would be the formoſt to chaſtiſe him; alledging for his own part that he would content himſelfe to be King of Ægypt. And by this meanes the Antiochians were induced to receiue *Demetrius*.

Ptolomey perſwaded the Antiochians to accept Demetrius for their King, and refuſed the Diadem of Aſia.

But when as *Alexander* was departed out of Cilicia, with a great army, and was come into Syria, and had burned and ſpoyled the countrey of the Antiochians, *Ptolomey* accompanyed with his ſonne *Demetrius* (for hee had already married his daughter vnto him) iſſued out with

The yeere of the world, 3818. before Christs Nativitie, 146.

their armies, and obtained a ioynt and mutuall victory, by ouercomming *Alexander*, who was constrained to flie into Arabia. It came to passe in that conflict, that *Ptolomeis* horse hearing the noise of an Elephant, was troubled and stumbled in such sort, as hee threw his master on the ground: which when his enemies perceiued, they ran all together vpon him, and gaue him diuers wounds in the head, whereby he was in danger to haue been slaine, vnlesse his guard had rescued him: notwithstanding hee was so sicke for foure daies space, that hee could neither heare nor speake. But *Zabel* the Potentate of Arabia beheaded *Alexander*, and sent his head vnto *Ptolomey*; who beeing somewhat come vnto himselfe after his wounds on the fift day, and hauing some knowledge, heard and saw together a thing both delightfull in his eare, and pleasant in his eye, which was the death and the head of his enemie. But some few daies after, he dyed himselfe, being full of ioy in that hee saw his enemies fall. This *Alexander* surnamed *Balles*, raigned for the space of fiue yeeres, as we haue elsewhere declared.

Alexander being ouercome, flieth into Arabia, and is slaine in that place. Ptolomeis death.

Demetrius surnamed *Nicanor*, hauing obtained the kingdome, began through his malice to dismember *Ptolomeis* army; forgetting both the confederacy and affinity that he had with him, by reason of *Cleopatra* his wife, who was *Ptolomeis* daughter. But the men of warre hating his ingratitude, fled into Alexandria to warrantize themselues from his wickednesse; notwithstanding they left the Elephants in his power and possession.

But the high Priest *Ionathan* hauing assembled an army of all the countrey of Iudæa, began to besiege the castle of Ierusalem, where there was a garrison of the Macedonians, and a great number of wicked Apostates that were fallen from the Iewish religion, who in the beginning set light by the engines that *Ionathan* had raised to surprize the place, in the strength whereof they reposed too much confidence: But in the end, some of these miscreants breaking out by night, came vnto *Demetrius* and certified him of the siege; who was sore displeased thereat, & taking a strong army with him, departed from Antioch to make warre vpon *Ionathan*. At such time as he came to Ptolemais, hee wrote to *Ionathan* and commanded him to come vnto him: notwithstanding *Ionathan* gaue not ouer the siege, but tooke the Elders and the Priests with him, with gold and siluer, robes, and a great quantity of presents to beare vnto *Demetrius*, and when he had deliuered them into his hands, he appeased his wrath; and after he had receiued many honors at his hands, he obtained the confirmation of his Priesthood, in as ample manner, as hee enioyed it during the time of his predecessours: And although the miscreant Iewes accused him, yet did not *Demetrius* giue them any credit. Moreouer, *Ionathan* requiring, that for the whole countrey of Iewry, and for the three gouernments of Samaria, Ioppe, and Galilee, hee might pay no more then three hundreth talents for tribute, he granted him a ful exemption, and wrote his letters patents in these tearmes: King *Demetrius* to *Ionathan* his brother, and to all the nation of the Iewes: Peace and Ioy. We haue sent you the copy of the letter, that we haue written to *Lasthenes*, our father, to the end you may know the contents thereof, which is this: King *Demetrius* to *Lasthenes* his father: Ioy and Peace. Because the people of the Iewes are our confederates, and obserue our ordinances, my intent is to requite their good affection, & to assigne them the three gouernments of Apherema, Lydda, and Ramatha, with their appurtenances, which haue beene taken from Samaria and annexed to Iudæa. Secoudly, we remit all that which our predecessors Kings receiued of them that sacrificed in Ierusalem: and other tributes likewise, which were gathered for the fruites of the earth and the trees; the tribute of the salt likewise, and the gold that was leuied for the Crowne: so that henceforward nothing hereof be exacted at their hands, either for the time present or to come. See you therefore giue order that the Copy of these our present letters be sent and deliuered to *Ionathan*, to be affixed in some open and conspicuous place in the sacred Temple. See here what he wrote at that time. *Demetrius* perceiuing that the countrey was in peace, and that he liued without feare of any warre, hee dismissed his army, and cashiered his souldiers; hiring onely certaine strangers (who were mustered out of Candy and other Iles) whereby it came to passe that his owne souldiers conceiued an enuie and hatred against him, in that hee gaue them no wages; whereas his predecessors maintained them as well in peace as in warre, to the end that they might be the more affectionate towards them; and that if need required to employ them, they might shew themselues more ready and couragious to fight for them.

Ionathan appeaseth Demetrius by presents.

Demetrius letters to Lasthenes, in which he bestoweth many priuiledges on the Iewes.

Demetrius incurreth the hatred of his souldiers by abridging their pay in time of peace.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

The yeere of the world, 3820. before Christs Natiuitie, 144.

TRYPHON APAMENVS *ouercommeth* DEMETRIVS, *and giueth the kingdome to* ANTIOCHVS *the ſonne of* ALEXANDER, *and plighteth friendſhip with with* IONATHAN.

A Certaine man called *Diodotus*, and by ſurname *Tryphon* (an Apamean by nation, and Generall of *Alexanders* army) hearing what mutiny there was amongſt *Demetrius* ſoldiers, came to *Malchus* the Arabian, who had the bringing vp of *Antiochus Alexanders* ſonne, and wrought as much as in him lay, that he would commit *Antiochus* to his truſt, to the intent he might make him King, and eſtabliſh him in the ſoueraigne gouernment which appertained to his father. And although vpon this firſt motion of his, he could hardly be drawne to beleeue it; yet not long after, by the continuall inſtance of *Tryphon* he was perſwaded to condeſcend, and ſuffered himſelfe to be drawne by his perſwaſions. See here what this man pretended at that time. But *Ionathan* the high Prieſt, diſiring that they within the cittadel of Ieruſalem, and thoſe wicked and Apoſtate Iewes, and in generall all thoſe that were in the garriſons thorowout all the countrey, might be diſplaced and diſmiſſed; he ſent Embaſſadors with rich preſents vnto *Demetrius*, beſeeching him to caſhire thoſe that were in garriſon in the fortreſſes of Iudæa: who not onely promiſed him that demand, but alſo matters of farre greater moment, after that warre which hee had then in hand, were determined. For the preſent troubles at that time, gaue him no leiſure to performe the ſame: he therefore praid him for the right of their friendſhip to ſend him ſome of his forces, giuing him to vnderſtand, that his army was reuolted. Whereupon *Ionathan* choſe out three thouſand fighting men, and ſent them vnto him. But the Antiochians hated *Demetrius*, both becauſe of the iniuries they had indured vnder him, as alſo for the hatred they had conceiued againſt his father, who had in like manner done them much wrong; ſo that they onely expected and watched their opportunitie to expulſe him. Vnderſtanding therefore that the ſuccours that *Ionathan* ſent vnto *Demetrius* were at hand; and foreſeeing that in ſhort time he would gather a great army, if they haſted not themſelues to preuent him betime; they betooke them to their weapons, and beſet the Kings Palace after the manner of a ſiege, and garded all the gates with an intent to lay hold on the King. Who ſeeing himſelfe roundly beſet by the armed multitude of the Antiochians, tooke thoſe hired ſouldiers (with thoſe whom *Ionathan* had ſent him) and charged them: but he was forced to retire; and ouercomne by them, who were aſſembled in that place to the number of many thouſands. For which cauſe the Iewes perceiuing that the Antiochians had the better hand, they mounted vpon the battlements of the Palace, and from thence darted and ſhot againſt them, without any endamagement to themſelues (by reaſon of the diſtance and height of the place where they were) notwithſtanding they gauled the people grieuouſly, in ſo much as they droue them from the houſes neere adioyning, which they incontinently ſet on fire, whereby the flame thereof was ſpred thorow the whole Citie; ſo that the houſes that were cloſe builded the one by the other, & for the moſt part framed of wood, were burnt downe to the ground. The Antiochians perceiuing that they could not remedy the fire, nor extinguiſh the ſame, betook them to flight, and the Iewes chaſing them from houſe to houſe, purſued them after an incredible manner. When the King perceiued that the Citizens of Antioch ranne heere and there to ſaue their wiues and children, and for that occaſion had giuen ouer the battell, he ſet vpon them in a certen narrow ſtreight, whereas diuers of them were ſlaine, and all at laſt enforced to caſt downe their weapons, and to yeeld themſelues to *Demetrius* mercy, who pardoning them their rebellion, pacified that ſedition. After this he rewards the Iewes with part of the pillage, thanking them as the onely authours of his victory. Whereupon hee ſent them backe to *Ionathan*, with no ſmall acknowledgement and teſtimony of their proweſſe & virtue. But afterwards he diſcouered his euill nature towards him, and falſified his promiſes, menacing him to make warre vpon him, except hee paid him thoſe tributes, which the people of the Iewes ought, and were wont to pay vnto the Kings his anceſtors beforetime. And theſe deſeignes of his had he executed, had not *Tryphon* hindred him: for he was enforced to turne thoſe forces that he had prepared againſt *Ionathan*, to make warre vpon *Tryphon*: who returning from Arabia into Syria, with the younger *Antiochus* (who at that time was vnder yeeres) he ſet the diademe vpon his head. All the army likewiſe that had abandoned *Demetrius*, for ſhortning them of their wages, came and followed him, and made open warre againſt their maſter, and vnder *Antiochus* and *Tryphon* fought with him and ouercame him, ſeizing both his Elephants, and the

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 8. 1 *Machab.* Diodotus called Tryphon.

Apamenus requireth Malchus to commit Antiochus, Alexanders ſon to his charge.

Ionathan ſendeth Embaſſadors with preſents to Demetrius to requeſt him to caſhiere the forces in the caſtle of Ieruſalem and the fortreſſes thereabout.

The rebellion of the Citizens of Antioch, and the reuenge taken on them by Demetrius.

Demetrius thruſt out of Antioch.

The yeere of the world, 3820. before Christs Natiuitie, 144.

Citie of Antioch. Whereupon *Demetrius* beeing wholly discomfited, fled into Cilicia. But the G younger *Antiochus* sent Embassadors and letters to *Ionathan*, calling him his ally and friend, confirming the Priesthood vnto him, and allotted him the foure gouernments annexed to Iudæa; and besides these, hee gaue him vessels of gold, a robe of purple, with permission to weare the same: he gaue him also a pendent of gold, and enrolled him amongst his chiefest friends, and created his brother *Simon* Generall of his army, from the marches of Tyre as farre as Ægypt. *Ionathan* highly reioyced at these fauours of *Antiochus*, and sent Embassadours both vnto him and *Tryphon*, protesting that he was their friend and ally, and that he would fight on his side against *Demetrius*, who neglecting those benefits which he had receiued (notwithstanding that in his necessitie he had beene succoured by him) returned him euill for good, which he had so kindly extended towards him.

Ionathan for the fauours and benefits he receiued at Tryphons and Antiochus hands, offereth and performeth his best indeauours against Demetrius.

But after that *Antiochus* had granted him leaue to leuy a great army out of Syria and Phœnicia, to fight against *Demetrius* followers, he addressed himselfe incontinently into the Cities, who receiued him very magnificently; yet did they not affoord him any men of war. Comming from thence vnto Ascalon, the Citizens in honourable array came out to meete him with presents; whom together with the cities of Cœlosyria, he exhorted to forsake *Demetrius* part, & to follow *Antiochus*; to the end, that ioyning themselues with him, they might all of them combine their forces against *Demetrius*, and take vengeance of those mischiefes which they had oftentimes endured by his meanes: & which if they prudently examined, they had many reasons to prosecute their reuenge. After he had perswaded these Cities to enter into confederation against *Demetrius*, he came to Gaza, to induce them likewise, and reconcile them to *Antiochus*. But he found the Gazeans to be of a far contrary dispositi on, then that which he expected; for they flatly resisted him: and although they were intended to forsake *Demetrius*; yet would they not ioyne their forces, or submit their Citie to his gouernment. For which cause *Ionathan* besieged their Citie, and spoiled their country: for with the one halfe of his armie hee begirt Gaza; and with the other halfe he ouer-ran the countrey, spoyling and burning the same. The Gazeans seeing these miseries which they were constrained to endure, and perceiuing that no succours came vnto them from *Demetrius*; but that their owne ouerthrow was at hand, and their assistance far off; and that which was worse, most vncertaine: they thought it to be the wisest part for them to forsake the one, and follow the other. Whereupon they sent messengers vnto *Ionathan*, protesting that they K would be both his friends and confederates. For, men doe vnwillingly take knowledge of their
» profit, before they haue bought it to their sorrow; and that which they neglected at first, and
» was most expedient for them to performe before they were afflicted, that do they earnestly hunt
» after, at such time as they haue beene chastised. Vpon this submission of theirs, *Ionathan* recei-
» ued them into fauour, and tooke pledges of them, and sent them to Ierusalem; and from thence marched hee along the countrey as farre as Damasco. And whereas a huge host sent by *Demetrius*, came out against him, as farre as the Citie Cedasa, neere vnto Tyre and Galilee, making their reckoning to diuert *Ionathan* from Syria, by succouring and relieuing those of Galilee, who were their confederates: *Ionathan* went out speedily to meete with them, recommending the estate of Iudæa to the charge of his brother *Simon*. Who assembling all the power that was possible to be gathered thorowout all the countrey, encamped before Bethsura, a strong fort in Iudæa; and besieged it (for *Demetrius* beeing beforetime seized thereof, kept garrison therein, as before this we haue declared.) When as therefore *Simon* raised his bulwarkes and fitted his engines to assault the Citie, & employed all his study to surprize the same, they that were besieged waxed affraid, lest if he should take the towne by force, they should lose their liues. For which cause, they sent an Herald vnto *Simon*, requesting him that he would permit them to depart out of Bethsura with the safety of their liues & goods, and go vnto *Demetrius*: who satisfying their demands, they presently departed out of the Citie, and he planted a garrison therein of their own men, in place of the Macedonians. In the meane while *Ionathan*, who was in Galilee, caused his army to dislodge from a place called the waters of Genezareth, where hee was encamped, and marched towards the plaine of Azot, without any suspicion that his enemies had bin planted thereabouts: When as therefore *Demetrius* souldiers had intelligence the day before that *Ionathan* should march forward against them, they laid an ambush for him, which they placed neere the mountaine, preparing the rest of their forces to bid him battell in the Plaine. As soone as *Ionathan* perceiued their preparation to the battell, he arranged his army as conueniently as was possible; but when they that lay in ambush arose, and charged the Iewes vpon their backes, they fearing to be inclozed, and consequently easily slaine, began to flie; so that all of them abando-

Simon Ionathans brother taketh in Bethsura.

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ned *Ionathan*, except ſome few to the number of fiftie at the vttermoſt, and *Matthias* the ſonne of *Abſalom*, and *Iudas* the ſonne of *Chapſæus*, the Chieftaines of the army; who boldly entred, and like deſperate men charged the enemy in the vantgard with ſuch fury, that they made them amazed at their valour and force of handy blowes, compelled them to truſt to their heeles. Which when they that fled from *Ionathan* perceiued, they rallied themſelues and began to purſue them as farre as Cedaſa, where the enemies were encamped.

The yeere of the world, 3820. before Chriſts birth, 144.

Ionathan putteth Demetrius ſouldiers to flight.

Now when *Ionathan* had obtained this famous victory, wherein there dyed about ſome two thouſand of the enemy, hee returned to Ieruſalem, and ſeeing that by Gods prouidence all things fell out according as he himſelfe deſired) he ſent Embaſſadours vnto Rome, purpoſely to renew the ancient league that was made betwixt them, and the people of the Iewes: commanding his Embaſſedours vpon their returne from Rome, to tranſport themſelues to Sparta, and renew their common friendſhip and acquaintance alſo in that place. As ſoone as they were come to Rome, and had preſented themſelues before the Senate, they declared how they were ſent from the high Prieſt *Ionathan*, who required the renouation of their alliance. Whereupon the Senate granted all that which they had demanded as touching the amitie of the Iewes, and gaue them their Letters of recommendation to beare vnto all the Kings of Aſia and Europe, and to the Gouernours of all the Cities, commanding them to grant them free paſſage to returne into their countrey. And in their returne they paſſed by the Lacedemonians, and preſented thoſe Letters which *Ionathan* had written vnto them, the copy whereof contained matters to this effect: Ionathan *the high Prieſt of the Nation of the Iewes, and all the communaltie of the Iewes*; *To the Ephores, Senate and people of Sparta, Health.* If you be in health, and both your particular and publike affaires haue their deſired ſucceſſe, we haue that which we deſire: For our ſelues we are in good diſpoſition. For as much as heretofore we haue receiued a Letter by the hands of *Demoteles*, written from *Arius* your King to *Onias* our high Prieſt, making mention of that acquaintance and alliance, which is betweene you and vs (the copy wherof we haue hereunder inſerted) and haue receiued your Letters with great content, and haue with all kindly acceptance required both *Demoteles* and *Arius* (notwithſtanding wee were not ignorant of this conſanguinitie long before, for that we were inſtructed therein by our ſacred Scriptures:) And whereas we haue not firſt of all acknowledged you for our kinſmen, it was to no other end but for feare we ſhould raiſh the honour of ratifying the friendſhip betweene vs, which wee intended alwaies ſhould be yours. Since which time wherein we haue contracted friendſhip with you, we haue on our holy and ſolemne dayes ſacrificed vnto our God, beſeeching him to continue and keep you in proſperitie: and on the other ſide, in as much as we haue beene inuironed with many warres, cauſed by the diſordered deſires of our neighbours, we haue neither thought it meete to be troubleſome vnto you, or to any other whatſoeuer. But now at this time, ſince we haue obtained a happy iſſue of all theſe troubles, we haue ſent *Numenius* the ſonne of *Antimachus*, and *Antipater* the ſonne of *Iaſon*, men honourable amongſt our councellers, both to the Romanes and to you alſo; to whom we haue giuen our Letters to be preſented vnto you, in our behalfe, to the end they might renew the amitie which is betweene you and vs: you ſhall therefore doe well if you write backe vnto vs, and certifie vs wherein we may ſtead you, in that we haue euer had an earneſt deſire and will to continue our loue towards you, or ought elſe what concerneth your welfare. Theſe Embaſſadours of his were kindly entertained by the Lacedemonians, who made a publike ordinance as touching their aſſociation, and amitie with the Iewes; which they deliuered vnto them.

Ionathan reneweth his friendſhip and confederacie with the Romanes & Lacedemonians.

The yeer of the world, 3821. before Chriſts Natiuity, 143.

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In this time were there three Sects among the Iewes, who had different and contrary opinions as touching humane affaires: the firſt was that of the Phariſees; the ſecond of the Sadduces; and the third of the Eſſenians. The Phariſees affirme that ſome things and not all things, are directed by deſtiny; and that ſome other things were tyed to mens election, whether they would performe them or not. The Eſſenians ſaid, that deſtiny gouerned all things; and that nothing hapned amongſt men that was not diſpoſed thereby. The Sadduces auow that there is no deſtiny; and that humane affaires, in that deſtiny is not, cannot be gouerned and diſpoſed thereby: their onely opinion is, that all things depend vpon our owne diſpoſition; ſo as in reſpect of our good deeds, wee are the authors thereof; and in reſpect of our euill, they are the fruits of our irregard. But hereof haue I intreated more exactly in my ſecond booke of the warres of the Iewes.

Three Sects of the Iewes.
The Phariſees.
The Eſſenians.
The Sadduces.

The warres of the Iewes. *lib. 2. cap. 12.*

Demetrius Captaines deſirous to aboliſh the diſhonour of that diſcomfiture, and recouer the loſſe that had lately befalne them, gathered together a greater power then the former, and went out againſt *Ionathan*; who hauing intelligence of their comming, marched ſpeedily to encounter

The yeere of the world, 3821. before the Natiuitie of Christ, 143.

them neere vnto the Plaine of Amath: for he resolued to preuent their intended roade into Iudæa. Encamping therefore some fiftie furlongs off of the enemy, he sent out spies to discouer of what force they were, and how they were encamped. Who, when they had by a most diligent view knowne all that possibly they could, returning tooke certaine prisoners, and brought them away by night with them: by whose confession the intent of the enemies was discouered vnto *Ionathan*; which was, that they would set vpon them on the sudden. But *Ionathan* with a prouident care speedily fortified his campe, and prepared all things necessary for defence, and placed a watch or Sentinell without his Hoast, keeping his souldiers vp in armes all the night, and exhorting them to be both valiant and ready, forasmuch as they must needs fight by night, to the end that they might not be surprized by the subtilties and policies of their enemies. But when the Captaines of *Demetrius* vnderstood that their intended purpose was discouered vnto *Ionathan*, they were in suspence, and knew not what counsell to take: for this troubled them, because they saw that nothing would fall out to their good, without the practice of subtill meanes to entrap their enemies: and supposing themselues not to be of sufficient strength to bid *Ionathan* battell in the plaine field; they therefore resolued to flie, and leaue great fires thorow all their campe, to the end their enemies might thinke they were asleepe: and so they discamped by night. On the morrow, when *Ionathan* drew neere their campe to bid them battell, and saw it abandoned, and coniectured thereby that they were fled, he followed after them; but he could not ouertake them, because they had already past the flood Eleutherus, & were retired into their strong holds and places of securitie. Returning therefore from thence into Arabia, and making warre on the Nabatheans, he spoyled their countrey, tooke great booties, and led away many prisoners: and from thence came to Damasco, and sold all in that place. About this very time, *Simon* (his brother) marching thorowout all Iudæa and Palestine as farre as Ascalon, planted his garrisons in all those places, and fortified them both with men and munition, and finally came to Ioppe, which he tooke by force, and planted a great garrison therein, because hee was aduertised that they of Ioppe intended to surrender the Citie to *Demetrius* forces. When *Simon* and *Ionathan* had in this sort disposed all things, they came to Ierusalem, and assembled the people together in the Temple, and perswaded them to fortifie the walles of the Citie, and to strengthen the inclosure of the Temple that was ruinated, aduising them to fortifie the same with strong towers: and besides this, hee caused another wall to be builded in the middest of the Citie, to warrantize the same against the garrisons of the Cittadel, to the intent that by that meanes they might cut off and stop vp the passages to victuall the fort. Hee aduised them likewise, to build farre stronger fortresses thorowout the countrey, then those that were already finished. Now when as the people had allowed of this his good aduice, *Ionathan* gaue order as touching all those things that concerned the building within the Citie, and set his brother *Simon* about the fortresses in the countrey. But *Demetrius* passing the riuer, came into Mesopotamia, intending at one time to take possession both of it and the Citie of Babylon; that being seized thereof, hee might the better prouide for all the occurrences of his kingdome. For the Greekes and Macedonians, who inhabited that countrey, had sollicited him by often Embassadours to come vnto them, promising him to subscribe to his authoritie, and to warre with him against *Arsaces* King of the Parthians. He puffed vp with those hopes, marched towards them with great speed, resoluing with himselfe, that after he had ouercome the Parthians (if he had any forces left him) he would wage warre with *Tryphon*, and easily driue him out of the kingdome of Syria. Being therefore entertained by those of the countrey with great affection, he leuied a great army, and assailed *Arsaces*, but he lost the day, and himselfe was taken prisoner, as we haue else-where declared.

Demetrius Captaines once more make warre vpon Ionathan, and seeing their purposes discouered, flie by night.

Ionathan marcheth to Arabia, and spoileth the Nabatheans. Simon his brother taketh Ioppa. Ionathan and Simon repaire the Citie of Ierusalem and the fortresses of Iury.

Demetrius maketh warre vpon Arsaces King of the Parthians, and is taken prisoner.

CHAP. X.

DEMETRIVS *is taken prisoner.* TRYPHON *breaketh the couenant of peace betwixt him and* IONATHAN, *and surprizeth and killeth him treacherously, and afterwards maketh warre against his brother* SIMON.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 9. 2. *Mac.* 11. 13. Tryphon labouring to transfer Antiochus Kingdome into his own hands, & fearing Ionathans opposition, traiterously complotteth his death.

WHEN *Tryphon* vnderstood that *Demetrius* affaires had so vnfortunate an issue, he forsooke *Antiochus* and his seruice; and complotted with himselfe how he might kill him and make himselfe King. But the feare that he had of *Ionathan Antiochus* friend, hindred this intent of his: For which cause he resolued first of all to deliuer himselfe of *Ionathan*, and that done, afterwards to make *Antiochus* the young King away. Hauing therefore concluded with him

himſelfe to kill *Ionathan* by ſome ſtratagem of treaſon, he came from Antioch to Bethſan (which the Greekes call Scythopolis) whither *Ionathan* came to meete him with forty thouſand choſen men, ſuppoſing that *Tryphon* reſorted thither to make warre vpon him. But he knowing that *Ionathan* came thither with ſo much ſtrength, wrought him by preſents and counterfeit courteſies; commanding his Captaines to obey *Ionathan*, thinking by that meanes to perſwade him that he intirely and truely loued him, and to extinguiſh his ſuſpicion, to the intent he might lay hold and intrap him, at ſuch time as he had leaſt ſuſpicion of him. He counſelled him to diſmiſſe his army likewiſe, becauſe hauing cut off all occaſion of warre, he had no reaſon to retaine them, for that there was no ſuſpicion of alteration. After this he inuited *Ionathan* to come to Ptolemais, and to bring with him ſome few of his ſouldiers, ſignifying vnto him that he would deliuer the Citie into his hands, and reſigne all the fortreſſes that were in the countrey to his poſſeſſion; vrging further, that he came into that countrey to no other end, but to performe it. *Ionathan* ſuſpecting no ſiniſter dealing, and beleeuing that *Tryphon* ſpake of good and entire affection, diſcharged his forces, and tooke onely three thouſand men with him, whereof two he left in Galilee, and with one thouſand repaired to Ptolemais vnto *Tryphon*. But the Ptolemaidans ſhutting the gates as ſoone as he was entred (according as *Tryphon* had commanded them) tooke *Ionathan* priſoner, and ſlue all thoſe that attended vpon him. He preſently ſent alſo part of his army vnto the two thouſand that were left in Galilee, to the intent to put them all to the ſword: but they hauing notice of that which had befallen their Chieftaine, taking vp their armes, ſpeedily departed out of Galilee. And although the ſouldiers of *Tryphon* exceeded them far in number, yet were they not ſo hardy as to trie whether part were the ſtronger; becauſe they knew that the Iewes were ready to expoſe themſelues to all dangers, to defend their liues: and ſo they returned backe to him that ſent them, without doing any thing.

The yeere of the world, 3821. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 143.

The yeere of the world, 3822. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 142.

CHAP. XI.

The people maketh SIMON *Generall of their army, and declareth him the High Prieſt.*

THEY of Ieruſalem vnderſtanding of the ſurprizall of *Ionathan*, & the loſſe of his ſouldiers, grieuouſly lamented for this accident, that ſo great a man as he was, was taken from them, in that they feared (and that not without cauſe) that being deſtitute after his deceaſe both of his valour and prudence, the nations that were round about them, would ſeeke their trouble and moleſtation: who hauing held themſelues quiet in admiration of him, would at that time lift themſelues vp againſt them; and not onely perſecute them with war, but bring them into extreme danger of their liues. Neither did their expectation deceiue them. For the neighbouring nations, vnderſtanding of *Ionathans* death, began preſently to make warre vpon the Iewes on all ſides, as againſt thoſe who had no longer any Chieftaine vnder whoſe conduct they might wage warre and ſhew themſelues valiant. And *Tryphon* likewiſe hauing gathered forces, was determined to aſcend into Iudæa, to warre againſt the inhabitants thereof. *Simon* perceiuing that the Citizens of Ieruſalem were diſmaied with the feare, which they apprehended of thoſe rumours and new tumults of warre, and being deſirous to animate them againſt al incurſions and attempts intended by *Tryphon*, aſſembled the people in the Temple, and began to exhort them after this manner: You are not ignorant (men and brethren) how both I, my father, and brethren, haue voluntarily offered our ſelues vnto death for your liberty. Since therefore, I haue abundance of ſuch like examples, and that it is the ordinary courſe of our family to die for our law and religion, there is no feare ſo great as can plucke out this reſolution out of my heart, as it may plant ſuch a deſire of life in me, as to be drawne to forget all honour. Wherefore ſince you haue ſuch a Chieftaine and Commander, as ſetteth light by all danger, whereby he may endure to act any thing for your ſafetie; it behoueth you to follow me couragiouſly to what place ſoeuer I ſhall conduct you. For I am of no better account then were my brethren, whereby I ſhould ſpare my life; neither am I leſſe then they, whereby I ſhould through negligence and cowardize ſhun and forſake that which they haue eſteemed to be honorable, as is to die for the law and the ſeruice of our God. I will make manifeſt therefore by all the teſtimonies that I can, that I am their true and lawfull brother; for I truſt in God, that he will giue me power to take vengeance of our enemies; and deliuer not onely all of you, but your wiues and your children from the iniury which they intended againſt you; and by the grace of God I will preſerue the holy Temple, that it may not be ruinated by their prophane hands. For, I already perceiue, that the prophane nations ſet vs at nought,

2 *Mach.* 14. Ionathans want lamẽted by all men.

The neighboring nations and Tryphon inuade Iudæa. Simon Ionathans brother aſſembleththe people, and animateth thẽ.

The yeere of the world, 3823. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 141.

nought, and contemne you as if you had no Chiefetaine: and I know already that they are marching forward to fight with you. By theſe words *Simon* heartned the people, who were diſtracted with feare, ſo that they reuiued their ſpirits and conceiued better hope. Whereupon all of them cryed with a loude voice, that *Simon* was their Generall, and that he was to ſucceed his two valiant brethren *Iudas* and *Ionathan* in the Gouernment; and that as touching themſelues, they would be obedient in all things that he ſhould command them. He therefore aſſembled in one inſtant all the men at armes in that countrey, and haſted himſelfe to repaire the City walles, defencing them with high and ſtrong towers, and ſent a certaine friend of his called *Ionathan* the ſon of *Abſalon*, with an army to Ioppe; commanding him to expulſe the inhabitants of that City from thence, for that he feared leſt they ſhould ſubmit themſelues to *Tryphon*: As for himſelfe, he remained in Ieruſalem to ſecure the ſame.

The yeere of the world, 3823. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 141.

Simon ſucceedeth his brothers Iudas and Ionathan.

Simon ſendeth Ionathan Abſalons ſon to Ioppe, to expulſe the inhabitants thereof.

Tryphon departing from Ptolomais with a great army, came into Iudæa; leading his priſoner *Ionathan* with him. Whereupon *Simon* with his army went out againſt him as farre as Addida (a Citie ſituate vpon a mountaine, at the foote whereof beginneth the Champaine countrey of Iudæa.) *Tryphon* knowing that *Simon* was made Gouernour of the Iewes, ſent meſſengers vnto him, intending to circumuent him by treaſon and policie; giuing him to vnderſtand that if hee were deſirous of his brothers enlargement, he ſhould ſend him one hundreth talents of ſiluer, and two of *Ionathans* children for hoſtages, to aſſure him, that being ſet at liberty, he ſhould not withdraw Iudæa from the obedience of the King.) For, till that preſent he was held and kept priſoner, by reaſon of the money which he ought the King.) *Simon* was no waies ignorant of this cunning intent of *Tryphons*, but knew well enough that he ſhould both loſe his money, if he ſhould deliuer the ſame; and that his brother ſhould not be enlarged, no though his children were deliuered for hoſtages: on the other ſide he feared, leſt the people ſhould conceiue ſiniſterly of him, as if he had been the cauſe of his brothers death, both by not deliuering the money, neither yet the children: Hauing therefore aſſembled the army, he declared vnto them what *Tryphon* demanded, telling them that the whole ſcope of his actions were nought elſe but traiterous ſtratagemes and ſubtilties: yet notwithſtanding he told them, that he had rather ſend both the money & the children to *Tryphon*, then by refuſing his conditions and demands, to be accuſed to haue neglected the life of his brother. *Simon* ſent therefore both the money and children of *Ionathan*: but *Tryphon* hauing receiued both, kept not his promiſe; but detained *Ionathan*: and leading his army thorow the countrey, intended to paſſe by Idumæa to repaire to Ieruſalem. He came therefore to Dora a city in Idumæa; and thitherward marched *Simon* to encounter with him, encamping alwaies right ouer againſt him. They that were in the Caſtle of Ieruſalem, hearing newes hereof, ſent *Tryphon* word that he ſhould haſten and come vnto them, and ſend them munition: whereupon he addreſſed his horſemen, pretending that very night to ride vnto Ieruſalem; but the ſnow about that time fell in ſuch aboundance, that it couered the way in ſuch ſort and was ſo thicke, as the horſes could not trauell; which hindred his repaire to Ieruſalem. For which cauſe he departed from thence, and came into Cœloſyria; and ſpeedily inuading the countrey of Galaad, he put *Ionathan* to death in that place, and after he had buried him there, he returned to Antioch. But *Simon* ſent vnto Baſca and tranſported his brothers bones, and interred them in his country Modin in his fathers ſepulcher, and all the people mourned and lamented for him many dayes. *Simon* alſo builded a great monument of white and poliſhed marble for his father and his brethren, and raiſed it to a great height, and garniſhed it round about with galleries and pillars all of one piece, which was an admirable worke to behold. Beſides that, he erected ſeuen Pyramides for his father, mother and brethren, for each of them one, ſo great and ſo faire, as they mooued admiration in thoſe that beheld them; and are as yet to be ſeene at this preſent day. So great was *Simons* care, that *Ionathan* and the reſt of his family ſhould be honoured with ſo magnificent a ſepulcher: which *Ionathan* died, after he had exerciſed the place of the high Prieſt, and poſſeſſed the Gouernment for foure yeeres. Thus much as touching his death.

Tryphon by fraudulent promiſes vnder certaine conditions, perſwadeth Simon that his brother ſhould be ſet at liberty.

Ionathan is ſlaine by Tryphon.

Ionathans' monument.

The yeere of the world, 3824. before chriſts Natiuitie, 140.

As ſoon as *Simon* had taken poſſeſſion of the High Prieſthood, by the election of the people; the very firſt yeere of his Gouernment, he acquitted the people of the tribute which they were wont to pay to the Macedonians. This liberty and exemption from tribute hapned amongſt the Iewes, one hundreth and ſeuenty yeeres ſince the time that *Seleucus* ſurnamed *Nicanor* obtained the kingdome of Syria. And in ſo great honour was *Simon* amongſt the people, that in their priuate contracts and publike letters, the date began from the firſt yeere of *Simon* the benefactor and Gouernour of the Iewiſh nation. For they proſpered greatly vnder his gouernment, and had the victory of all their neighbouring enemies round about them. For he deſtroyed the Cities

The Iewes diſcharged of tributes.

Simons authority.

A Cities of Gaza, Ioppe, and Iamnia: he razed alſo the cittadel of Ieruſalem, and leuell it with the ground, to the intent the enemies might be neuer ſeized thereof any more, nor retreat themſelues thither to endamage the Citie, as beforetime they had done. Which when he had brought to paſſe, he thought it not amiſſe, but very profitable, to leuell the hill whereon the Caſtle ſtood; to the intent the temple might be the eminenteſt place. All this perſwaded he the people to doe in a common aſſembly, laying before their eies how many euils they had ſuffered, by the meanes of the garriſons, and how much they were like to ſuffer hereafter, if a ſtranger ſhould once more be maſter of the kingdome, & build a cittadel in that place. By theſe exhortations he perſwaded the people to finiſh theſe workes, and all of them began to trauell without intermiſſion both day B and night, ſo that in the ſpace of three yeeres they planted the mountaine, and wrought it downe; and from that time forward there was nothing but the Temple that commanded the Citie. See here what *Simon* performed hitherto.

The yeere of the world, 3823. before Chriſts Natiuity, 141.

Simon razeth the Caſtle of Ieruſalem.

The yeere of the world, 3824. before Chriſts birth, 140.

CHAP. XII.

SIMON *beſiegeth* TRYPHON *within Dora, and contracteth alliance with* ANTIOCHVS, *ſurnamed the* DEVOVT.

C NOT long after the captiuitie of *Demetrius*, *Tryphon* ſlew *Alexander* the ſonne of *Antiochus* ſurnamed *God*, notwithſtanding hee had the care and charge of his education for foure yeeres, during which time he raigned; and ſpreading abroad a certaine noiſe and rumour, that the young King in exerciſing himſelfe fortuned to dye, he ſent his friends and familiars vnto the men of warre, promiſing them that if they would elect and chooſe him King, hee would giue them a huge ſum of money; giuing them to vnderſtand, that *Demetrius* was a priſoner among the Parthians, and that if *Antiochus* his brother ſhould obtaine the kingdome, he would puniſh them diuers waies, and reuenge their reuolt and rebellion, which they had committed by forſaking him. The army hoping, that if they beſtowed the kingdome on *Trypon*, it would redound highly to their profit, they proclamed him King. But after he had attained the fulneſſe of his deſires, he ſhewed how malicious and wicked his nature was. For at ſuch time as hee was a priuate man, he flattered the people and made ſhew of moderation; and by ſuch allurements he D drew them to doe what him liſted: but after he had taken poſſeſſion of the kingdome, he diſcouered his hypocriſie, & ſhewed plainly that he was not vnaptly called *Tryphon*, that is to ſay, a triſler or mocker. By which meanes he drew the hearts of the better ſort from him: & as for his army, they grew ſo much in hatred of him, that they ſubmitted themſelues to *Cleopatra Demetrius* wife, who had at that time ſhut vp both her ſelfe and her children in Seleucia. And whereas *Antiochus*, ſurnamed the *Deuout*, and brother to *Demetrius*, was driuen from place to place, and had not any Citie that would entertaine him for feare of *Tryphon*; *Cleopatra* ſent vnto him, inuiting him both to be her husband, and to take the poſſeſſion of the kingdome. And hereunto did ſhee the rather draw him, partly for that ſhee was thereunto perſwaded by her friends, and partly for the feare ſhe had, leſt ſome one of Seleucia ſhould betray the City to *Tryphon*. As ſoone as *An*E *tiochus* was arriued in Seleucia, and that from day to day his forces increaſed, he marched forth into the field, and fought with *Tryphon*, and ouercame him in battell, and droue him out of the higher Syria, and purſued him as farre as Phœnicia: where after hee had retyred himſelfe into Dora, a ſtrong and impregnable Caſtle, he beſieged him therein, and ſent Embaſſadours to *Simon*, the high Prieſt of the Ieweſ, to confirme a friendſhip and confederacie with him. *Simon* very courteouſly accepted his demands, and preſently ſent *Antiochus* both money and victualls, ſufficient to furniſh his army at the ſiege of Dora, ſo that in ſhort ſpace he was accepted amongſt the number of his entire friends. *Tryphon* flying from Dora to Apamea, was in that place beſieged, taken and ſlaine, after he had raigned three yeeres.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 10. 1 *Mach.* 15. Tryphon murthering Alexander, obtaineth the kingdome.

Tryphon hauing obtained dominion, diſcouereth his corrupt nature.

Tryphons armie ſubmit to Cleopatra Demetrius wife, who married with Antiochus Soter, and committed the authority to his hands.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 11. Antiochus hauing driuen Tryphon out of Syria, beſieged him in Dora.

Tryphons death.

The yeer of the world, 3827. before Chriſts Natiuity, 137.

CHAP. XIII.

After TRYPHONS *death,* SIMON *made warre againſt* ANTIOCHVS, *and droue* CENDEBAEVS *out of Iudæa.*

BVT the innated auarice that was in *Antiochus*, and the malignitie of his nature made him forgetfull of thoſe offices and ſeruices that *Simon* had done him: ſo that hee ſent *Cendebæus* his great friend with a mightie armie to inuade Iewry, and to ſurprize *Simon*. But he hauing ſome priuie intelligence of *Antiochus* treacherie, notwithſtanding that at this time hee was

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 12.

The yeere of the world, 3827. before Christs Natiuitie, 137.

Simon and his sonne expelleth Cendebæus out of Iury.

was very old, was in such sort mooued with the iniuries that *Antiochus* had done him, as animated with courage more then became his age, he went himselfe to the warre, as if as yet hee had beene but youthfull: hee therefore caused his sonne to march before with the picked souldiers of his armie; and hauing left a number of his souldiers in ambush, in the hollow retreats of the mountaines, hee executed all his designes without failing in any one of them: so that after hee had euery way obtained the vpper hand of his enemies, he euer after enioyed his gouernment in peace, during the remainder of his life, and renewed likewise the confederacie with the Romans.

CHAP. XIIII.

SIMON *is traiterously slaine by his sonne in law* PTOLOMEE *at a banquet.*

The yeere of the world, 3830. before Christs Natiuitie, 134.

Hedio & Rufsinus, chap. 15. 1 *Macbab.* 6. No faith nor trust, no not in sons in law.

HE gouerned Iudæa for the space of eight yeeres, and was at length slaine at a banquet by the treachery of *Ptolomey* his sonne in law; who being seized of *Simons* wife and his two children, and detaining them in prison, sent out certaine of his traine besides, to kill *Iohn* the third sonne surnamed *Hyrcanus*. But the young man hauing some inkling of their drift, retyred himselfe speedily into the City, and auoided the danger that they complotted against him; assuring himselfe of the good will of the people, in consideration of the benefits they had receiued at his fathers hands, and the hatred that they bare vnto *Ptolomey*; who intending to enter the City gates, was sharply repulsed by the Citizens, for that they had already entertained *Hyrcanus*.

CHAP. XV.

How PTOLOMEY *failing of his hopes,* HYRCANVS *obtained the Soueraigntie.*

The yeere of the world, 3831. before Christs Natiuitie, 133.

Hedio & Rufsinus, cha. 14. Ptolomey besieged by Hyrcanus, knowing the power of naturall affection, keepeth his mother and brethren prisoners, whippeth them on the walls, and threatneth to throw them downe.

WHEREVPON *Ptolomey* retyred vnto a certaine Castle situate beyond Iericho called Dagon: but *Hyrcanus* was made high Priest in his fathers stead: who after hee had recommended himselfe to God by the firstling sacrifices that hee offered, marched out against *Ptolomey* his brother in law to make war vpon him. Now when he was fully addressed to besiege the place whither *Ptolomey* was retired, he had the aduantage in all other things; but only by the affection that he bare vnto his mother and his brethren, he was ouercome. For *Ptolomey* hauing taken them, and whipt them vpon the walls in all mens presence, threatned *Hyrcanus* that vnlesse he leuied his siege, he would cast them downe headlong from the top of the Castle: now wheras one way *Hyrcanus* had a great desire to enforce and surprize the place; so also on the other side he was wholly weakned, through the desire that he had to redeeme those, whom he loued, from the enemies tyranny. True it is, that his mother stretching out her hands, besought him that for her sake he would not giue ouer valiantly to assault the place; but that he should be the more encouraged to surprize the fortresse, and to lay hold vpon his enemy, and be reuenged on the wrong that was offered vnto his deerest friends: alleaging that she thought it better to die in the middest of a thousand torments, then that the enemy should escape vnpunished, who had beene so manifest an occasion of their miserie. When *Hyrcanus* heard his mother speake thus, hee was more furiously incensed to giue the assault: but as soone as he saw his mother so beaten and so sore wounded, his heart melted within him, and the feruent desire which hee before had to batter and beate downe the City, was presently allayd and cooled; and so the pittifull compassion of his mother, surmounted and ouercame his irefull affection of reuenge. Whilest thus the siege was continued and prolonged, the yeere of repose celebrated among the Iewes was come: For they obserued the seuenth yeere, as the seuenth day is obserued in the weeke; so that by this occasion *Ptolomey* was deliuered of this siege, who afterwards slue both *Hyrcanus* mother and brethren: which done he fled vnto *Zeno* surnamed *Cotyla*, who at that time tyrannized in the city of the Philadelphians.

The end of the history of the Bible.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

The yeere of the world, 3831. before Christs Nativity, 133.

ANTIOCHVS *the Deuout maketh warre against* HYRCANVS, *and vpon the receit of three hundreth talents, contracteth alliance with him.*

ANTIOCHVS calling to mind the manifold losses he had receiued by *Simons* meanes, inuaded Iewry in the fourth yeere of his raigne, and in the first of *Hyrcanus* gouernment, which was in the hundreth sixtie and two Olympiade. And after he had spoyled all the country, he locked vp *Hyrcanus* within the City of Ierusalem, which he had besieged with seuen campes; yet with no aduantage at all, both in regard of the strength of the walles, as in respect of the valour of the Citizens, as also the want of water which he had in his Campe; which was notwithstanding remedied by a great fall of raine, which fell about the setting of the Pleiades in the beginning of Aprill. On the North side also where there is a great Plaine, *Antiochus* caused one hundred towers to be erected euery one three stages hie, on which he planted certaine companies of armed souldiers; who daily fought with the besieged, and who by the meanes of a double and deepe trench, took from them all their commodities. They on the other side made often sallies, and if they chanced at any time to charge the enemy on the sodaine, they made a great slaughter: but if they were discouered, they retyred souldier-like. But *Hyrcanus* considering the great number of people that were in the City, who rather consumed souldiers victuals then performed any seruice, hee diuided those that were vnfit for warre, and sent them out of the Citie, retaining onely those with him, who were valiant and warlike. But *Antiochus* permitted them not to haue free liberty to depart; so that wandring here and there betweene the walles and the campe, they were consumed with famine, and dyed miserably. When as therefore the feast of Tabernacles was to be celebrated during these affaires, they that were within had compassion of their countrimen, and drew them within the walles, and entertained them within the City. At this time *Hyrcanus* sent a messenger to beseech *Antiochus* to grant him truce for seuen daies, by reason of the solemnity of the feast: whereunto he accorded for the honour which he bare vnto God: Furthermore, he sent a magnificent sacrifice into Ierusalem of Bulls with guilded hornes, and vessels full of diuers odors, with other vessels of gold and siluer. Those that had the charge of the gates, receiued the sacrifice at their hands that brought the same, and offered them in the Temple. *Antiochus* himselfe also gaue the souldiers certaine meates to grace their festiuall, shewing himselfe herein to be of a farre better disposition then *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who after he had taken the Citie, caused swines flesh to be sacrificed vpon the Altar, and besprinkled the Temple with the broth of hogs, making a confusion of the ordinances of the law of God, which was the cause that this nation rebelled and conceiued a deadly hatred against him: but *Antiochus* of whom we spake at this present, was by all men called Deuout, because of the incredible affection that he had to the seruice of God.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 15.

Hyrcanus is driuen into the City by Antiochus.

Pleiades the seuen starres.

The weaker sort are thrust out of the city

Antiochus affoordeth seuen daies truce to celebrate the feast of tabernacles

Hyrcanus acknowledging the bounty and affection he had towards God and his sacrifices, sent Embassadours vnto him, requiring him that he would permit them to vse the ancient policy of their forefathers. Whereupon the King sequestring all those farre off from his company, who counsailed him to destroy the Iewish nation, who liued apart and had no acquaintance with others, made no reckning of their words. And vnderstanding that al the conuersation of the Iewes was conformable vnto piety, he answered the Embassadours, that if the besieged would yeelde vp their armes and pay the tributes of Ioppe, and the other Cities that were out of Iudæa, and would receiue a garrison, such as hee should appoint; hee would discharge them of this warre. They accepted all other his conditions, but they consented not to receiue a garrison, lest they should be enforced to entertaine such with whom they could not conuerse; but in stead of the garison they gaue pledges, and paid fiue hundreth talents of siluer, of which the King receiued three hundreth in hand, with the pledges; amongst which was *Hyrcanus* brother: and after he had beaten downe the cope and panes of the wall, with the other battlements of defence; hee raised the siege and departed. But *Hyrcanus* opening *Dauids* monument (who surpassed all other Kings in riches during his time) drew three thousand talents out of the same: whereby he tooke occasion first of all among the Iewes to entertaine a forraine army. There was also a friendship and confederation betwixt him and *Antiochus*, whom he entertained in the Citie with all his armie, and furnished him largely and magnificently with all that which was necessary for the same: And that which is more, *Antiochus* hauing enterprized an exploit against the Parthians, *Hyrcanus* marched also in his company. *Nicholas Damascene* beareth witnes hereof, writing after this manner,

Hyrcanus maketh peace with Antiochus, and the siege is giuen ouer.

The yeere of the world, 3838. before Christs birth, 126.

Hyrcanus taketh a huge sum of money out of King Dauids tomb. Nicholas Damascene.

The yeere of the world, 3838. before Christs Natiuitie, 126.

ner, in his Historie: *Antiochus* erected a Trophee neere the floud Lycus, after he had ouercome *Indates* Generall of the army of the Parthians, and abode there two daies at *Hircanus* the Iewes request, by reason of a solemn feast at that time, in which it was not lawful for the Iewes to trauel, wherein he is no waies mistaken. For the feast of Pentecost was at that present the next day after the Sabbath, and it is not lawfull for vs neither in our Sabbaths nor feasts to iourney any waies.

Antiochus slaine in the conflict against the Parthians.

Antiochus fighting against *Arsaces* King of the Parthians, lost the greater part of his army, and was himselfe slaine. His brother *Demetrius* succeeded him in the kingdom of Syria, whom *Arsaces* had put in prison at such time as *Antiochus* came into the kingdome of the Parthians, as we haue declared heretofore in another place.

CHAP. XVII.

HIRCANVS *leadeth his army into Syria.*

Medio & Rufinus, chap. 16. Hircanus surprizeth diuers cities of Syria, and layeth desolate the Temple that was builded on the hill Garizim.

HIRCANVS hearing newes of *Antiochus* death, led forth his army with all expedition against the Cities of Syria, hoping to finde them disfurnished both of garrisons and meanes of defence, as in effect it came to passe. He therefore tooke the Citie of Medaba at the end of sixe moneths, after that his army had suffered many calamities. Afterwards he seized Samega, and the Cities thereabout: The Cities of Sichem, and Garizim also where the Cutheans dwelt, who had a Temple there made according to the module of the Temple of Ierusalem (which *Alexander* the Great permitted *Sanaballath* to build in fauour of his sonne in law *Manasses*, brother to the high Priest *Iaddus*, as we haue heretofore declared) which Temple was laid desolate two hundreth yeeres after it was builded. *Hircanus* also tooke certaine fortresses and Cities of Idumæa, as Adora, and Marissa; and after he had subdued all the Idumæans, he permitted them to inhabit the countrey, vnder this condition, that they should consent to bee circumcised, and to liue according to the lawes and religion of the Iewes. They through the desire they had to liue in the place where they were borne, submitted themselues to be circumcised, and to liue according to the customes and ordinances of the Iewes; and from that day forward they were comprehended within the number of the Iewes.

The yeere of the world, 3840. before the Natiuitie of Christ, 124.

The Idumæans conquered by Hircanus, admit circumcision, and the lawes of the Iewes.

Hircanus maketh a league with the Romans.

Whilest thus *Hircanus* was high Priest, hee thought good to renew the amitie betwixt the Iewes and the Romans; and to this effect he sent an embassage with letters vnto the Senate. As soone as the Senate had receiued his letters, they made alliance with him, to this effect ensuing: *Fanius M. F. Pr.* assembled the Senate in the field of Mars the eighth day of February, in the presence of *L. Manlius, L.F. Mentina*, and *C. Sempronius, C.F. Falerna*; concerning that which *Simon* the sonne of *Dositheus*, *Appollonius* the sonne of *Alexander*, *Diodorus* the sonne of *Ison*, men of good reputation and honour, and sent Embassadours by the people of the Iewes, haue proposed; who haue dealt with vs as touching the confederation and amity that this nation had with the Romans, and haue likewise conferred as touching the affaires of estate, namely, that Ioppe and the ports thereof, Gazara and the fountaines thereunto belonging, and those other Cities of the countrey, which *Antiochus* tooke from them, contrary to the decree of the Senate, should be restored vnto them: and that it may not be lawfull for the Kings souldiers, to passe thorow their countrey, neither any of those prouinces, that are vnder their gouernment: and that those things which were attempted by *Antiochus* during this warre, contrary to the arrest and decree of the Senate, should be declared void, to the end that the embassadors sent in the Senates behalfe, may prouide for the restitution of those things, which *Antiochus* hath spoiled them of, and may rate and set downe the damages, which the countrey hath receiued by this warre. *Item*, that commendatory letters should be written in the behalfe of the Iewish embassadours, to the Kings and free people for their secure and safe returne into their countrey. It hath beene held conuenient, to make and ratifie this ordinance, to the end to renew friendship and confederation with men of so good respect, sent vnto them by a nation so good and faithful towards them. And as touching the letters, the answer was; that they should be written, at such time as the affaires of the Senate would permit them any leisure; and that from this time forward, they would haue care that no iniurie should be offered them. And the Pretor *Fanius* was commanded also to deliuer the embassadours money out of the common purse, to beare their charges home into their countrey: and thus did *Fanius* dismisse the Embassadours of the Iewes, after hee had giuen them siluer out of the common treasurie, with the decree of the Senate addressed to those that should conduct them, and giue them assured conuoy to returne into their countrey. And this was the estate of the affaires during *Hircanus* Priesthood.

The yeere of the world, 3844. before Christs Natiuitie. 120.

But

A But King *Demetrius* being ſharpely whetted to make war againſt *Hircanus*, could haue neither time nor occaſion to exploit the ſame, by reaſon that both the Syrians and his men of war were ſcarcely well affected towards him, becauſe of his wickednes of life. For they ſent Embaſſadors to *Ptolomey*, ſurnamed *Phyſcon*, to require him to ſend ſome one of *Seleucus* race vnto them, to take vpon him the kingdome. Whereupon *Ptolomey* ſent them *Alexander* ſurnamed *Zebina*, accompanied with an army; who waging battell with *Demetrius*, put him to the worſt, and conſtrained him to flie to his wife *Cleopatra* to Ptolomais: who neither accepting, nor entertaining him, he was conſtrained to retire himſelfe from thence vnto Tyre; where he was taken, and after he had ſuffered many miſeries by the hands of his enemies, hee finally dyed. *Alexander* hauing by this meanes obtained the kingdome, made a league of amitie with *Hircanus*. And whereas it B ſo fell out, that *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *Gryphus*, the ſonne of *Demetrius* made warre againſt him, he was ouercome and ſlaine in the battell. When as therefore *Antiochus* had taken poſſeſſion of the kingdome of Syria, hee forbare to make warre againſt the Iewes, for that he had intelligence that his brother by the mothers ſide (who was in like ſort named *Antiochus*) aſſembled an armie againſt him at *Cyzicus*. Remaining therefore in his countrey, he reſolued to make preparation againſt his brothers comming, who was called *Cyzicenus*, becauſe he was brought vp in that citie, and was the ſon of *Antiochus* called the Conſeruer, who dyed in the countrey of the Parthians, and who was brother to *Demetrius* the father of *Gryphus:* and it ſo fell out, that both theſe brothers were married to one and the ſame *Cleopatra*, as wee haue heretofore expreſſed. When *An-* C *tiochus* the Cyzicenian was arriued in Syria, he made warre againſt his brother, which continued many yeeres: during all which time *Hircanus* liued in peace (for preſently after *Antiochus* death, he reuolted from the ſubiection of the Macedonians) and from that time forward gaue them no ſuccours, neither as ſubiect, neither as friend; but his fortunes both augmented and flouriſhed greatly during the time of *Alexander Zebina*; and principally during the raigne of theſe two brothers. For the warre, wherein they conſumed one another, gaue *Hircanus* an opportunitie, to leuy all the reuenewes of Iudæa, without any contradiction: ſo that by the ſame meanes hee gathered infinite ſummes of money. For whileſt the Cyzicenian deſtroyed his brothers countrey, *Hircanus* alſo made knowne his inclination and diſpoſition: and ſeeing likewiſe that *Antiochus* was deſtitute of thoſe ſuccours he expected out of Ægypt, and that both himſelfe and his D brother alſo (through their naturall diſcords) weakened one anothers eſtates, he ſet as light by the one, as by the other.

The yeere of the world, 3844. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 120.

Demetrius being ouercome by Alexander, is ſlaine. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 17. Alexander ſlaine in the conflict betwixt him and Antiochus Gryphus.

The yeere of the world, 3852. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 112.

Hircanus, whileſt the brothers weaken themſelues by ciuil warres, liueth in peace.

CHAP. XVIII.

How ANTIOCHVS *the Cyzicenian came to the reliefe of the Samaritanes: and how being conquered, he fled away.*

FOR which cauſe he drew forth his army againſt Samaria (which was a ſtrong Citie) and is at this day called Sebaſta, becauſe it was reedified by *Herod*, as wee will make manifeſt in time and place conuenient. Hee therefore began to beſiege and batter the ſame with E all diligence; animated thereunto, becauſe of the extreme hate he bare the Samaritanes, in that onely to pleaſe the Kings of Syria they had offered many grieuous outrages to the Mariſſens, who were extracted from, and allied with the Iewes. Hee therefore made a trench round about the Citie, with a double wall of eightie ſtounds, and committed the generall command of this ſiege to his ſonnes *Antigonus* and *Ariſtobulus*, who ſo diligently and valiantly behaued themſelues, that the Samaritanes being ouerpreſſed with extreme famine, were conſtrained to eate ſuch things as were vnuſuall and accuſtomed amongſt men; and to call *Antiochus* the Cyzicenian to their reſcous. Who readily repaired thither, but was repulſed by *Ariſtobulus* ſouldiers, and being purſued by the two brethren as farre as Scythopolis, he hardly eſcaped; and they returning to their ſiege, freſhly aſſaulted and beſieged the Samaritanes within their owne wals: So F that once more they were conſtrained to ſend Embaſſadors to *Antiochus* for aide, who was their allie; who ſent vnto *Ptolomey Lathyrus* for about ſome ſixe thouſand men of warre, who furniſhed him with them contrary to his mothers minde, who therefore had almoſt thruſt him out of his dominion. As ſoone as hee had receiued them, he made a roade into *Hircanus* countrey, and ſpoiled and forraged the ſame as farre as Ægypt. For he durſt not bid him battell hand to hand, becauſe he had not competent forces; but thought that in ſpoiling the countrey he might cauſe them to leuy the ſiege, & forſake Samaria: but after he had loſt a great number of his men by diuers ambuſcadoes of his enemies, he went vnto Tripoli, committing the generall charge of that

The yeere of the world, 3854. before Chriſts Natiuity, 110.

Hircanus beſiegeth Samaria.

Antiochus ſeeking to relieue the Samaritans, is ouercome and put to flight by Ariſtobulus.

warre to *Callimander* and *Epicrates*, two of his Captaines. The *Callimander* more rashly then wisely attempting to set vpon the enemy, was himselfe slaine, and his souldiers discomfited. And *Epicrates* giuen ouer to couetousnes, did openly yeeld vp Scythopolis and other Cities into the hands of the Iewes: so that is was impossible for either of them to leuy the siege. Finally, after that *Hircanus* had continued his siege before the City for the space of one whole yeere, hee became master of the same: and not contenting himselfe with the surprizall hereof, he vtterly destroied it, enforcing the riuers thorow the midst thereof; yea he ruined the same in such sort, that the mud and soile both of the water and earth tooke away all the apparance of the Citie; so that it seemed as if it had neuer beene. Of this *Hircanus* there is a certaine incredible matter committed to memory, namely, how during his high priesthood God had conference with him. For it is reported, that the very same day wherein his sons fought against *Antiochus* the Cyzicenian, whilest being himselfe alone, he offered incense in the temple, that he heard a voice, saying, that his two sons had at that present ouercome *Antiochus*: all which he incontinently signified vnto the people at the gate of the temple; and according as he had said, so it came to passe. See here what occurrences hapned in *Hircanus* time.

The yeere of the world, 3854. before Christs birth, 110.

Epicrates corrupted with money, selleth Scythopolis and other places to the Iewes.

Hircanus taketh Samaria.

Hircanns is foretold by a voice in the temple, of his sons victory.

About this very instant likewise, the affaires of the Iewes prospered not onely in Ierusalem & Iudæa, but also amongst the inhabitants of Alexandria; and finally in Egypt and Cyprus. For Queene *Cleopatra* rebelling against her sonne *Ptolomey Lathyrus*, appointed *Chelcias* and *Ananias* the sonnes of that *Onias*, who had builded the temple in Heliopolis (according to the patterne of that in Ierusalem) her chieftaines. And hauing committed her army vnto their hands, shee acted nothing without their aduice, according as *Strabo* the Cappadocian witnesseth, speaking after this manner: Diuers of those who came with vs, and of those who had beene sent into Cyprus from *Cleopatra*, sodainly reuolted to *Ptolomey*: Onely the Iewes that were of *Onias* faction, remained constant in their duty, because the Queene made great account and reckoning of *Chelcias* and *Ananias* their countrimen. Thus farre *Strabo*. This great felicity and prosperity of *Hircanus* mooued the Iewes to conceiue a hatred against him, and especially the Pharises opposed themselues against him. These Pharises were one of the sects of the Iewes (whereof we haue heretofore intreated) which sect was so great in credit with the common people, that when they deposed any thing, were it against the King or the Priest, they were presently beleeued. *Hircanus* had beene one of their disciples, and was in like sort very much beleeued of them. Hee therefore inuited them to a feast, and entertained them with all humanitie: and seeing that they were set vpon a merry pin, he began to tell them that they knew his minde, how that he desired nothing more then to be iust, and to square all his actions according to Gods will & direction, according as they themselues taught. He therefore required them, that if they perceiued that he mistooke himselfe in any thing, or that he wandred from the right way, they would by admonition redresse the same. Whereupon all of them gaue testimony of his perfect vertue. Wherewith he was highly contented. But one of the company called *Eleazar*, a man of a malicious nature, and such a one as delighted in mutiny, said vnto him: Since you desire to heare the truth, if so be you affect the estimation of a good man, giue ouer the place of priesthood, & content your selfe with the gouernment of the people. *Hircanus* demanded of him the cause wherefore he should forsake the Priesthood? Because (saith he) that we haue heard say by our ancestors, that your mother was a captiue during the raign of *Antiochus* the Famous (which notwithstanding was a false report.) *Hircanus* hearing this, was sore mooued against him, and also all other of the Pharises, who were assistant in that place. Amongst the rest there was a certaine man called *Ionathan*, of the order of the Sadduces (who maintaine an opposite opinion against the Pharises) who was an inward & deare friend to *Hircanus*, with whom he communicated the iniurious speeches that *Eleazar* had spoken by him, who told him that (as he thought) *Eleazar* had spoken these words by the publike consent of the Pharises; and that he might discouer the same most manifestly, if he enquired of them what punishment *Eleazar* had deserued for speaking after this sort. *Hircanus* therefore questioned with the Pharises as concerning his punishment, telling them that hee should very well perceiue, that this iniury had not beene pronounced by the common consent of them all, if they condemned the offender to suffer a punishment proportionable to his offence. Whereupon they decreed, that he ought to be punished by imprisonment and scourging, for (said they) an iniurie done in word, required no capitall punishment: and to speake vprightly, they in their thinking censured seuerely enough of this fault, for that the Pharises are naturally inclined to mercy when there groweth any question of punishment. But *Hircanus* was sore offended with this their answer, and imagined that this *Eleazar* had spoken after this manner by the common

Chelcias and Ananias Captaines of Cleopatras army.

Strabo of Cappadocias report of the loyalty of the Iewes.

Hircanus groweth in discontent with the Pharises.

Eleazar the Pharise vpbraideth Hircanus that his mother was a slaue.

The Sadduce Ionathan incenseth Hircanus against the Pharises.

common instigation of the rest. This displeasure and conceiued dislike of his, did *Ionathan* aggraUate to the vttermost, and handled the matter in such sort, that he drew *Hircanus* to forsake the Pharises, and to subscribe to the opinions of the Sadduces, abolishing their ordinances, and causing them to be sharpely punished that obserue the same. These practices of *Hircanus* incensed the people against him and his sons. But hereof we will speake in another place. At this present I will declare how the Pharises haue made many ordinances among the people, according to the tradition of their fathers, whereof there is nothing written in the lawes of *Moses*: for which cause the Sect of the Sadduces reiecteth them, affirming that they ought to keepe the written ordinances, and not to obserue those that are grounded vpon the tradition of the fathers: And great dispute and dissensions haue beene raised among them vpon this occasion, because the richer sort onely, and not the baser sort of people, cleaued to the Sadduces: but the Pharises had the communaltie on their sides. But of these two sorts, and of the Essens, I haue more exactly intreated in my second booke of the warres of the Iewes. But *Hircanus* finally appeased this mutiny, and liued afterwards in much peace and happinesse, and after hee had most discreetly gouerned his Princedome for the space of one and thirty yeeres, he died; leauing fiue sonnes behind him. This man was honoured by God with three great gifts; the gift of gouernment; the gift of Priesthood; and the gift of prophecy. For God spake vnto him diuers times by Oracles, and Reuelations, and gaue him the knowledge of things to come; which he in such sort foretold, that he declared that his two eldest sonnes should not possesse the principalitie any long time: whose end it shall not be amisse to set downe in what manner it was, to the intent that the prophecy of their father may be the better knowne.

The yeere of the world, 3854. before Christs Natiuitie, 110.

Hircanus forsaketh the Pharises, and followeth the Sadduces.

The constitutions of the Pharises.

Hircanus death.

The yeere of the world, 3861. before Christs Natiuitie, 103.

Hircanus prophecie of his sonne.

CHAP. XIX.

ARISTOBVLVS *obtaineth the gouernment, and first of all placeth the Kingly Diadem on his head.*

AFTER the death of their father, *Aristobulus* the eldest of his sonnes determined to exchange the principality into an absolute estate of a kingdome: and the better to attaine thereunto, hee first of all set the Diadem vpon his head, foure hundreth eightie and one yeeres and three moneths, since the people of the Iewes were deliuered from the seruitude of Babylon, and led againe into their countrey. And for that *Aristobulus* amongst all his other brethren, loued *Antigonus* best of all, who was the neerest vnto him in age; he accepted him as a companion in the gouernment of the kingdome: but as touching the rest, he shut them vp in prison. He locked vp his mother likewise, who had contended with him as concerning the gouernment (for that *Hircanus* had committed all things to her disposition) and so farre extended his cruelty, that he famished her to death in prison. After he had thus handled his mother, he slew his brother *Antigonus* also; whom he pretended to loue aboue all the rest, and whom (as hee made shew) hee had made partner of his kingdome. From whom he estranged himselfe, by reason of some slanders and false accusations raised vp against him; which at the first he gaue no credit to, both for that the friendship which he bare vnto him, made him slightly respect the same, as also for that he imagined that he was enuiously slandered. It came to passe that *Antigonus*, returning vpon a certaine time from the army with great magnificence, about the time of the feast of Tabernacles, chanced to repaire thither at that very time, wherein *Aristobulus* hapned to fall sicke. *Antigonus* intending to celebrate the solemnitie, ascended the Temple in great brauery, attended by some of his army, to make his speciall prayers for his brothers health. Whereupon certaine malicious wretches, desirous to breake the concord that was betweene them, made vse of this occasion, and of *Antigonus* magnificent pompe and good fortune; and came vnto the King, amplifying vnto him in malicious words, what pompe and maiestie hee had shewed in that solemnitie, telling him that in these his actions, hee demeaned himselfe in no sort like a priuate man; but that all his actions were leuelled at a royaltie: finally, that his intent was to enter the kingdome by force, and to kill him, in that he made his account that since he might bee King alone, it was a great simplicitie for him to haue a companion. But *Aristobulus*, although hee would very hardly be induced to beleeue these reports; yet notwithstanding being desirous both to extinguish the suspicion, and to prouide for his owne securitie, hee disposed certaine of his guard in a darke and priuie place vnder ground, and lodged himselfe in a certaine tower called Antonia, commanding that no man should offer violence, except to those who entred armed: Giuing a further charge to his guard, that if *Antigonus* entred armed, hee should be slaine.

The yeere of the world, 3862. before Christs Natiuity, 102.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 18.

Aristobulus, Hircanus son, was the first after the captiuitie of Babylon that set the Diadem on his head.

Aristobulus admitteth his brother Antigonus to be his copartner in the kingdome, and imprisoneth the rest of his brethren, and famitheth his mother.

Antigonus death complotted.

Aristobulus is incensed against his brother Antigonus.

The yeere of the world, 3862. before Christs Natiuitie, 102.

Which done, he sent for his brother, willing him to repaire vnto him without weapons. Which when the Queene and they that complotted the murther of *Antigonus* vnderstood, they perswaded the messenger to certifie him the contrary, namely, that his brother expected (in that hee made warlike preparation and furniture for warre) that in that estate and pompe, and in those royall and warlike accoustrements, he should come and visit him, to the end he might be an eye-witnesse of his braue furniture and preparation. But *Antigonus* suspecting no harme intended him, and relying on the good will of his brother, marched all armed on foote toward *Aristobulus*, to shew himselfe in that brauery: and when hee came right ouer against the tower, that is called Straton, where the passage was very darke, the Kings guard slew him.

Aristobulus Queene contriueth Antigonus death.

The force of slander.

By this accident a man may easily coniecture, that there is scarcely any power greater then that of enuy and slander, and that there is not any thing that may sooner breake off the good will and amitie amongst brethren, then these two passions. And aboue all, there is an occasion offered vs of great wonder, in respect of one that was called *Iudas*, of the Sect of the Esseans; who in all those things that he prophecied, varied in no sort from the truth. He seeing *Antigonus* come vp into the Temple, cried out among his disciples (who frequented with him to be instructed by him in the methode of prophecy) that he was weary of his life, because *Antigonus* securitie argued the vanitie of his prophecy, by which he had foretold, that that very day he should be slaine at Stratons tower; whereas the place where hee should bee murthered, was sixe hundreth stounds off, and the better part of the day was already spent: so that it could not be imagined, but that he should be in danger to haue made a false prediction. Whilest he declared his doubts after this manner, and was wholly ouercome with choller, newes was brought that *Antigonus* was slaine in a certaine place vnder ground, which was called the tower of Straton, of the same name with that other that standeth neere the Sea, which was afterward called Cæsarea; which ambiguitie troubled the Diuiner. Incontinently after this accident, *Aristobulus* repented himselfe, in that he had put his brother to death; and this repentance of his, was seconded by a most grieuous sickenesse, proceeding from the affliction of his spirit and detestation of that cruell murther: so that with grieuous agony and torment hee vomited blood, as if all his entrals had beene torne in sunder. This blood so vomited by him, it fortuned (in mine opinion) by the diuine prouidence of God, that a certaine seruant of his bearing it from his presence, by some trip of his foot hapned to stumble, and shed the same in that very place, which had bin soiled with the blood of slaughtered *Antigonus*. By which meanes they that beheld the same, raised a great crie, exclaiming that the Page had shed the blood in a conuenient place. *Aristobulus* hearing this out-cry, demanded the cause thereof, and for that no man addressed himselfe to satisfie him, he was the more earnest to know it (according to the nature of men, who are alwaies more suspicious and desirous to know those things, which are most concealed.) Finally, from words he fell to menaces, and neuer a man for feare of him durst tell him the truth. Whereupon he altogether dismayed and affrighted in his conscience, casting forth abundant teares, and loaden with grieuous sighes, began to cry out in this manner: How then? Mine impious and detestable act is not hidden from God, but the sudden punishment of my brothers murther pursueth mee: wherefore, O thou shamelesse body of mine, how long wilt thou detaine my soule, which is due, and appertaineth to the ghosts of my mother and brother? Why dost thou not take it all at once such as it is, without expecting that I should sacrifice my blood, powred out so many times to those, whom I haue so traiterously slaine? While he pronounced these words, he dyed, after he had raigned one yeere. He was called *Philelles*, that is to say, a louer of the Greeks. Thus after he had profited his countrey many waies, and subdued the Itureans, and ioyned the greater part of the countrey, to Iudæa; and had constrained them likewise, who should remaine in that countrey, to be circumcised, and to liue according to the lawes of the Iewes, he dyed thus miserably. Hee was by nature courteous and very shamefast, as *Strabo* testifieth, speaking after this manner, by the authoritie of *Timagenes*; This was a courteous man, and profitable to his countrimen the Iewes in many things: for he inlarged their countrey, and conquered a part of the nations of the Itureans, whom he tyed vnto him by the bond of circumcision.

Iudas the Essean a prophet.

The punishment of Aristobulus for the murther of his brother.

The touch of conscience.

The yeere of the world, 3863. before Christs Natiuity, 101.

Aristobulus compelleth the Itureans to be circumcised, and to obserue the lawes of the Iewes.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

The exploits of ALEXANDER *King of the Iewes.*

The yeere of the world, 3863. before Christs Natiuitie. 101.

WHEN *Aristobulus* was dead, *Salome* his wife (whom the Greekes called *Alexandra*) set his brothers at liberty (whom, as we haue heretofore declared, he had shut vp prisoners) and made *Iannæus* (who was called *Alexander*) King; who both in age and modestie surpassed all the other brethren; but such mis-hap had he, that from his birth-day vpward, his father had conceiued so great a hate against him, that he neuer admitted him to his presence so long as he liued. The cause wherof (as it is reported) was this: When as *Hircanus* loued *Aristobulus* and *Antigonus*, who were his two eldest sonnes, with most intire affection, God appeared vnto him in his sleep, of whom he demanded who should be he that should succeede him? Wherupon God presented vnto his sight the semblance of *Alexander*: wherewith he grew discontent, in that he conceiued that he should be heire of all his goods; and so much preuailed displeasure with him, that as soone as he was borne, he sent him out of his presence into Galilee, to be nourished and brought vp in that place. But God hath apparantly prooued that he lied not to *Hircanus*. For after *Aristobulus* death, he taking possession of the Kingdome, caused one of his two brethren to be put to death, who affected and laboured to make himselfe King: and as for the other, who resolued himselfe to liue in idlenes and pleasure, he honoured him greatly.

Heidio & Ruffinus, cha. 19. Salome surnamed Alexandra Aristobulus his wife maketh Iannæus Alexander King.

Alexander executeth the one brother that affected the crowne, and honoreth the other.

C After that hee had established his estate, according as he thought it most expedient, hee led foorth his army against Ptolemais: and hauing obtained the vpper hand in the battell, he couped vp the men within their City, and afterward besieged and entrenched about the same. For amongst all the Cities of the sea-coast, these two onely, namely Ptolemais and Gaza remained as yet vnconquered, and there was no opposite left but *Zoilus*, who was seized of the tower of Straton and Dora where he gouerned. Whilest *Antiochus Philometor* and *Antiochus Cizicenus* were thus at debate and warre the one against the other, and consumed each others forces, the Ptolemaidans had not any succour from them. But whilest they were trauailed with this siege, *Zoilus* (who held the tower of Straton and Dora) assisted them with that army hee had vnder him, and gaue them some succours, by reason that (since these two Kings were whetted with intestine troubles and warres) he cast how to aduance himselfe to the crowne and soueraigntie. For these two Kings seemed to neglect their owne dangers, resembling herein those wrastlers, who though being wearied with fight; yet are ashamed to submit vnto their aduersary, but giue themselues a breathing time, that they may the better be heartned to encounter. The onely hopes they had, were in the Kings of Egypt and in *Ptolomey Lathyrus*, who held the Ile of Cyprus at that time (whither he retired himselfe after he had been driuen out of his Kingdome by *Cleopatra* his mother.) To him the Ptolemaidans sent Embassadors as vnto their allie, requiring him to come and deliuer them from *Alexanders* hands, into which they were in danger to fall. These Embassadors perswaded him, that if he would passe into Syria, he should haue both *Zoilus* to friend, and those of Gaza to his followers, in the rescue of the Ptolemaidans: and moreouer, they assured him that the Sidonians and diuers others would second him: and by this meanes so encouraged him with promises, that he hasted himselfe to set saile.

Alexander besiegeth Ptolemais.

The yeere of the world, 3864. before Christs Natiuitie. 100.

Zoilus tyrant of Straton and Dora.

But in the meane space *Demenetus* (who was both eloquent and in great authority with the Citizens) made the Ptolemaidans change their resolution, telling them that it was much better for them to hazzard thēselues in some vncertaine danger, wherewith the Iewes threatned them, then to deliuer themselues into the hands of such a master, from whom they could expect nothing but manifest seruitude. And moreouer, not onely to sustaine a present warre; but that which is more, an imminent warre from Egypt: for that *Cleopatra* would not permit that *Ptolomey* should leuy an army of the neighbouring Nations, but would come against them with a great power, and would enforce her selfe also to thrust her sonne out of Cyprus. And as for *Ptolomey*, if he were frustrate of his hope, yet might he notwithstanding once more returne againe to Cyprus; whereas they were to expect no lesse but extreme danger. Now although that *Ptolomey* being at sea, vnderstood how the Ptolemaidans had changed their opinion, yet continued he his course onward, and landing in the port of Sicamine, he caused his army (who were of foot and horse to the number of thirty thousand men) to take land, and with them he approached Ptolemais; and perceiuing that vpon his encamping, they of the City admitted not his Embassadors, neither in any sort gaue eare vnto them, he was wondrously perplexed. But after *Zoilus* and they of Gaza were come vnto him, requiring him to yeeld them assistance, for that their country was destroied

Zoilus & the Gazeans require aide against the Iewes at Ptolomies hands.

The yeere of the world, 3864. before Christs Natiuitie, 140.

destroied by the Iewes, and by *Alexander*: For which cause *Alexander* raised his siege from before Ptolemais, for feare of *Ptolomey*, and retiring his army into his owne countrey, he began to vse this stratageme. For couertly he incited *Cleopatra* against *Ptolomey*; and openly hee made a shew of amitie and confederation with *Ptolomey*: promising him to giue him foure hundreth talents of siluer, prouided that he would deliuer him of the tyrant *Zoilus*, and assigne those possessions held by him vnto the Iewes. *Ptolomey* hauing made a peace and league with *Alexander*, did at that time willingly lay hold on *Zoilus*: but after that he vnderstood that *Alexander* had sent and incensed his mother against him, he brake all accord, and went and besieged Ptolemais, that would not entertaine him. After therefore he had left his lieutenants at the siege with part of his forces, he departed with the rest, to enter vpon and spoile the countrey of Iudæa. *Alexander* perceiuing *Ptolomies* intent, assembled about fiftie thousand fighting men of his owne countrey, (or as some historians haue written, eightie thousand) with whom he went out to fight against *Ptolomey*, who sodainly setting vpon Azoch a citie of Galile on a Sabbath day, tooke it by force, and led away from thence ten thousand prisoners, and a great quantity of other bootie.

Alexander perswadeth Ptolomey to cut off Zoilus. Zoilus taken. Ptolemais besieged by Ptolomey. Ptolomey taketh Azor a towne in Galilee.

CHAP. XXI.

How PTOLOMEY LATHYRVS *fought against* ALEXANDER, *and obtained the victory.*

HE afterwards set vpon Sephor a city neere vnto Azoch, from whence he departed with the losse of many men, with an intent to fight with *Alexander*: who came forth to make head against him, and met with him neere vnto Iordan, in a place called Asophon, and encamped right ouer against the enemy. He had in his vantgard eight thousand men, whom he called Combattants by the hundreths, who carried brazen bucklers. *Ptolomies* foreward also had bucklers after the same fashion: who perceyuing themselues to bee inferiours in other points, deferred the charge, and were loth to hazzard battell. But *Philostephanus* the campe-master did not a little encourage them: For he caused them to passe the floud, hard by which they were encamped, neither would he hinder *Alexander* from passing the same, making his account, that if the enemies had the riuer on their backes, hee should bee the more assured of them, that they should not warrantize themselues from the fight. In the beginning of the skirmish, each one of them fought, with answerable valour; so that a great number of them fell on both sides. But *Philostephanus* perceiuing that *Alexanders* army had the better, he tooke a part of his followers, and speedily seconded those who were ready to retire themselues. The wing of the Iewes vantguard that saw themselues freshly charged, and not succoured by any means, began to flie; and so farre were those that marched next them, from yeelding them assistance, that contrariwise all of them became partners in one shamefull flight. But they of *Ptolomies* side behaued themselues farre otherwise: for they pursued and slew them, and after they had wholly disarraied them, they charged them so hotly, that they blunted their weapons, and wearied their armes with killing them. It is reported that thirty thousand men were slaine in the battell (*Timagenes* saith, fiftie thousand) as for the rest, some of them were taken prisoners, and othersome fled vnto their houses. After that *Ptolomey* had obtained this victory, hee ouerranne and spoyled the whole countrey, and in the euening he quartered himselfe in certaine villages of Iudæa, which he found full of women and children, and commanded his souldiers without respect of person, to cut their throats, and to chop them into pieces; and afterwards to cast the morsels into a boyling cauldron, and when they were well sod, to eate the same: All which he acted, to the intent that they that were fled from the battell, and retired to their owne habitations, should know that their enemies would eate mens flesh; that by this meanes they might redoubt them the more when they should behold them. *Strabo* and *Nicholas* report, that they demeaned themselues after this manner, as I haue declared. And *Ptolomey* tooke Ptolemais also by force, as I haue made knowne else-where.

Alexanders ouerthrow.

Ptolomey, to the end he might afflict the Iewes with more terrour, causeth his soldiers to eate mans flesh.

Ptolemais taken by force.

But *Cleopatra* perceiuing how her sonne prospered, and how hee had spoiled Iewry without any preiudice, and subiected the city of Gaza to his command: shee concluded with her selfe, that she ought not to suffer him to increase after that manner, considering it was vpon the borders of Egypt, whose soueraignty he affected. For which cause, she sodainly marched out against him, with an army both by sea and land; committing the command of her whole forces to *Chelcias* and *Ananias*, both Iewes; and sent the greater part of her riches into the Ile of Coos, with her nephewes, and her testament, to be reserued and kept there in safety. And after she had commanded

Cleopatra prepareth an army against her sonne.

manded her ſonne *Alexander* to ſet ſaile toward Phœnicia, with a great nauy, becauſe the inhabitants of that countrey were reuolted from her obeiſance: ſhe her ſelfe departed and came to Ptolemais, and beſieged it, when ſhee perceiued that they refuſed to grant her entry. *Ptolomey* made haſte to depart out of Syria, and to enter Ægypt, hoping to be Lord thereof at one time, when he ſhould find the countrey diſfurniſhed of men of warre. But this purpoſe failed him. At that time it fortuned, that *Chelcias* one of the two Generals of *Cleopatras* armie, died in Cœloſyria, being in purſuit of *Ptolomey*. *Cleopatra* hauing tydings of her ſonnes enterprize, and that the ſucceſſe and fortune he expected in Ægypt had failed him, ſhee ſent part of her armie to driue him out of the countrey; ſo that he was enforced to returne backe againe out of Ægypt, and to go and ſpend his winter at Gaza. Meane while *Cleopatra* beſieged and tooke the Citie of Ptolemais, whither *Alexander* reſorted vnto her, with great preſents, and an anſwerable reſpect vnto his fortune, who had beene ſo vntowardly handled by *Ptolomey*, hauing now no other recourſe left him but to her fauour and aſſiſtance. Vpon his arriuall, certaine of her familiars counſelled her to lay hands on him, and to ſeize the countrey: and not to permit that ſo great a number of Iewes, and they ſo valiant men, ſhould become ſubiects vnto one man. But *Ananias* gaue her counſell to the contrarie, alleadging that ſhe ſhould commit an act of great iniuſtice, if ſhe ſhould depoſe him, who was her allie, from the gouernment; who was beſide that, very neerely allied vnto her. For (ſaid he) I would you ſhould know, that by committing this wrong, you ſhal raiſe in all the reſt of the Iewes a hainous hatred againſt you. *Cleopatra* conforming her ſelfe according to *Ananias* counſell, reſolued with her ſelfe to offer *Alexander* no iniurie; but in ſtead thereof, ſhe entertained him as her allie and friend, at Scythopolis a Citie of Cœloſyria. Now whē *Alexander* perceiued, that he was diſcharged of the feare which he had conceiued in reſpect of *Ptolomey*, he incōtinently drew his army into Cœloſyria, and after ſixe moneths ſiege, tooke Gadara: he tooke ſhortly after Amath alſo (which is a great fortreſſe belonging to the inhabitants about Iordan) where *Theodore* the ſonne of *Zenon* had hoorded vp the richeſt and goodlieſt part of his ſubſtance: who ſurpriſing the Iewes at vnawares, ſlew about ten thouſand of them, and pillaged *Alexanders* baggage.

The yeere of the world, 3864. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 100.

Ptolomey driuen out of Ægypt.

Ptolemais beſieged and taken by Cleopatra.

Alexanders peace with Cleopatra renued.

The yeere of the world, 3873. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 91.

Alexander taketh Gadara.

This did not any waies aſtoniſh *Alexander*: but notwithſtanding the diſaſter, he marched forward toward the Cities Raphia and Anthedon, which *Herod* afterwards called Agrippias, ſituate on the ſea-coaſts, and tooke them perforce; and ſeeing that *Ptolomey* was retired from Gaza into Cyprus, and that *Cleopatra* his mother was in Ægypt, he beſieged the Citie of Gaza, and ſpoiled all the countrey round about it, by reaſon of the diſpleaſure which he had conceiued againſt the Citizens, for that they had ſought their aſſiſtance at *Ptolomeis* hands againſt him. Againſt him *Apollodotus* Captaine of the Gazeans made a ſally by night, and entred the campe of the Iewes, hauing onely with him two thouſand ſtrange ſouldiers, and one thouſand of his owne followers. And as long as the night laſted, the Gazeans had the vpper hand, becauſe that they made their enemies beleeue that *Ptolomey* was come to their reſcue, and to aſſault the Iewes afreſh: but as ſoone as the day appeared, and this opiniō was found falſe, as ſoone as the Iewes were aſſured of the truth, they turned backe vpon them, and charging the Gazeans, they ſlew about ſome one thouſand fighting men of them.

Alexander beſiegeth Gaza.

Apollodotus by night inuadeth the campe of the Iewes.

All this notwithſtanding, they bethought them on no ſurrender, but ſtood out, being neither amated with loſſe of men, or lacke of prouiſion whatſoeuer, reſoluing thēſelues rather to endure any miſery, then to ſubmit thēſelues into the hands of their enemies: and that which made them more cōfident, was the hope of help which they expected from *Aretas* King of Arabia, who had promiſed no leſſe. But it came to paſſe that *Apollodotus* was ſlaine before his arriual, and the citie taken. For *Lyſimachus* his brother conceiued a iealouſie againſt him, by reaſon of the good opinion which the inhabitants had of him, and hauing ſlaine him, & gathered thoſe fighting men that he might, he yeelded vp the Citie vnto *Alexander*, who at the firſt made a peaceable entrie, but afterwards diſperſed his ſouldiers, & gaue them licence to execute all hoſtilitie againſt the Citizens: ſo that they acted their crueltie in euery place, and ſlew many of the Gazeans: Neither died theſe citizens vnreuenged, but ſo manfully behaued they themſelues, that they butchered no leſſe number of Iewes, then they murthered citizens among them. Some of them likewiſe perceiuing themſelues to be alone, ſet fire vpon their houſes, taking away firſt that which was therein; to the intent that the enemy might be enriched with none of their ſpoiles. Otherſome killed their wiues and children with their owne hands, meaning this way to deliuer them from the enemies ſeruitude. But the Senators, to the number of 5. hundreth, were fled into the Temple of Apollo (for at ſuch time as the enemy entred the towne, they were by chāce aſſembled in councell) all theſe did *Alexander* put to the ſword, and inſtantly razed and leuelled that Citie with the ground: which done,

Aretas King of Arabia flattereth the Gazeans with hope of reſcue Lyſimachus killeth his brother Apollodotus, and betraied Gaza to Alexander.

done, he returned to Ieruſalem: after he had ſpent one whole yeere at the ſiege before Gaza.

The yeere of the world, 3873. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt, 91.

About this time *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *Gryphus*, died by the treaſon of *Heracleon*, in the fortie and fift yeere of his age, and in the nine and twentieth of his raigne. His ſonne *Seleucus* had the Kingdome after him, who made warre againſt his vncle *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *Cyzicenus*, and hauing ouercome and taken him, he ſlew him. Not long after, *Antiochus* the ſon of *Cyzicenus*, and *Antoninus*, ſurnamed the Deuout, came to Arade, and placed the Diademes vpon their heads, and made warre againſt *Seleucus*, whom they ouercame in one conflict, and draue him out of all Syria; who flying into Cilicia, and arriuing againe in the Citie of the Mopſeates, he exacted a ſum of money at the Citizens hands. But the people were ſo incenſed, that they ſet fire on his palace; whereby it came to paſſe, that both he and his friends were burned to duſt. During the time that *Antiochus* the ſon of *Cyzicenus* raigned in Syria, another *Antiochus, Seleucus* brother, made warre againſt him; but he was not onely ouercome, but both he and his army were put to the ſword. After him, *Philip* his ſonne tooke the Diademe, and gouerned in certaine places of Syria.

Antiochus Gryphus ſlaine. Seleucus Gryphus ſonne, maketh warre with Antiochus the Cyzicenian.

The yeere of the world, 3874. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 90.

Meane while *Ptolomey Lathurus* ſent to *Gnidus* for his fourth brother *Demetrius Eucærus*, and made him King of Damaſco. Againſt theſe two brothers *Antiochus* made a manly and valiant reſiſt, but died very ſhortly after. For repairing to Laodicea to ſuccour the Queene of the Galadenians, who made warre againſt the Parthians, he died fighting valiantly; and his two brothers, *Demetrius* and *Philip* poſſeſſed Syria, as hereafter ſhall be declared. As for *Alexander*, a domeſticall ſedition was raiſed againſt him; for the people aroſe and mutined at ſuch time, as he aſſiſted at the Altar to ſolemnize the feaſt of Tabernacles, and during the time that he intended the ſacrifice, they caſt Citrons at him: for (as wee haue declared elſe-where) the Iewes haue this cuſtome, that on the feaſt of the Tabernacles, each one bringeth a branch of Palme, and of Citrons. They vpbraided him alſo with many iniurious ſpeeches, reproching him, that hee had bin priſoner in warre; and that he was alſo vnworthy of the honour of the Prieſthood. Whereupon, he being mooued by theſe diſgraces, ſlaughtered about ſixe thouſand men: and hauing made an incloſure of wood about the temple and the altar (as farre as the place whereinto it was lawfull for none to enter but the Prieſts) he kept there, to the intent the people might not apprehend him: he entertained alſo certaine ſtrange ſouldiers Piſidians and Cilicians. For in that hee was at oddes with the Syrians, he made no vſe of them.

Antiochus Euſebes putteth Seleucus to flight. Antiochus Seleucus brother, fighteth againſt Antiochus the ſon of the Cyzicenian. Demetrius Eucærus made King of Damaſco by Ptolomey Lathurus. Citrons caſt at Alexander.

After this, hauing ouercome the Arabians, hee conſtrained the Moabites and Galaadites to pay him tribute, and deſtroied the Citie of Amath whil'ſt *Theodore* for feare gaue ouer to reſiſt him. But encountering with *Obeda* the King of Arabia, and being ſurprized and betraied by an ambuſcado in certaine miry and vnhaunted places, he was thruſt by the preſſe of the Camels into a deepe trench (neere vnto Gadara a village of Galaad) from whence he almoſt deſpaired to eſcape: notwithſtanding, auoiding that danger, he came to Ieruſalem. And beſides this his laſt miſ-hap, the people hated him, againſt who he made warre for the ſpace of ſixe yeeres, and ſlew at the leaſt fiftie thouſand of them: and the more he intreated them to compromit theſe hainous debates between them, the more grieuous diſpleaſure conceiued they againſt him, becauſe of the inconuenients they had ſuffered: ſo that when he demanded of them what they would haue him to doe: they all of them with one voice cried out, that he ſhould kill himſelfe. And thereupon they preſently ſent meſſengers to *Demetrius Eucærus*, requeſting him of his fauour and aſſiſtance.

Amath deſtroied. Obeda King of Arabia.

The yeere of the world, 3884. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 80.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 20.

CHAP. XXII.

DEMETRIVS EVCÆRVS *ouercommeth* ALEXANDER *in battell.*

HE comming onward with his army, and taking with him thoſe who had incited him to the enterprize, came and encamped neere vnto the Citie of Sichem. But *Alexander* gathering together ſome twentie thouſand Iewes (whom hee knew to be well-affected towards him) with ſixe thouſand and two hundreth mercenary ſouldiers and ſtrangers, marched forward againſt *Demetrius*, who led with him three thouſand horſemen, and fortie thouſand footmen. Both on the one and the other ſide there fell out many ſubtill ſtratagems: the one of them ſtriuing on the one ſide to inueigle and withdraw the forraine ſouldiers, who were Grecians; and the other inforcing himſelfe to reconcile thoſe Iewes that were of *Demetrius* followers to his faction: but neither the one nor other preuailed ought at all by theſe deuices: ſo that finally they were driuen to decide their quarrell by the ſword: in which encountry *Demetrius* had the vpper hand. For al the ſtrangers that were on *Alexãders* ſide, were euery one hew'd in pieces, after they had made ſufficient proofe both of their faith & valor. There died alſo many of *Demetrius*

Demetrius Eucærus marcheth out againſt Alexander. Demetrius fighteth with Alexander, and hath the vpper hand. Alexander in this fight loſeth all his hired ſoldiers

A trius ſouldiers. But after that *Alexander* had fled vnto the mountaines, diuers Iewes (to the number of ſixe thouſand) in commiſeration of his deſperate eſtate, and through the feare they had of *Demetrius*, reſorted vnto him; which when the Conquerer heard, he retired himſelfe. After this, the Iewes made war againſt *Alexander*, & in diuers loſſes which they receiued, there dyed a great number of them in diuers combates: Finally, after he had clozed vp the moſt ſtrongeſt amongſt them in the City of Bethom, he beſieged them; and after he had taken the City, and brought them vnder his ſubiection, he carried them to Ieruſalem, where he perpetrated an vnſpeakeable & cruell murther. For whil'ſt he banquetted with his concubines, in the ſight of them all, he commanded eight hundreth of them or thereabout to be crucified, and before their eies whil'ſt they yet liued, he cauſed their wiues and childrens throats to be cut. All which he did to reuenge B himſelfe of thoſe wrongs which he had receiued: but he exceeded the bounds of humanity herein, notwithſtanding they had rebelled againſt him, and reduced him into a moſt pitious eſtate, & put him in danger both of his life and kingdome. For being not content to aſſaile and make war vpon him with their forces, they drew ſtrangers alſo in his countrey againſt him: and finally, they ouerpreſſed him in ſuch ſort, that hee was conſtrayned to yeld vp into the King of Arabias hands, the countries and cities that he had conquered from the Moabites and Galaadites; for feare leſt they ſhould ioyne with the Iewes, and make warre againſt him; beſides other inmumerable iniuries and outrages committed by them againſt him. This notwithſtanding it cannot bee excuſed, but that he ouerſhot himſelfe herein; ſo that by reaſon of this enormous cruelty, hee C was called *Thracidas*, that is to ſay, as cruell as a Thracian: and this title continued amongſt the Iewes. The ſouldiers of the contrary party, who amounted to the number of eight thouſand, fled by night into ſtrong and ſure holds; and as long as *Alexander* liued, they were in exile. But at the laſt, after he was deliuered of all theſe troubles, hee liued in quiet, and gouerned his kingdome peaceably all the remnant of his life. But *Demetrius* departing from Iudæa to Berœa, beſieged his brother *Philip* with ten thouſand footmen, and one thouſand horſe. But *Straton* Lord of Berœa, allied to *Philip*, called *Zizus* Duke of the Arabians, and *Mithridates Sinaces* gouernor of the Parthians, vnto his helpe; who repairing vnto him with great forces, beſieged *Demetrius* in his owne trenches, in which they ſo incloſed him by continuall ſhooting of darts, and want of water, that they conſtrained him, and thoſe that were with him, to ſubmit themſelues to their mercy. When D as therefore they had preyed the whole countrey, and were ſeized of *Demetrius*, they ſent him priſoner to *Mithridates*, who at that time was King of Parthia. And as touching the Antiochians, as many of them as were found in the camp, were ſuffered to depart with the ſafety of their liues and baggage, and to returne to Antioch. But *Mithridates* King of Parthia honoured *Demetrius*, by all meanes poſſible, vntill ſuch time as he was ſurprized with a ſickneſs, whereof he died. Incontinently after the battell, *Philip* came into Antioch, and hauing obtained the Kingdome, ruled ouer Syria.

The yeere of the world, 3884. before Chriſts Nativity, 86.

Sixe thouſand men reſort vnto Alexander.

Alexander being aſſailed by the Iewes, beſiegeth the mightieſt of them in Bethom.

Alexander crucifieth 800 Iewes, and murthereth their wiues & children in their preſence

Alexander ſurnamed Thracidas.

Demetrius beſiegeth his brother Philip in Berœa.

CHAP. XXIII.

The exploits of ANTIOCHVS DIONYSIVS *againſt Iudæa.*

AFTER this, *Antiochus* called *Dionyſius* (who was *Philips* brother) came into Damaſco to obtaine the ſoueraignty therein, and therein in ſhort ſpace accompliſhing his affaires, got poſſeſſion of the crowne. When his brother *Philip* (who had an army in a readineſſe to inuade the Arabians) had tidings hereof, he came to Damaſco with great ſpeede, and made him ſurrender vp the Citie, both by the meanes of *Mileſius* whom *Antiochus* had left gouernour in the Caſtle; as alſo by the conſent of the Citizens themſelues. But *Philip* ſhewed himſelfe vngrateful toward *Mileſius*, performing nothing of that which he had promiſed him, at ſuch time as he deliuered him the Citie; becauſe his intent was, that the world ſhould thinke that the feare of his power, & not *Mileſius* fauour, was the cauſe of the ſurprizall of Damaſco. Which act of his drew him into ſuſpicion with *Mileſius*, & was the cauſe that he loſt the City againe. For departing from thence to exerciſe himſelfe at tilt, *Mileſius* lockt the gates againſt him, and kept the City for *Antiochus*. Who hauing intelligence of that which had befallen *Philip*, returned out of Arabia, and at that very inſtant led his army into Iudæa, in which there were eight thouſand footmen, and eight hundreth horſemen. *Alexander* fearing his approach, made a deepe trench from Caparſabe (which is called at this day Antipatris) as farre as the ſea of Ioppe (which was the only ſtreight whereby he might be aſſailed) & made a wall furniſhed with woodden towers, with their courts of guard, diſtant the one from the other an hundreth and fiftie furlongs, to keepe

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 21

Antiochus King of Damaſco.

Antiochus thruſt out of his kingdome by his brother

The yeere of the world, 3887. before Chriſts Nativitie, 77.

Caparbaſa called Antipatris.

keepe backe *Antiochus*. But he fired all theſe his fortifications, and made his army to paſſe into A- G
rabia thorow this ſtreight. The King of Arabia retired vpon the firſt aſſault; but afterwards hee
preſently came into the field with ten thouſand horſemen: whom *Antiochus* charged very vali-
antly, and in the onſet loſt his life (yet with victory) whil'ſt he ſought to ſuccour a company of
his men that were hardly laid to. After *Antiochus* death, his army retired to the borough of Ca-
na, where diuers of them died for hunger.

The yeere of the world, 3884. before Chriſts Natiuity, 80.

Antiochus death and the famine amongſt his armie.

After him *Aretas* raigned in Cœloſyria, who was called vnto that Kingdome by thoſe that held Damaſco and hated *Ptolomey* the ſonne of *Mennæus*. *Aretas* led his armie into Iewry, and got a victorie againſt *Alexander* neere to Adida: which done, he retired out of Iudæa, vpon a compoſition made betweene them. Moreouer, once more *Alexander* marched towards the Ci- H
ty of Dion, and tooke the ſame. And afterwards he led his army againſt Eſſa, where *Zeno* had hoorded vp his chiefeſt riches: and before he aſſailed the fortreſſe, he inuironed the place with three huge walles, which he builded round about it; and hauing taken it by force, he marched to Gaulana, and Seleucia: which when he had ouercome, he made himſelfe maſter of a valley called the Valley of *Antiochus*, with the fortreſſe of Gamala. And obiecting many crimes againſt *Demetrius* the Lord of thoſe places, he diſpoſſeſſed him of his Gouernment. Finally, after he had made warre for the ſpace of three whole yeers, he returned into his countrey; where the Iewes entertained him willingly by reaſon of the happy exploits which he had atchieued.

Aretas king of Cœloſyria.

Certaine cities taken by Alexander.

The yeer of the world, 3887. before chriſts Natiuity, 77.

About the ſame time the Iewes were already poſſeſſed of the Cities of Syria, Idumæa, and Phœnicia; of the Tower of Straton, Apollonia, Ioppe, Iamnia, Azoth, Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia, I
Rhinocura, all which were neere vnto the Sea: and in the firme land on the one ſide of Idumæa, as Adora, Mariſſa, and all Samaria; the Mounts Carmel and Itabyr; and herewith Scythopolis, Gadara, Gaulanitis, Seleucia, Gabala; and of Moab, Eſſebon, Medaba, Lemba, Orona, Telithon, and Zara; Antona of Cilicia and Pella. This laſt City was razed by them, becauſe the inhabi-
tants would not promiſe to conuert themſelues to the religion of the Iewes) with diuers other of the principall Cities of Syria alſo, which were conquered by them.

The Iewes are Lords of the cities of the Syrians, Idumæans and Phœnicians.

Pella deſtroied and razed.

After this, King *Alexander* fell ſicke, by the meanes of his ſurfeit and drunkennes; and for the ſpace of three yeers he was trauelled with a quartane ague. This notwithſtanding, he was alwaies in the campe, vntil ſuch time as being wearied with trauailes, he died in the marches of the countrey of the Geraſens, at ſuch time as he beſieged Regaba (which is a Caſtle ſituate on the other K
ſide of Iordan. The Queene perceiuing that he was at deaths doore, and that there remained neither hope of life, nor recouerie; ſhe began to weepe and lament, and to beate her breſts, becauſe both ſhe and her children were likely now to be left deſolate, and in theſe words ſhe bemoaned

Alexanders ſickneſſe.

" her ſelfe vnto him: To whom wilt thou leaue both me and thy children in the eſtate, wherein we
" be? or why ſhould we ſuruiue or liue one after another, conſidering that thou aſſuredly knoweſt,
" that the heart of thy people are eſtranged from vs? Hereupon the King comforted her, and gaue
" her this counſel, that if ſhe would aſſure the kingdome both vnto her & her children, ſhe ſhould
behaue her ſelfe according to his direction: which was, firſt to conceale his death, and not to ſuf-
fer his men of warre to haue notice thereof, vntill ſuch time as ſhe had taken this Caſtle. Which
done, he aduiſed her to repaire to Ieruſalem in pompe, and triumph; and that being there, ſhee L
ſhould beſtow ſome authority vpon the Phariſes, who ſhould recouer her praiſes, and obtaine
her fauour amongſt the people. For (ſaid he) theſe kind of men are in great eſtimation and credit
with the people, and can doe much hurt vnto thoſe they hate, and further them in like ſort very
mightily towards whom they are wel affected: For the people eaſily beleeueth them, when they
vrge ought againſt any man, notwithſtanding it bee of enuie; and that himſelfe alſo had incurd
the diſpleaſure of the people for their ſakes, in that he had offended them.

The yeere of the world, 3890. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 74.

Alexander inſtructeth his wife, how ſhee ſhould raigne ſecurely.

The authority of the Phariſes among the people.

When as therefore (ſaid hee) thou ſhalt arriue in Ieruſalem, ſend thou for the chiefeſt a-
mongſt them, and pray them to come vnto thee; and after you haue ſhewed them my dead bo-
" dy, vſe the moſt plauſible ſpeech that you can, and giue them permiſſion to diſpoſe of my body
" as they liſt, whether it be their pleaſure to interdict and deny me funerall (in that they haue re- M
" ceiued many indignities by mee) or whether in auengement of their diſpleaſure, they will offer
" any ignominie to my body: and promiſe you them that you will doe nothing in the adminiſtra-
" tion or gouernement of the kingdome, but by their aduice. If in this ſort you ſhape both your
" manners and diſcourſe towards them, it will come to paſſe, that I ſhall bee buried by them with
" great magnificence (which otherwiſe I could not bee by any other meanes) becauſe they will
" offer no outrage to my body, no although you ſhould permit them: and beſides that, you ſhall
" raigne in more aſſurance and quiet.

After

After he had giuen his wife theſe aduertiſements, hee gaue vp the ghoſt; after he had raigned ſeuen and twentie yeeres, and liued fortie and nine.

The yeer of the world, 3890. before christs Natiuity, 74.

Alexanders death.

CHAP. XXIIII.

After ALEXANDERS *death, his wife* ALEXANDRA *gouerneth the kingdome.*

AFTER that *Alexandra* had taken the Caſtle of Ragaba, ſhee conferred with the Phariſes, according to her husbands counſell, and committed vnto their diſcretion, not onely that which concerned her husbands obſequies, but alſo the gouernment of the kingdome: whereby ſhee not onely appeaſed the diſpleaſure which before-time they had conceiued againſt *Alexander*, but alſo obtained their good will and amitie. They therefore came and declaimed amongſt the people, making an Oration of the acts and geſts of *Alexander*, complaining euery where that they had loſt a good King, and by the inforced praiſes that they vſed, they incited the people to great griefe and lamentation: ſo that they buried him with more magnificence, then any King that raigned before him. This *Alexander* left two ſonnes behind him, the one called *Hircanus*, the other *Ariſtobulus*, and by his teſtament committed the gouernment of the kingdome to *Alexandra* his wife. For *Hircanus* was incapable to manage affaires, and rather delighted in peace and quiet; and *Ariſtobulus*, who was the younger, was both actiue and fit for gouernment. The people were well affected towards *Alexandra*, becauſe ſhee had manifeſtly expreſſed how greatly ſhee miſ-liked her husbands miſ-gouernment.

Alexanders funerall.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 22.

Hircanus and Ariſtobulus Alexanders ſonnes.

Shee appointed *Hircanus* high Prieſt (both in regard of his age, as alſo for that by nature hee was compoſed to peace and quiet) and committed all things to the diſpoſition of the Phariſes, commanding the people to obey and ſerue them. Shee alſo renued and confirmed that which *Hircanus* had diſanulled, and the Phariſes (according to the cuſtomes of their forefathers) had introduced; ſo that ſhee bare the name, and the Phariſes the authoritie royall. For they reſtored ſuch as were baniſhed, to their eſtates, and deliuered priſoners; and in all things they demeaned themſelues like great Lords, *Alexandra* alſo for her part vndertooke the care of the Commonweale, and kept a great number of ſouldiers in pay, and increaſed her power in ſuch ſort, that the Tyrants round about her feared her, and deliuered the hoſtages and pledges of peace. All the countrey was at quiet, onely the Phariſes troubled the Queene, perſwading her to put thoſe to death, who had counſelled King *Alexander* to put thoſe eight hundreth to death (of whom wee haue ſpoken before) and they themſelues afterwards ſlew one that was called *Diogenes*, and after him diuers others, one by one: vntill ſuch time as thoſe in authority came vnto the royall palace, accompanied with *Ariſtobulus* (who ſeemed to be diſpleaſed with that which had hapned, and who if the occaſion were offered, made ſhew that he would not permit his mother to gouerne after that manner) and told her that which had hapned, and in what dangers they had beene, to expreſſe their dutie and loyaltie which they ought to their deceaſed maſter; and how for that cauſe they had beene greatly honoured by him; requiring her that ſhee would not vtterly fruſtrate them of their hopes, which they expected in lieu of their ſeruice, that now they that had eſcaped from the danger of their forraine enemies, were in their houſes murthered like beaſts by their priuate maligners, without any reliefe or ſuccours from any one. They furthermore vrged, that if their aduerſaries would content themſelues with thoſe they had ſlain, they would endure their misfortunes patiently, by reaſon of the ſincere affection they bare vnto their Lords: but if they muſt needly as yet ſuffer the like, they required that they might haue licence to depart. For that they would not procure their ſafetie, otherwiſe then by her conſent: and would rather ſuffer a voluntary death neere vnto her royall palace, if they might not be ſpared: for that it would be a ſhame both for themſelues, and for the Queene, if by her toleration, thoſe, who had bin her deceaſed husbands friends, ſhould be thus vexed by them which were his aduerſaries.

Hircanus high Prieſt.

The Phariſes admitted to the adminiſtration of the Commonweale, are greedy of reuenge.

Ariſtobulus and his followers accuſe the Phariſes of tyrannie.

That *Aretas* King of Arabia and other Princes, would be glad of this newes, to heare that ſhe ſhould eſtrange thoſe perſons farre from her, whoſe names haue beene dreadfull euen amongſt thoſe neighbouring Kings who haue but heard the ſame. And if ſhe had reſolued to make more account of the Phariſes fauour, then of their ſeruice, they beſought her that ſhe would at leaſtwiſe diſtribute them in ſeueral Caſtles, for that rather then any miſ-hap ſhould purſue their ſoueraigne *Alexanders* houſe, they were content to lead their liues in that contemptible and abiect condition. Whileſt thus they ſpake, and exclaimed on the ſoule of *Alexander*, praying him to haue compaſſion as well of thoſe that were already dead, as of thoſe who were in danger of their liues,

The yeere of the world, 3890. before Christs Natiuity, 74.

liues, the teares ranne from the eyes of all the assistants: and *Aristobulus* (aboue the rest was heartily discontent, and expressed the same by expostulating the cause with his mother. But they themselues were the cause of their owne calamity, because that against all right and reason, they had permitted a headstrong and ambitious woman to raigne ouer them, as if the King had no heires reserued to succeed him in the Kingdome. The Queene vncertaine how to determine the matter at that instant, committed the charge of all her Castels into their hands, reseruing onely Hircania, Alexandrion, and Machæron, wherein the Princes mooueables and wealth was kept.

Alexandra committeth the custodie of the Castles to the Iewes. Aristobulus is sent to Damasco against Ptolomey. Tigranes inuading Syria, heareth newes of Lucullus pursuite of Mithridates, and returneth home.

Not long after, she sent her sonne *Aristobulus* with a strong army, commanding him to draw his forces towards Damasco, against *Ptolomey* called *Mennæus*, who was an il neighbour vnto that Citie: but he returned thence without atchieuing any memorable action. About the same time newes was brought, that *Tigranes* King of Armenia inuaded Syria, with fiue hundreth thousand men of war, intending shortly to set vpon Iewry. This rumour affrighted the Queene, and all the communalty (and not without cause.) Whereupon she sent Embassadours with many princely presents vnto *Tigranes*, who besieged the City of Ptolemais. (For Queene *Selena*, otherwise called *Cleopatra*, raigned in Syria, and perswaded the Syrians to deny *Tigranes* passage.) But *Alexandras* Embassadours met with the King of Armenia, and besought him to conceiue a good opinion of their Queene, and of all the whole nation of the Iewes: who receiued them willingly, praising them for that they had sought him out so far to doe him honour, and put them in good hope. After the taking in of Ptolemais, it was told *Tigranes* that *Lucullus* pursued *Mithridates* (who was not as yet apprehended, for that he was fled into Iberia, which was the cause that *Lucullus* had entred Armenia, and forraged the same.) *Tigranes* hearing this newes, returned backe into his countrey.

The yeer of the world, 3893. before Christs Natiuity, 71.

The yeere of the world, 3894. before Christs birth, 70.

Alexandras sickneſſe, aud Aristobulus attempt.

After this, Queene *Alexandra* fell sicke of a dangerous and noisome disease: whereby *Aristobulus* tooke occasion to intermeddle with the affaires of estate. Walking therefore abroad one night attended by a trustie seruant, he repaired vnto those Castles, which were committed to the custodie of his fathers friends: for of long time he had misliked his mothers Gouernment, and now was the more affraid that if she should happen to dye, all her posterity should be made subiect to the power of the Pharises. For he well perceiued how vnapt his elder brother was to gouerne the Kingdome, vnto whom notwithstanding the succession appertained: only his wife, whom (accompanied with his children) he had left with *Alexandra*, had an inkling of this his intent. He therefore went first of all to Agaba, where *Galestes* one of the chiefest Potentates commanded, who entertained him with great ioy.

The yeere of the world, 3897. before Christs Natiuitie, 67.

Aristobulus seizeth the castles, and great concourse of people resort to him.

The next day, the Queene hearing that *Aristobulus* was departed from Court, yet little suspected she at the first, that he was retired to worke some alteration in the state. But when as messengers came flocking one after another, and told her that after the first Castle, the second; and after ther second, all the rest had consequently bin surprized by *Aristobulus*: at that time both the Queene and the whole nation were dismaied, fearing lest he should presently vsurpe the soueraigntie; but aboue all they feared, lest he should reuenge himselfe on those, who had outraged his familiars: and it was thought meet that both his wife and children should be committed to the Castle, that adioyned the Temple. But from all parts round about resorted there souldiers to *Aristobulus*; so that he was attended like a King: for in the space of some 15. daies he tooke twenty and two forts, whither he made his retreats, and assembled an army of souldiers, and leuied them amongst the Lords that inhabit Libanus and Trachonitis: For the multitude hath alwaies resort to the stronger side, supposing that if they submit thereunto willingly, and maintaine and roiallize the same, that they shall draw some profit thereby, as being those that were the occasion of the confirmation of his Monarchie.

Hircanus and the Elders informe the Queene, and accuse Aristobulus. Alexandras death.

Hereupon the ancient Iewes and *Hircanus* repaired vnto the Queene, humbly intreating her to take some mature counsell and good aduice touching the present affaires, because that *Aristobulus* her sonne was already wellnigh Lord of the whole countrey, since he had so many forts vnder his command: Furthermore, that it was inconuenient and vndecent for them to consult without her expresse order, notwithstanding shee were grieuously sicke, but that the impendent danger extorted the same. The Queene willed them to doe that which they thought should be most profitable for the Common-weale; telling them that they had many meanes, for that their Nation was mighty, great and strong; and had great store both of money and riches in the common treasurie: certifying them, that because she knew that she had not long to liue, she had no more reason to take care of those affaires. Anon after she had spoken thus, she died; after shee had raigned nine yeeres, and liued in all seuenty and three yeeres. This woman was adorned with

The yeere of the world, 3899. before Christs Natiuitie, 65.

A with greater excellency then could be expected from one of her ſexe, and expreſſed both in her actions and ordinances how fit ſhe was to gouerne a kingdome, and how oftentimes men thorow imprudence ouerſhoote themſelues in affaires of eſtate. For making more account of the preſent then future occurrences, and neglecting all other things in reſpect of thoſe which are requiſite in a moderated gouernment, ſhee neuer vpon any inſtigation whatſoeuer peruerted iuſtice; notwithſtanding her family fell into ſuch inconueniences, that the ſame ſoueraignty, which ſhee had obtained by diuers dangers and trauels, was not long after that ruined and loſt for her ſcarce effeminate deſires. For ſhee gaue eare vnto thoſe, who were ill affected towards her poſterity, and left the kingdome deſtitute of ſuch as were fit to gouerne: ſo that the gouernment which ſhe enioyed during her life time, was after her death diſtracted with infinite troubles, and calamities, wherewith her family was repleniſhed. And notwithſtanding her regiment after this manner, yet during her life time ſhee kept the kingdome in peace. And thus died *Alexandra*.

The yeere of the world, 3899. before Chriſts Natiuity, 65.

Alexandras family incurre much trouble.

THE FOVRTEENTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES: WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the foureteenth Booke.

1 *How after the death of* Alexandra, *her youngeſt ſonne* Ariſtobulus *made warre againſt his brother* Hircanus *for the Kingdome: who obtaining the victory, compelled* Hircanus *to flie into a Caſtle in Ieruſalem. And how after it was agreed and concluded betweene them, that* Ariſtobulus *ſhould be King, and* Hircanus *liue as a priuate man without dignity.*

2 *Of the race of* Antipater, *and how he purchaſed renowne, great power and authority both to himſelfe and his children; and the flight of* Hircanus *to* Aretas *King of Arabia.*

3 Ariſtobulus, *being vanquiſhed, is purſued as farre as Ieruſalem.*

4 Hircanus *and* Ariſtobulus *ſend Embaſſadours to* Scaurus *to requeſt his aide and ſuccour.*

5 Ariſtobulus *and* Hircanus *preſent themſelues before* Pompey, *to debate their titles touching the kingdome.*

6 Pompey *is ſeized of the fortreſſes by a warlike ſtratageme.*

7 *They of Ieruſalem ſhut their gates againſt the Romans.*

8 Pompey *taketh the Temple and lower part of the City by force.*

9 Scaurus *maketh warre againſt* Aretas, *and by the perſwaſion and ſollicitation of* Antipater *maketh a league with him.*

10 Alexander *being ouercome by* Gabinius, *retireth himſelfe into a Caſtle, where he is ſhut vp and beſieged.*

11 Ariſtobulus *eſcaping out of priſon, flieth from Rome: who being taken againe in Iudæa by* Gabinius, *is ſent backe priſoner to Rome.*

12 Craſſus *warring againſt the Parthians, paſſeth thorow Iewry, and ſpoileth the treaſurie of the Temple.*

13 Pompey *retireth into Epirus, and* Scipio *commeth into Syria.*

14 Cæſars *voyage into Egypt, wherein the Iewes doe him faithfull ſeruice.*

15 Antipaters *valiant acts, and the amitie betwixt him and* Cæſar.

16 Cæſars *letters, and the Senates decree, as touching the friendſhip betwixt the Iewes and Romans.*

17 Antipater *committeth the gouernment of Galilee to his ſonne* Herod, *and that of Ieruſalem to* Phaſaelus *his other ſonne, and how* Sextus Cæſar *aduanced* Herod *to great honour and dignity.*

18 Caſſius *afflicteth Iurie, and exacteth eight hundreth talents.*

19 Malichus *poiſoneth* Antipater.

20 Herod *putteth* Malichus *to death, by* Caſſius *commandement;*

21 Antigonus *the ſonne of* Ariſtobulus *ſeeking to recouer his fathers Kingdome by the aide of the King of Tyre, is diſcomfited and driuen out of Iudæa by* Herod.
22 Herod *meeting* Antonius *in Bithynia, winneth his fauour with a great ſumme of money, to the intent he ſhould giue no eare to his accuſers.*
23 Antonius *arriuing in the Prouince of Syria, eſtabliſhed* Herod *and* Phaſaelus *for* Tetrarchs.
24 *The Parthians make warre in Syria to reſtore* Antigonus *the ſonne of* Ariſtobulus *to the Kingdome.*
25 *The Parthians take* Hircanus, *and* Phaſaelus *priſoners, and lead them away.*
26 Herod *at Rome is declared King of Iury by the Senate.*
27 Herod *returneth from Rome, and fighteth againſt* Antigonus.
28 Antigonus *is diſcomfited by* Soſius *and* Herod.

CHAP. I.

How after the contention betweene the two brethren touching the Kingdome, it was agreed that ARISTOBVLVS *ſhould be King, and* HIRCANVS *liue as a priuate man.*

The yeere of the world, 3899. before the Natiuitie of Chriſt, 65.

WE haue already intreated in our former Booke, both of the actes, and death of Queene *Alexandra*: it now remaineth at this preſent to proſecute and continue the ſequell of our Hiſtorie, to the end that we neither omit any thing thorough ignorance, or bury ought in forgetfulneſſe. For they that make profeſſion to write Hiſtories, and to recite ſuch things as are obſerued by Antiquitie, ought not only ſtudiouſly to conforme their ſtyle, but alſo to beautifie the ſame, with ornaments of eloquence, to the intent the Reader may conuerſe in their writings with the more delectation. But aboue all things they muſt haue an eſpeciall care ſo exactly to ſet downe the truth, that they, who know not how theſe things came to paſſe, may be the more duly and fitly informed.

The office and dutie of an Hiſtoriographer.

When as therefore *Hircanus* had taken vpon him the High Prieſthood, in the third yeere of the hundreth ſeuenty and ſeuenth Olympiade, and in the yeere that *Q. Hortenſius* and *Q. Metellus* (called the Cretenſian) were Conſuls at Rome, *Ariſtobulus* ſuddenly vndertooke the warre againſt *Hircanus*, and fought with him neere vnto Iericho: where a great number of *Hircanus* followers ſubmitted themſelues of their owne accord to *Ariſtobulus*. Through which accident *Hircanus* was inforced to flye to the fortreſſe of the higher City, where *Alexandra Ariſtobulus* mother had impriſoned both his wife and children (as before this is ſpecified.) The reſt of the faction for feare of his brother who had gotten the victory, retired themſelues within the enclozure of the Temple, where they were beſieged and taken. After this, a peace was entreated of betwixt both the brethren, and their different was accorded in this manner, that *Hircanus* ſhould paſſe the remnant of his life without intermedling with affaires of eſtate, but ſhould onely intend his ſecurity and peace; and *Ariſtobulus* ſhould command the Kingdome. This league was ratified betweene them in the Temple, and confirmed with oathes, coniunction of hands and embraces, in the ſight of all the people: which being finiſhed, *Ariſtobuluus* retired himſelfe into the Palace; and *Hircanus* to *Ariſtobulus* lodging, to lead a priuate and quiet life.

Ariſtobulus and Hircanus ſtriue for the Kingdome.

The peace betwixt Hircanus and Ariſtobulus.

CHAP. II.

Of the race of ANTIPATER, *and how he is aduanced to high eſtate, and how* HIRCANVS *flieth to* ARETAS *King of Arabia.*

BVT a certaine friend of *Hircanus* (by nation an Idumæan, and by name *Antipater*) being well monied, and by nature both factious and induſtrious, and through ambition but badly affected towards *Ariſtobulus*, the rather for that he affected *Hircanus* faction, but to ſtir much trouble. True it is that *Nicholas Damaſcene* writeth of this man, that he was deſcended from the nobleſt amongſt thoſe Iewes who returned from out of Babylon into Iurie: but this he did of ſet purpoſe to gratifie *Herod*, *Antipaters* ſonne, who by a caſualty became afterwards King of the Iewes (as we will expreſſe hereafter in time and place conuenient.) This *Antipater* was at the first called *Antipas*, according to his fathers name; who (as it is reported) was made

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 11. Antipater the Idumæan Hircanus friend.

Antipater of Iudæa, as Nicholas Damaſcenus implies, firſt called Antipas.

A made Gouernour of all Idumæa by King *Alexander* and his wife: and afterwards made a league with the Arabians, Gazeans, and Aſcalonites, corrupting them, and inſinuating himſelfe into their fauours by diuers great preſents beſtowed vpon them. This young *Antipater* conſidering with himſelfe what *Ariſtobulus* power was, and fearing leſt ſome miſchiefe might befall him through the hatred the young King had conceiued againſt him, he communicated with certaine of the greateſt reckoning amongſt the Iewes, and ſecretly and cunningly incenſed them againſt *Ariſtobulus*, telling them that they had done amiſſe, both to ſee and ſuffer *Ariſtobulus* to detaine the kingdome vniuſtly in his hands, and to diſpoſſeſſe his elder brother *Hircanus*, to whom by right of inheritance it appertained. Hee likewiſe accoſted and ſounded *Hircanus* ordinarily with
B theſe words; telling him that he liued in danger of his life, and would doubtleſſe be ouertaken, except hee ſought his owne ſecurity, and fled his imminent perill: alleadging, that *Ariſtobulus* friends would neuer ceaſe to conſult how they might ſhorten his life, to the end that he might liue in more ſecuritie. To theſe inſtigations of his, *Hircanus* gaue ſmall credit (for that of his owne nature he was courteous, and could not eaſily be induced or ſeduced by detractions) but this negligence and careleſneſſe in him, was the cauſe that hee was accounted a ſilly and abiect man. On the contrary ſide, *Ariſtobulus* was of a different and more heroicke nature, being more actiue in performance, and carefull preuention.

The yeer of the world, 3899. before chriſts Natiuity, 65.

Antipater inceſeth the Princes of the Iewes againſt Ariſtobulus.

Now although *Antipater* ſaw that *Hircanus* made ſmall account of his inſtigations; yet ceaſed he not daily to inuent and propoſe new ſurmizes and accuſations, vrging *Ariſtobulus* hatred and
C practice to murther him: and ſo much preuailed he by his importunitie, that at laſt he perſwaded him to flie to *Aretas* King of Arabia, promiſing him that in ſo doing, hee would giue him both aide and aſſiſtance. *Hircanus* hauing debated vpon theſe concluſions, at laſt thought good to flie to *Aretas* (for that he knew that Arabia confined vpon Iewry.) Whereupon he firſt of all ſent *Antipater* to *Aretas*, to take aſſurance of him that hee ſhould not betray him into his enemies hands, if ſo be he ſhould ſubmit himſelfe vnto him, and require his aſſiſtance. When as therefore *Antipater* had receiued this aſſurance from the King, he returned to Ieruſalem vnto *Hircanus*: and not long after that tooke him away with him, and departed the Citie by night, and afterwards with great iourneies arriued at Petra, where *Aretas* kept his royall Court. And for that hee was inwardly familiar with the King, he beſought him to reeſtabliſh him in the kingdome of Iewry,
D and wrought ſo much, as by his importunitie and the preſents which hee gaue him, that hee perſwaded *Aretas* to attempt the matter. Whereupon *Hircanus* promiſed, that if hee confirmed him againe in his royall dignitie, hee would vpon the recouery of his Realme, reſtore vnto him thoſe twelue Cities which his father *Alexander* had taken from the Arabians, the names whereof are theſe that follow: Medaba, Nabello, Liuias, Tharabaſa, Agalla, Athona, Zoara, Orona, Nariſſa, Rydda, Luſa, Oryba.

The yeere of the world, 3900. before Chriſts birth, 64.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 3.

CHAP. III.

ARISTOBVLVS *being vanquiſhed, is purſued as farre as Ieruſalem.*

E

ARETAS induced by theſe promiſes, was content to ſend foorth an army againſt *Ariſtobulus*, and himſelfe in perſon conducted onward in that expedition fiftie thouſand men both on foote and horſe, and had the vpper hand of his enemy in ſuch ſort, as diuers after the attainment of this victory, of their owne accord ſubmitted themſelues to *Hircanus*: and *Ariſtobulus* perceiuing himſelfe to bee deſtitute of all his friends and followers, fled vnto Ieruſalem. After him the King of Arabia led his army with all expedition, and beſieged him in the Temple: In this ſiege the common people aſſiſted *Hircanus*, neither were there any but the Prieſts only that ſtucke to *Ariſtobulus* ſide. Whereupon *Aretas* marſhalled the forces he had, and buſily ſet the army both of Iewes and Arabians about the ſiege. Whileſt theſe things were vnder theſe termes, the feaſt of vnleauened bread, which we call the Paſſeouer, was at hand, and the Princes of the Iewes forſaking their countrey were fled into Ægypt. About that time, a certaine man called *Onias* (ſuch a one who for his vertue was beloued of God, and in times paſt had by his deuout prayers and ſupplications in a time of drought, obtained raine from God) hid himſelfe, perceiuing that this ſedition would be of ſome continuance. This man therefore being ſurprized and brought into the campe of the Iewes, they required him that as by his prayers he had obtained water; ſo at that time likewiſe he would by his imprecations incenſe God againſt *Ariſtobulus*, and his complices. But whereas he contradicted and excuſed himſelfe, he was at laſt

Aretas maketh warre againſt Ariſtobulus, and inforceth him to flie to Ieruſalem.

The Arabian beſiegeth Ariſtobulus in the Temple.

The Iewes flie into Ægypt.

constrained by the people to performe their requeſt; ſo that ſtanding vp in the midſt of them, he ſpake after this manner: O God, King of the whole world, ſince they who are at this preſent here with me are thy people, and thoſe that are beſieged are thy Prieſts, I humbly beſeech thee, that when they ſhall require thee to be incenſed againſt their brethren, thou wilt not heare them: and when as likewiſe they ſhall prouoke thee againſt the other, thou wilt not reſpect them. Hereupon, a certaine ſort of reprobate ſouldiers amongſt the Iewes, hearing theſe words of his, ſtoned him to death: But God incontinently puniſhed this cruelty in them; and the murther of *Onias* ſo curſedly perpetrated, was reuenged by this meanes which enſueth. At ſuch time as *Ariſtobulus* and the Prieſts were beſieged, the feaſt of Eaſter or the Paſſeouer fell out, during which time it was an vſuall cuſtome amongſt the Iewes to honour God with many ſacrifices: Now for that they who were with *Ariſtobulus*, had not any beaſts to offer vp in ſacrifice, they required the other Iewes which were without, that they might haue ſome deliuered vnto them for their mony. Whereunto it was anſwered, that if they would giue one thouſand drachmes for euery head, they ſhould haue ſome deliuered vnto them. To this demand of theirs, *Ariſtobulus* and the Prieſts that were with him, willingly condeſcended, and let downe the prefixed price and deliuered the ſame from the wall: but the others, after they had receiued the money, deliuered them not thoſe beaſts which they required them to ſell them for ſacrifice, but ſo farre were they giuen ouer to impiety, that they falſified their oathes not onely toward men, but defrauded God alſo, in denying that which they had promiſed toward the furniſhing of their ſacrifice. For which cauſe, the Prieſts (being defrauded in this manner contrary to the oath and proteſtations of their aduerſaries) beſought God to ſhew vengeance on their countrey-men, that had committed this hainous and periurious impietie: neither did God deferre their puniſhment any long time, but incontinently after he ſent a great and violent winde, that ſpoiled all the fruits of the countrey; ſo that a meaſure of Wheat was ſold for eleuen drachmes.

The yeere of the world, 3900. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 64.

Onias contradicting the Iewes petition, is ſtoned to death.

Breach of faith, and the reuenge thereof.

CHAP. IIII.

HIRCANVS *and* ARISTOBVLVS *ſend Embaſſadours to* SCAVRVS, *to couenant their peace with him.*

MEANE-while *Pompey* ſent *Scaurus* into Syria (himſelfe being in perſon detained in Armenia in purſuit of the warre betwixt him and *Tigranes.*) Now when as *Scaurus* came vnto Damaſco, he found that *Metellus* and *Lollius* had newly taken the Citie; for which cauſe he marched onward towards Iewry: Where being arriued, certaine Embaſſadours came vnto him in the behalfe of *Ariſtobulus*, and others alſo in the name of *Hircanus*, requiring alliance and confederacie in the behalfe of them both, and offering in eithers reſpect a tribute of foure hundreth talents. But *Scaurus* preferred *Ariſtobulus* promiſes, both for that he was a man of mightier ſubſtance and greater minde, and withall more moderate in his demand; wheras *Hircanus* was poore and couetous, and notwithſtanding he demanded greater things then his brother did; yet was his promiſe of leſſe aſſurance: For it was a harder matter to ſubdue a Citie that was ſo defenced and ſtrong, then to repulſe a troupe of runnagate Nabatheans, and they ſcarcely well animated to proſecute that warre. For theſe cauſes therefore hee (receiuing his money) lenied the ſiege, commanding *Aretas* to returne; which if hee refuſed, hee declared him an enemy to Rome. This done, *Scaurus* returned to Damaſco, and *Ariſtobulus* led forth his army againſt *Aretas* and *Hircanus*, and fighting with them in a place called Papyron, he obtained the victory, and ſlew about ſome ſeuen thouſand of his enemies, amongſt the number of which was *Cephalus Antipaters* brother.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 4. Hircanus and Ariſtobulus Embaſſadours vnto Scaurus.

Scaurus is preſented.

Ariſtobulus maketh warre againſt Aretas and Hircanus.

CHAP. V.

How ARISTOBVLVS *and* HIRCANVS *debate their titles in the preſence of* POMPEY.

NOT long time after this, *Pompey* came vnto Damaſco: and as he trauelled thorow Cœloſyria, diuers Embaſſadors reſorted vnto him from all parts of Syria, Ægypt & Iudæa. For *Ariſtobulus* ſent him a preſent of great valew, namely, a golden vine of fiue hundreth talents price. Hereof *Strabo* the Cappadocian maketh mention in theſe words: There came an Embaſſadour out of Ægypt, bearing a Crowne of foure thouſand pieces of gold; and another from Iewry, with a vine or garden, and the workmanſhip was called *Terpole*, that is to ſay,

Pompey commeth into Syria, and Ariſtobulus ſendeth a royall preſent vnto him.

A say, recreation: And this vine haue we beheld at this day in the Citie of Rome in the Temple of Iupiter Capitoline, hauing the inscription of *Alexander* King of the Iewes; and it was esteemed and valued at fiue hundreth talents. It is said that *Aristobulus* Prince of the Iewes sent the same. Straight after this, there came other fresh Embassadours vnto him (*Antipater* from *Hircanus*: and *Nicodemus*, from *Aristobulus*) who accused those that had taken mony, namely, *Gabinius*, for that he first of all had receiued three hundred talents beside other presents: and secondly *Scaurus*: who had receiued foure hundreth; alleadging that by that meanes they had incensed them against him. He therfore gaue direction, that they should repaire vnto him about the spring, each of them to iustifie and maintaine their seuerall rights: as for himselfe he drew his forces from their win-
B tring places, and marched towards Damasco, destroying in his way a certaine fortresse which *Antiochus* the Cyzicenian had fortified in Apamæa. Hee visited also the countrey of *Ptolomey Mennæus* (who was a peruerse and wicked man, and no waies differed from *Dionysius Tripolitane*) who was punished with the losse of his head, and was vnited also with him in friendship and affinitie; yet acquited of the death hee deserued, by the meanes of a thousand talents ransome, which *Ptolomey* distributed amongst his souldiers for their pay. He razed likewise the Castle of Lysias (wherein a Iew called *Sylæ* tyrannized) and passing by the Cities of Heliopolis and Chal-
C zis, and hauing likewise ascended the mountaine (which is betweene them) he came to Cœlosyria; and from Pella repaired to Damasco. In which place he gaue audience to the Iewes, and their Princes *Hircanus* and *Aristobulus*, who were at oddes the one against the other, as touching their particular interests, as all the whole nation against them both: alleadging that they would not be gouerned by Kings, because their custome was to obey Gods Priests, whom they honoured, affirming that these two brethren (who were descended of the race of Priests) sought to draw their nation vnder a different forme of gouernment, to the intent to reduce them vnder seruitude. *Hircanus* complained, for that being the elder borne, he had bin depriued of his inheritance by *Aristobulus*, and had only but a small portion of the countrey allotted him, because *Aristobulus* had seized the rest by force. He complained likewise of those incursions, that both by land and
D sea *Aristobulus* followers had endamaged their frontiers with. For the people had not reuolted, if he had not beene a violent and turbulent man. To this accusation of his, a thousand of the principallest of the Iewes (drawne on by *Antipaters* perswasion) subscribed, who auerred and iustified the same. But *Aristobulus* answered, that *Hircanus* was dispossessed of the kingdome, by reason of his incapacitie and naturall defects; alleadging for himselfe, that the gouernment was enforced on him by a necessitie, for feare it should be transported to others: in effect, he protested that he challenged no other Title, then that which his father *Alexander* had had. He brought in also for his witnesses certaine arrogant young men, who were hated for their pompe, purple robes, their curiositie in painting and curling their haire, and bard horse, and other braueries which they presented, not like men that intended to expect iudgement, but as if their pretence had beene to make shew of their pompe. After that *Pompey* had heard them, he condemned *Aristobulus* violence, but for that time he dismissed them (after some fauourable and gracious conference) promising them that he would come into their countrey, and determine their differents, after hee
E had seene the region of the Nabatheans: commanding them in the meane-while to liue in peace. He vsed *Aristobulus* likewise very kindly, fearing lest he should incense the people, and shut vp his passage: which notwithstanding came to passe. For *Aristobulus* came into the Citie of Delion, and from thence went into Iudæa, without respect of that which *Pompey* had commanded him.

The yeere of the world, 3900. before Christs Nativitie. 64.

Antipater for Hircanus, and Nicodemus for Aristobulus, come as Embassadors to Pompey. Hedio & Rufinus, cap. 5.

A Castle destroyed in Apamea.

Ptolomey Mennæus fined at a great summe of money.

The yeere of the world, 3902. before Christs Nativitie. 62.

Aristobulus and Hircanus accused by the Iewes before Pompey.

Aristobulus Apology before Pompey.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 6.

CHAP. VI.

POMPEY *maketh himselfe Lord of the Castles, by a warlike Stratagem.*

POMPEY hearing this, was sore displeased herewith; and taking with him his army which he had prepared against the Nabatheans (with the supplies he had in Damasco, and the rest of Syria, besides the other Romane companies that he had) he marched forth against *Aristobulus*: when as therefore he had left Pella and Scythopolis behind him, he came to Coreas (which is the entrance into Iudæa) drawing toward the heart of the countrey. There found he a goodly Castle situate vpon the top of a mountaine called Alexandrion, whither *Aristobulus* was retired. For which cause he sent Embassadours to inuite him to come and parlee with him: who perswaded by the counsell of many of his inward friends, in no sort to commence warre

Pompey marcheth out against Aristobulus.

Aristobulus descendeth from his fortresse to conferre with Pompey.

The yeere of the world, 3902. before Christs Natiuitie, 62.

againſt the Romanes, came downe vnto him, and after he had debated his title with his brother, as touching the kingdome, *Pompey* permitted him to returne againe into his Caſtle. And this did he two or three times, alwaies flattering *Pompey* through the hope he had of the kingdome, and making a ſhew that he would be obedient vnto him in whatſoeuer he would command. Meane-while he retired himſelfe, and fortified the place, and made preparation for the warre, for feare leſt *Pompey* ſhould transferre the kingdome to *Hircanus*. But when as *Pompey* commanded him that he ſhould deliuer vp the fortreſſes that he held, and had written with his owne hand to the Captaines of the garriſons (who otherwiſe would not haue obeyed him) *Ariſtobulus* ſubmitted, and in diſcontent repaired to Ieruſalem, with full intent to prepare for warre. Not long after this, when as *Pompey* marched towards him with his army, certaine meſſengers comming from *Pontus*, certified him of *Mithridates* death, who was ſlaine by his ſonne *Pharnaces*.

Ariſtobulus deliuereth the fortreſſes to Pompeies hands.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 7.

Mithridates King of Pontus ſlaine by his ſonne Pharnaces.

CHAP. VII.

They of Ieruſalem ſhut the gates againſt the Romanes.

WHEN *Pompey* was encamped neere vnto Iericho (in which place there was a number of Date trees, and where alſo groweth that balme which is the moſt precious of all other oyntments, diſtilling from a little ſhrub, which is opened and ſlit by a ſharpe cutting ſtone) the next morning he marched towards Ieruſalem. At that time *Ariſtobulus* (being ſorry for his misbehauiour) came vnto him, offering him money: and promiſing him to receiue him into Ieruſalem, he beſought him, that (diſmiſſing publike enmities and quarrels) he would peaceably doe what him liſted hereafter. Whereupon *Pompey* pardoned him, and condeſcended to his requeſt, and ſent *Gabinius* with his ſouldiers, both to receiue the money, as alſo to enter the Citie; but his purpoſe failed him in both: for *Gabinius* returned, becauſe he was excluded out of the Citie; neither receiued he any money, for that *Ariſtobulus* ſouldiers would not permit that any promiſe ſhould be performed. Hereupon *Pompey* waxed wroth; ſo that after hee had committed *Ariſtobulus* to priſon, he went in perſon againſt the Citie, which was ſtrongly fortified on euery ſide, except toward the quarter that extendeth Northward, which was eaſie to be beaten downe: for this ſide is inuironed with a large and deepe valley, compaſſing the Temple, which is incloſed with a maruellous ſtrong wall of ſtone.

Gabinius comming to receiue the mony Ariſtobulus had promiſed, hath the citie gates ſhut againſt him.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 8.

Pompey beſiegeth Ieruſalem.

The yeere of the world, 3903. before Chriſts birth, 61.

CHAP. VIII.

POMPEY *taketh the Temple, and lower part of the Citie perforce.*

BVT within the City, there grew a diuiſion and faction, by reaſon of the difference and diſſident opinions of thoſe that kept the ſame; for ſome thought good to yeeld vp the Citie into *Pompeis* hands; other ſome (that were of *Ariſtobulus* faction) counſelled that the gates ſhould be kept ſhut, and preparation for warre ſhould be made, for that the Romanes detained *Ariſtobulus* priſoner. Theſe latter preuailing more then the reſt, ſeized the Temple: and breaking downe the bridge which was betwixt it and the City, addreſſed themſelues to ſtand on their defence. But the others not onely deliuered the City into *Pompeis* hands, but the royall palace alſo: who ſent *Piſo* his Lieutenant thither with his forces to take poſſeſſion thereof, and to plant his garriſons therein, and to fortifie the houſes neere adioyning the Temple, & whatſoeuer conuenient habitation without the walles. Firſt therefore *Piſo* offered the beſieged certaine conditions of peace: which for that they refuſed, he fortified and ſhut them in on euery ſide, being in all theſe his endeauours aſſiſted by *Hircanus*. On the outſide of the Citie, *Pompey* incamped with his army on the north part of the temple (which was the eaſieſt & meeteſt ſide to be aſſaulted) on this ſide alſo there were certaine high towers, & a huge trench, beſides a deepe valley that begirt the temple. For towards the Citie all waies and paſſages were ſo broken vp, that no man could either goe vp or downe, and the bridge was taken away on that ſide where *Pompey* was incampt. Each day did the Romanes trauell earneſtly to raiſe a mount, and cutting downe all the timber round about them, & hauing fitly applyed the ſame, the trench being fild vp (although very hardly, by reaſon of the incredible depth thereof) the Rammes and Engines that were brought from Tyre were addreſſed, with which they inforced & darted ſtones againſt the temple: and had not the ordinance of the countrey commanded to keepe the Sabbath (which was the ſeuenth day of the weeke) holy, & to labour in no ſort on that day, the Romanes had neuer bin able to haue raiſed their bulwarke, if they within the temple had oppoſed themſelues againſt them. For the law permit-

Ieruſalem partly betraied, partly beſieged by Pompey.

Pompey maketh preparation to beſiege the Temple.

A permitteth to defend themſelues againſt their enemies, at ſuch time as they are aſſailed and vrged to fight, but not aſſaile them when they intend any other worke. Which when the Romans vnderſtood, they neither gaue aſſault, not proffered skirmiſh on thoſe daies, which we call Sabbaths: but they built their fortifications and towers, and planted their engines; ſo that the next day they were ready to put them in vſe againſt the Iewes. And hereby it is eaſie to coniecture, how incredible the piety of our nation is, and how ſtudious and induſtrious they be in obſeruing the diuine lawes. For notwithſtanding any preſent or imminent feare, yet deſiſted they neuer to offer their ſolemne ſacrifices: but twice a day, in the morning, and about the ninth houre, the Prieſts offered vpon the altar; & notwithſtanding any difficulty or danger of the ſiege that might happen, they B omitted not the courſe of their oblations. For at ſuch time as the temple was taken (in the third moneth, and on a faſting day, in the hundreth ſeuentie nine Olympiade, in the yeere wherin *Caius Antonius*, and *Marcus Tullius Cicero* were Conſuls) the enemy entred the Temple by force, and ſlue thoſe that withſtood them. Yet notwithſtanding all this, the Prieſts ceaſed not to exerciſe their accuſtomed ſacrifice: & neither the hazard of their liues, nor the great number of thoſe that were dead, could force them to flie; but that they held it more conuenient for them to indure all things that might happen in attending vpon the Altar, then to tranſgreſſe or vary one iot from their ordinances. And that this may ſeeme to be no fable, or praiſe of their diſſembled deuotion, but the exact & perfect truth, al thoſe that write the Hiſtories concerning *Pompey* & his acts, doe witneſſe no leſſe: amongſt the number of which, are *Strabo*, *Nicholas*, and *Titus Liuius* the Romane C Hiſtoriographer, the moſt famous among the reſt. The greateſt of thoſe towers was battered by theſe engins, & fell, bearing a great pane of the wall to the earth with it, which was the cauſe that the enemies in multitudes brake in by the breach. The firſt that aſcended the wall, was *Cornelius Fauſtus* the ſonne of *Sylla*, with his ſouldiers. After him mounted the Centurion *Furius*, accompanied with thoſe that followed him, on the other ſide: & thorow the midſt of the breach, did the Centurion *Fabius* enter with a ſtrong ſquadron. The whole circuit was filled with murthers; and ſome of the Iewes died by the Romanes ſwords; other ſome ſlew one another; the reſt caſt themſelues downe headlong from the ſteepie places: many likewiſe ſet fire on their houſes, and conſumed themſelues therein, for feare they ſhould behold the executions that were performed by their enemies. There died about twelue thouſand Iewes, and very few Romanes. *Abſalom* al- D ſo, who was *Ariſtobulus* father in law, and vncle, was taken priſoner. The religion of the Temple likewiſe was not a little prophaned. For whereas before that time no prophane man either entred or beheld that which was in the temple: *Pompey* and diuers others that accompanied him, entred the ſame, & ſaw that which was not lawfull to be beheld by any other but the high prieſts onely. But although he found a table of gold, and a ſacred candleſticke, with diuers other veſſels and odoriferous drugs in great quantity; & whereas beſides that, there was about two thouſand talents of ſiluer in the ſacred treaſurie in the Temple: yet touched he nothing thereof through the reuerence hee had of GOD; and heerein hee behaued himſelfe anſwerably to his other vertues. The next day he commanded thoſe that had the charge of the Temple, to purge the ſame, and to offer ſacrifices vnto GOD, according to the law; committing the high Prieſthood to *Hircanus* hands, both for that he had ſtood him in great ſtead in many things, as for that hee had hindered the Iewes, that were of the countrey, from ioyning themſelues with *Ariſtobulus*. After this, he beheaded the authors of this warre, and honoured *Fauſtus* and the reſt with condigne gifts, who with great courage had firſt attempted and aſcended the wall. As for Ieruſalem, he made it tributary to the Romans, taking away from the Iewes thoſe Cities they had conquered in Cœloſyria, & aſſigning them a proper & peculiar gouernment. After this, he incloſed the nation within certaine limits, whereas beforetime their dominions were of a large extent. Not long after this, hee repaired Gadara, that not long before was deſtroyed: all which he performed in fauour of *Demetrius* the Gadarenian his late ſeruant and bondman. And as touching Hippon, Scythopolis, Dion, Samaria, Mariſſa, Azot, Iamnia, and Arethuſa, hee reſtored them to the ancient inhabitants thereof, all which were ſituate in the heart of the land: Beſides, Gaza, Ioppa, Dora, and the tower of Straton (cities ſituate vpon the ſea-coaſt, and ruinated beforetimes with diuers warres) he ſet at libertie, and annexed them vnto the prouince. As for the tower of Straton, it was magnificently builded by *Herod*, and decked with gates and faire Temples, and the name thereof was changed, and called Cæſarea. Thus *Hircanus* and *Ariſtobulus*, through their diſſenſions and ciuill broyles, were the cauſe of that ſeruitude and miſery that fell vpon the Iewes. For we haue loſt our liberty, and haue beene ſubdued by the Romans. Beſides that, we haue beene enforced to ſurrender vp thoſe Cities vnto the Syrians, which we beforetime by force of armes had conquered and

The yeere of the world, 3093. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 61.

The Iewes intermitted not their ſacrifice notwithſtanding the ſiege.

The taking of the Temple.

Twelue thouſand Iewes ſlaine.

Pompey entering the temple, neither toucheth nor taketh away any thing. Alias chap. 9.

Pompey beſtoweth the Prieſthood on Hircanus.

Ieruſalem tributary to Rome.

Gadara reſtored.

Cities taken from the Iewes.

The yeere of the world, 3093. before Christs Nativitie, 61.

and gotten from them. And that which is to be lamented, the Romans in a little time haue drawn from vs more then ten thousand talents: and the royaltie which beforetime was an honour reserued for those that were of the race of the high Priests, hath beene bestowed on men of obscurity and community: whereof we will speake in place conuenient. After that *Pompey* had giuen Cœlosyria to *Scaurus*, from Euphrates as farre as to the frontiers of Ægypt, with two legions of the Romans; he went into Cilicia, & from thence drew towards Rome, leading with him *Aristobulus* in bonds, and his children (who were two sonnes, and two daughters) one of which called *Alexander*, escaped by flight; and as touching *Antigonus* (who was the yonger) hee was led to Rome with his sisters.

Scaurus presidens of Cœlosyria.

CHAP. IX.

SCAVRVS *maketh warre against* ARETAS.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 9.

SCAVRVS led forth his army against Petra a Citie in Arabia, and for that the Citie might very hardly be besieged, hee spoiled all the countrey round about. When as therefore his army was pressed with famine, *Antipater* by the commandement of *Hircanus*, furnished him with corne, and all other necessaries out of Iewry. Who being sent Ambassadour to *Aretas* from *Scaurus*, in that hee had sometime soiourned with him, perswaded him to contribute a certaine summe of siluer to warrantize his countrey from pillage; and hee himselfe also became pledge for three hundreth talents. This done, *Scaurus* finished the warre, according to his desire, and with no lesse contentment to *Aretas* and his countrey.

CHAP. X.

ALEXANDER *ouercome by* GABINIVS, *retireth himselfe into a Castle, wherein hee is shut vp and besieged.*

The yeere of the world, 3094. before Christs Nativity, 60.

NOT long after this, *Alexander Aristobulus* sonne, made diuers inroads into Iewry: for which cause *Gabinius* came from Rome into Syria, and (besides other things worthy of memory which he atchieued) he led forth his army against *Alexander*, for that *Hircanus* had not as yet sufficient power to resist him, beeing otherwise exercised in building the walles of Ierusalem that were beaten downe by *Pompey*; notwithstanding the Romans that were in Iewrie hindred him from performing the same. This *Alexander* trauailing thorow the whole countrey, assembled diuers Iewes; so that in short time, hauing gotten together tenne thousand footemen, & fifteene hundreth horse with good munition, he fortified the Castle of Alexandrion neere vnto the Citie of Coreas. Hee fortified Machæron also in the mountaines of Arabia. *Gabinius* therefore came forth against him, hauing sent before him *Marcus Antonius* accompanied with other Chiefetaines of warre, who armed the Romans of their traine, and the Iewes that were vnder their obedience, whose Captaines were *Pitholaus* and *Malichus*. They tooke also those allies whom *Antipater* had hired, and in this equipage came they to make head against *Alexander*. *Gabinius* also seconded them with his troupes. Hereupon *Alexander* drew more neere with his army towards Ierusalem, where waging battell with the Romans, hee lost about three thousand of his followers, and the like number of his men were led away prisoners. After this, *Gabinius* repaired to Alexandrion, and inuited those that held the same to depart, promising them pardon for the Rebellion they had begun. And whereas many of his enemies had encamped themselues before the Fort, the Romanes charged them: in which conflict *Marcus Antonius* was adiudged to haue behaued himselfe very valiantly, in that he slew diuers of his enemies. *Gabinius* left a part of his Army in that place, to the end that during the siege thereof, he might goe and visit the countrey of Iudæa: hee commanded therefore all those Cities, which in his iourney he found either desolate or destroyed, to be repaired: for that Samaria, Azot, Scythopolis, Anthedon, Raphia, Dora, Marissa and Gaza, with diuers others, were new builded: so that through the obedience that was giuen to *Gabinius* command, it came to passe that the Cities were safely inhabited, which had laine long time before desart.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 10 al. 11.

Castles fortified.

Gabinius causeth diuers cities in Iury to be repaired that were defaced.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 11. al. 12.

And after *Gabinius* had behaued himselfe in this manner in the countrey, he returned to Alexandrion. Whilst therefore he thus insisted about the siege, *Alexander* sent Embassadors vnto him demanding pardon at his hand for his offences, and restoring into his hands the Castles of Hircania and Machæron, and finally that of Alexandrion; which *Gabinius* leuelled with the ground. And whereas *Alexanders* mother came vnto him (who fauoured the Romane faction, and whose husband

Alexandrion & other castles razed.

husband and children were kept prisoners in Rome) she obtained all that which she requested at his hands: and after he had carefully and friendly disposed of her affaires, he led *Hircanus* to Ierusalem to take charge of the temple and Priesthood. He ordained also fiue iudgement seats and places of session, and diuided the prouince into answerable parts: for the one answered in Ierusalem; the second at Gadara; the third in Amatha; the fourth at Ierico; and the fift at Saphora; which is a towne of Galilee. By this meanes the Iewes were deliuered of their Monarchie; and liued vnder an Aristocracie, or gouernment of the Nobilitie.

The yeere of the world, 3904. before Christs Natiuity, 60.

Fiue presidial sieges in Iury.

CHAP. XI.

ARISTOBVLVS *escapeth out of prison, and flieth from Rome, and is apprehended againe by* GABINIVS *in Iudæa, and led backe prisoner to Rome.*

BVT *Aristobulus* flying from Rome, returned into Iewrie, and determined to reedifie the Castle of Alexandrion, which not long since was ruinated. Against him *Gabinius* sent out certaine men of warre with their Captaines, namely *Sisenna*, *Antonius* and *Seruilius*, both to keepe him from the possession of the place, as to apprehend and surprize him likewise. For many Iewes resorted vnto him, being drawne thereunto by the ancient reputation that he had: who desired likewise to worke innouations. *Pitholaus* also (who was established Lieutenant Generall in Ierusalem) of his owne accord came vnto him, with a thousand men well armed: but the other that were retired within, for the most part were not sufficiently furnished with armes; for *Aristobulus* making his reckoning to seize Machæron, dismissed those followers of his that were disarmed, and were vnapt for any execution, and retaining onely eight thousand wel armed men, he tooke the field and marched thither. But the Romans pursuing and ouertaking him, fought desperately with him, and ouercame both him and his, notwithstanding their valiant resist. Beeing therefore forced by the enemies, they were put to flight, & about fiue thousand of them were slaine; and the rest dispersed, wandring here and there, sought for their owne priuate securities: but *Aristobulus* fled to Machæron with more then a thousand followers, and fortified the place. And though his affaires had very slender successe; yet lost he not his hope: but after he had endured the siege some two daies, and receiued many wounds, he was taken prisoner, and with his son *Antigonus* (who fled from Rome with him) led away captiue by *Gabinius*. Such was the aduenture of *Aristobulus*; that he was sent prisoner backe againe to Rome, and there kept in bonds after he had beene King and his Priest three yeeres, and sixe moneths. A man in that dignity both magnificent and magnanimous: yet did the Senate send backe his children (according to the tenor of *Gabinius* letters) who had promised their deliuery to their mother, at such time as shee surrendred the Castles into his hands: whereupon they returned into Iewry. But *Gabinius*, intending to make warre against the Parthians, and hauing already past Euphrates, changed his resolution, and determined to returne into Egypt, and reestablished *Ptolomey*, as it is declared in an other place. In this expedition also he was furnished by *Antipaters* meanes, with victuals, money and munition; and by his aduice, those Iewes that inhabite Pelusium (who kept as it were the very entry into Egypt) were drawne into his society. When as therefore *Gabinius* returned backe out for Egypt, he found all Syria full of tumult & rebellion. For *Alexander*, *Aristobulus* sonne, taking once more possession of the Kingdome, caused diuers Iewes from day to day to reuolt; and forraging the countrey with a huge army, he slew all those Romanes whom he met withall, and besieged all those that fled into the mount Garizim. *Gabinius* seeing the affaires of Syria in that estate, sent *Antipater* before him vnto them to appease these commotions, and to heale them of their frenzie, and if it were possible to reduce them to a better mind: for *Antipater* was a man of good discretion. In effect, he repairing vnto them, moderated diuers of them, and brought them vnder obedience: but it was impossible for him to reconcile *Alexander*, for he hauing thirty thousand souldiers with him, came forth to meet with *Gabinius*, with whom he fought, and was ouercome, with the losse of some ten thousand of his men, neere vnto the mount Itabyr.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 12 al. 13.

Aristobulus returning from Rome, seeketh to reestablish Alexandrion.

Aristobulus ouercome in battell by the Romans.

Aristobulus sent backe againe prisoner to Rome, with his sonne Antigonus.

Aristobulus sonnes discharged.

Antipater relieueth Gabinius in his iourney to Ægypt to install Ptolomey.

Alexander Aristobulus son vsurpeth the Monarchie.

Alexander ouercome by Gabinius.

After that *Gabinius* had ordered all things in Ierusalem by *Antipaters* aduice, he presently set forward against the Nabatheans, whom he ouercame in battell. He sent backe also *Mithridates* and *Orsanes* (men of good reckoning among the Parthians) who had retired themselues vnto him, causing a bruit to be spred, that they were fled with *Gabinius*. Now when *Gabinius* had performed great and magnificent exploits in warre, he returned to Rome, surrendring the gouernment to *Crassus*. *Nicholas Damascene*, and *Strabo* of Cappadocia (who differeth in nothing from *Nicholas*) haue written of these expeditions of *Pompey* and *Gabinius* in Iudæa.

The conquest of the Nabatheans. Mithridates and Orsanes.

CHAP.

The yeere of the world, 3940. before Christs Natiuitie, 60.

Chap. XII.

Crassvs *going against the Parthians, passeth by Iudæa, and robbeth the sacred treasurie.*

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 13 al. 14. Marcus Crassus in his expedition against the Parthians, taketh the treasure our of the temple of Ierusalem.

Crassvs intending to make warre against the Parthians, came into Iewry, and tooke away with him the sacred money (which *Pompey* had not touched, which amounted to the summe of two thousand talents: He spoiled the temple also of all the gold that was in the same, to the summe of 8000. talents. Furthermore, he bare away a wedge of solid gold, to the weight of three hundreth pounds, which pound amongst the Iewes containeth two pounds and a halfe. He that deliuered him this ingot, was a Prieſt, and the keeper of the sacred treasure, called *Eleazar*, who gaue him the same vpon no malicious intent (for he was a vertuous and iust man) but whereas he had the custodie of the tapestries of the temple, committed to his hands (which both were admirable to behold, by reason of their beautie and esteeme, & withall were in like sort tied aud fastned to his beame) and perceiuing that *Crassus* sought all the meanes that in him lay, to gather all the money he could, he fearing lest he should haue seized on all the ornaments of the temple, gaue him this beame for a ransome to redeeme all the rest: binding him vpon the deliuerie thereof by an oath, that hee should not take any thing away that was in the temple, but should content himselfe with that onely piece of great esteeme and value, which he gaue him. This beame was inclosed in another hollow became of wood; so that no man knew thereof but onely *Eleazar*. *Crassus* therefore tooke this beame, as if he determined to leaue all other things in the tẽple; yet notwithstanding he falsified his oath, and carried away whatsoeuer was therein. Neither is it to bee wondred at, that there was so great riches found in our temple, sith all those Iewes that were dispersed thorow the face of the whole earth, and all those that feared God (both in Asia and in Europe) for a long time offered their presents in that place. The greatnesse and multitude whereof wanteth no testimonie: neither is it fained in way of ostentation, but diuers other Historians make mention thereof: and amongst the rest, *Strabo* of Cappadocia speaketh after his manner: And *Mithridates* sent men into the Ile of Coos, to fetch from thence the money that Queene *Cleopatra* had laid vp there, and eight hundreth talents of the Iewes. But we haue no publique money, but that which is dedicated vnto God. It is therefore a thing most manifest, that the Iewes that inhabit Asia, transported this money into Coos for the feare that they had of *Mithridates*: For it is not likely that they, who inhabited Iudæa, and had a Citie so stroug, and a temple so well defenced, should send their money to Coos. Neither is it credible likewise, that the Iewes remaining in Alexandria should doe it, for that they feared not to fall into danger through this warre of *Mithridates*. The same *Stabo* also saith in another place, that at such time as *Sylla* passed thorow Greece to make warre against *Mithridates* and *Lucullus*, he sent men to Cyrene, which was troubled by reason of the mutinies of our nation, wherewith the whole world was filled, and saith thus: There were foure sorts of people in the Citie of the Cyrenians: One of them were Citizens; the second were Labourers; the third were Soiourners; and the fourth were Iewes, who at this present are intermingled thorow all Cities; neither is there an inhabited place thorowout the world, neither was there any nation that inhabit the same, wherein these haue not set foote and fortified. For both Egypt and Cyrene (being vnder the subiection of the same Princes) and diuers other regions, conformed themselues to their customes, and nourished assemblies of Iewes, and aduanced them, and more and more vsed the Iewish ordinances. It appeareth therefore that there was a colony of Iewes in Egypt. Furthermore, in Alexandria a great part of the Citie is assigned to this nation. They haue likewise their peculiar magistrate, who gouerneth the people, endeth, and decideth their differences, and maintaineth their contracts and ordinances, as if hee gouerned in his owne common-weale. By this meanes, this nation hath fortified and established it selfe in Ægypt, for that the Iewes had their originall amongst the Ægyptians, and for that Iudæa is neere vnto Egypt, from whence the Iewes are descended: And as touching Cyrene, they haue entred it, in that it confineth that countrey, which is vnder the obedience of the Ægyptians (in like maner as Iudæa doth) or rather for that in times past it appertained to the same kingdome. Thus farre *Strabo*.

The yeere of the world, 3911. before Christs Natiuitie, 53.

Crassus breaketh his oath. Whence the temple of Ierusalem grew so rich. Strabo of Cappadocia.

Crassus slaine in Parthia. Cassius resisteth the Parthians.

After that *Crassus* had disposed all things according to his owne pleasure, hee dislodged and marched forward to make warre against the Parthians, where both he and all his army were destroyed (as it is declared in another place.) As for *Cassius*, he retired himselfe into Syria, and tooke possession thereof, to the end he might affront the Parthians; who being proud of their victorie lately

A lately obtained, made excurſions ſo farre: and comming to Tyre, hee finally arriued in Iudæa, where vpon his firſt entrance hee tooke the Citie of Tarichæa, and led away from thence thirty thouſand priſoners. He put *Pitholaus* alſo to death, for that he maintained *Ariſtobulus* faction. All which he did by *Antipaters* procurement and inſtigation, who was in great credit with him, and who alſo at that time was highly eſteemed amongſt the Idumæans: amongſt whom hee married his wife, who was deſcended of one of the moſt famous families of Arabia, her name was *Cypron*, by whom he had theſe foure ſonnes: *Phaſælus* and *Herod* (who after was made King) *Ioſeph* and *Pheroras*, and one daughter called *Salome*. This *Antipater* alſo made alliance with other Princes, and eſpecially with the Arabian, to whoſe cuſtody he committed his children, during the time he made warre againſt *Ariſtobulus*. But *Caſſius* gathered another army, and marched towards Euphrates to make head againſt the Parthians, as it is ſpecified and regiſtred by other Writers.

The yeere of the world, 3911. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 53.

Antipaters wife and children.

CHAP. XIII.

POMPEY *retireth himſelfe into Epirus, and* SCIPIO *commeth into Syria.*

ANON after this, *Cæſar* (being Lord of Rome) after that *Pompey* and the Senate were fled on the other ſide of the Ionian Sea, ſet *Ariſtobulus* at libertie, determining to ſend him into Syria, with two legions; as being a ſufficient man to gouerne the ſtate affaires in that quarter. Neuertheleſſe, *Ariſtobulus* failed of his hopes and authoritie he expected at *Cæſars* hands: For *Pompeys* partakers preuented and poyſoned him, where-through he died; ſo that he was buried by thoſe of *Cæſars* faction. His body was kept embalmed with honey for a long time, vntill that *Antonius* ſent it into Iury, to be intombed among the Kings and Princes.

The yeere of the world, 3917. before Chriſts Natiuitie. 47.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 14. al. 15.

Scipio, by *Pompeys* commandement, cauſed *Alexander Ariſtobulus* ſonnes head to be cut off, charging him with ſome miſdemeanors which he had committed againſt the Romanes, and after this manner finiſhed hee his daies being executed in Antioch. *Ptolomey* the ſonne of *Mennæus*, who gouerned in Chalcis (at the foote of the mount Libanus) tooke his brothers, and ſent his ſonne *Philippion* to Aſcalon to *Ariſtobulus* wife, commanding her to ſend her ſonne *Antigonus* and his daughters; one of which, called *Alexandra*, was beloued by *Philippion*, and married by him: but afterwards he being ſlaine, *Ptolomey Philippions* father married her, and continued the carefull maintenance of his brethren in law.

Ariſtobulus deliuered out of priſon, is poyſoned.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 15. al. 16.

The ſlaughter of Ariſtobulus ſonne.

CHAP. XIIII.

CÆSARS *voyage into Egypt, wherein hee was aſsiſted by the faithfull.*

AFTER *Pompeys* death, and that victory which *Cæſar* had obtained againſt him, *Antipater* (Gouernour of Iudæa by the commandement of *Hircanus*) was very profitable vnto *Cæſar*. For whereas *Mithridates* the Pergamenian brought him certaine ſupplies, and could not bring them on, by reaſon of an arme of Nilus paſſing thorow Peluſium; but was conſtrained to ſtay at Aſcalon: *Antipater* came vnto him, and brought with him three thouſand ſouldiers, and ſo dealt with the Princes of Arabia to aſſociate them with *Cæſar*, that by his meanes, all they of Syria gaue him their aſſiſtance, and neuer altered their affection that they bare vnto *Cæſar*. Theſe were *Iamblicus* a great Lord, and *Ptolomey* his ſonne; and *Tholomæus* the ſonne of *Sohemus*, dwelling on the mount of Libanus, and welny all the Cities. *Mitnridates* being departed from Syria, came to Peluſium, where being repulſed and excluded by the Citizens, he beſieged the Citie. *Antipater* in this warre behaued himſelfe valiantly, and after he had beaten downe a pane of the wall, he firſt of all ſet forward to enter the Citie. Whileſt Peluſium was in this eſtate, the Iewes that inhabited Ægypt in the countrey of *Onias*, would neither grant paſſage to *Antipater*, nor *Mithridates* that marched towards *Cæſar*. But *Antipater*, who was of their nation, perſwaded them to take their parts, ſhewing them the letters of the high Prieſt *Hircanus*, in which he inuited them to be friends vnto *Cæſar*, and exhorted them to finiſh his army in whatſoeuer they ſtood in need of; ſo that ſeeing that *Antipater* and the high Prieſt were accorded together, they ſubmitted themſelues. They that dwelt round about Memphis, hearing that they were thus vnited, ſent for *Mithridates* alſo vnto them, who came and receiued them into his fauour.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 16. al. 17.

Antipater gaathereth ſouldiers out of Syria for Cæſars ſeruice.

Antipater helpeth Mithridates to take Peluſium.

The Iewes of Onias countrey, are confederated with Cæſar.

Memphis in Ægypt.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

The noble actions of ANTIPATER, *and the amity that he had with* CAESAR.

The yeere of the world, 3917. before Christs Natiuitie, 47.

The conflict of the Ægyptians with Mithridates at Delta. Alias cap. 18.

WHEN hee was come to a place called Delta, hee fought with his enemies in a place, which is called The campe of the Iewes: in which battell *Mithridates* led the right wing, and *Antipater* the left. When as therefore they came to handy blowes, *Mithridates* wing retired and fainted, and grew in danger to be wholly discomfited, had not *Antipater* (running with his souldiers along the banke of the riuer) obtained the vpper hand of his enemies, by putting the Ægyptians that were conquerors to flight, and restoring *Mithridates*. And so long pursued he them, that he got their campe, and called backe *Mithridates*, who chased the Ægyptians, to take part of the prey with him, that hee had recouered from the fugitiue enemy. In this fight there fell eight hundreth on the enemies side, and fiftie on *Antipaters*. Afterwards, *Mithridates* wrote hereof vnto *Cæsar*, and certified him that *Antipater* was cause of the victory, and their preseruation: so that *Cæsar* from that time forward highly commended him, and in all his warre he made vse of *Antipater* in his most dangerous attempts: Whereby it came to passe that *Antipater* was grieuously wounded in diuers fights.

Mithridates commendeth Antipaters seruice to Cæsar.

Cæsar confirmeth Hircanus in the Priesthood, & maketh Antipater a Citizen of Rome. Strabo. Asinius. Hypsicrates.

Now after that the warre was finished, *Cæsar* sailed into Syria, and bestowed great honours as well on *Hircanus* to whom he confirmed the high Priesthood, as on *Antipater*, whom he made a free citizen of Rome, and granted him full exemption of all charges in all places. Diuers men report that *Hircanus*, himselfe was an agent in this warre, and that he came into Ægypt: whereunto accordeth *Strabo* the Cappadocian, speaking after this manner by the authoritie of *Asinius*; after that *Mithridates* had entred Ægypt, with *Hircanus* the high Priest of the Iewes. The same *Strabo* in another place speaketh thus by the authoritie of *Hypsicrates*, that *Mithridates* issued alone; and that *Antipater* was sent for into Ascalon, where he prepared three thousand souldiers, because he was Gouernour of Iudæa, and incouraged the rest of the Gouernours; and *Hircanus* the high Priest also had a part in this warre. Thus farre *Strabo*. At that time came *Antigonus*, *Aristobulus* sonne, to *Cæsar*, lamenting vnto him the inconuenient that had befalne his father, and how hee was slaine by poyson in his seruice, and how his brother had his head strooken off by *Scipio*; beseeching him to haue compassion of him, who was excluded and thrust out of the kingdome. He K accused *Hircanus* and *Antipater* also, for their tyrannicall and violent gouernment ouer their nation, and iniuries offered to himselfe. *Antipater* being at that time present, answered for himselfe in those points wherein he was accused; declaring that *Antigonus* and his friends were factious and seditious men, protesting for himselfe how much hee had trauelled, and how many exploits he had executed in the late warre, whereof *Cæsar* himselfe was a witnesse. Moreouer, he auowed that *Aristobulus* had beene iustly led twice into captiuitie to Rome, for that he had bin alwaies an enemy, and no waies well affectioned towards the Romanes. And as for his brother, who was beheaded by *Scipio*, hee auerred that he was iustly punished by him, for his Larcinies, and not iniuriously and outragiously as he pretended. After that *Antipater* had spoken to this effect, *Cæsar* declared *Hircanus* high Priest, and gaue *Antipater* any gouernment whatsoeuer best him liked: who according to his choice, was appointed Prefect in Iudæa.

The yeere of the world, 3919. before Christs Natiuitie, 45.

Antigonus Aristobulus son accuseth Hircanus and Antipater before Cæsar. Antipaters answer to his obiection. Antipater made Gouernour ouer Iudæa.

CHAP. XVI.

CÆSARS *Letters, and the Senates Decree as touching their amitie with the Iewes.*

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 17. al. 18. Hircanus by Cæsars permission repaireth the wals of Ierusalem. The Senates Decree as touching their league with the Iewes.

MOREOVER *Cæsar* permitted *Hircanus* to repaire the walles of Ierusalem (according to his humble suit.) For after that *Pompey* had beaten them downe, they lay leuelled with the earth; and he commanded the Consuls at Rome, that this Decree should be registred in the Capitol. The example of which ordinance of the Senate containeth matter to this effect: *Lucius Vaderius* the sonne of *Lucius* the Pretor, hath related to the Senate (assembled in the temple of Concord the 13. day of December) in the presence of *L. Caponius* the sonne of *Lucius*, and *Caius Papyrius Quirinus*; the requests made by *Alexander* the son of *Iason*, *Numenius* the sonne of *Antiochus*, and *Alexander* the sonne of *Dorotheus*, Embassadours in the behalfe of the Iewes, men of good regard, and our allies, and proposed by them in renuing the ancient fauours they haue receiued from the Romanes: and in testimony of the confederation; haue brought

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vs a viall and buckler of gold of fifty thousand crownes price; requiring our letters might be giuen them, addressed to the free Cities and the kings our confederates, to grant them passage thorow their countries and ports with all security, and without any offence. And we haue thought good to make friendship and alliance with them, and to grant them all that which they require, in accepting the buckler brought by them. This hapned in the time that *Hircanus* was high Priest and Prince, and in the ninth yeere of his princedome, in the month of Iuly.

The yeere of the world, 3919. before Christs Natiuitie. 45.

Hircanus was in like sort honored by the people of Athens, for many commodities and friendships that they receiued at his hands. They sent him also a decree which they ratified in his behalfe, the tenor whereof ensueth: The yeere wherein *Dionysius* the sonne of *Asclepiades* was Gouernour, and priest, in the moneth of Iuly, and on the 20. day this arrest or decree of the Athenians was deliuered to the gouernours by the Pretor *Agathocles*. *Eucles* the sonne of *Menander* the Alimusian hath written in the eleuenth of March in the assembly generall; and placed it in the Theater, and the suffrages were gathered by *Dorotheus* the high priest, with the chiefe assistants of the people. *Dionysius* the sonne of *Dionysius* published the same: Since that *Hircanus* the sonne of *Alexander*, the high Priest and Prince of the Iewes, continueth his good affection towards all the people, and in especiall towards euery Citizen of Athens, and hath shewed them many friendships, receiuing with all humanity those Athenians that come vnto him, whether they resort thither as Embassadors, or for any other particular occasion whatsoeuer, and sendeth them backe after they haue prouided them of safe-conduct, whereof we haue heretofore had testimony by the report of *Theodosius*, the son of *Theodorus Simeus*; who hath made recitall vnto the people of his worthinesse, and of the will he hath to doe vs all the good that is possible. We haue thought good to honour him by sending him a crowne of gold in testimony of his courtesies, according to our custome and law; and by erecting a brazen statue vnto him in the temple of Demus, and the Graces: Our will is also that this be proclaimed by a Herauld in the Theater, during the Bacchanals, and at such time as the new Tragedies are plaide. Likewise in the solemnities Panathean and Eleusynian, and at the publike exercises: wee will also that the Gouernours prouide, that all that which we haue aduised for the honour, fauour, affection and good will toward this man, as he hath well deserued, be diligently performed, to the end that thereby it may appeare how our nation reward, and entertaine such men as are vertuous; and to the intent, that the honour we impart vnto him, may prouoke others to be the better affected toward vs. It is likewise decreed, that amongst all the Athenians there be certen Embassadours chosen, who shall beare this Decree vnto him, and exhort him to doe whatsoeuer is profitable for our common good, seeing himselfe so much honoured by vs. Let this suffice to expresse the honours bestowed on *Hircanus* by the people of Rome, and the Citizens of Athens.

Hircanus honoured by the Athenians.

After that *Cæsar* had giuen order for the affaires of Syria, hee returned backe by sea. And as soone as *Antipater* had brought *Cæsar* out of Syria, he returned into Iudæa, and sodainly builded vp the walles which were before time defaced by *Pompey*; and in riding circuit about the countrey, he pacified the troubles, not onely by menaces; but by counsailes also which he gaue euery one to liue in peace; certifying them that if they submitted themselues to *Hircanus* their Prince, they should liue happily, and enioy their possessions without any trouble: and that if they hoped to aduance themselues by any new commotion (supposing by that meanes to profit themselues some way) they should feele that in stead of a gouernor, they had a master; and in stead of a king, they should finde *Hircanus* a tyrant; and in stead of the Romans and *Cæsar* to be their gouernors, they should feele and find them to be their most hatefull enemies, for that they would not suffer, that any thing should be altered that they had established. By these and such like admonitions, he kept and continued all the countrey in peace.

Hodio & Rufinus, chap. 18 Cæsar departeth out of Syria. Antipater pacifieth all occasion of commotion in Iudæa.

The yeere of the world, 3921. before Christs Natiuitie. 43.

CHAP. XVII.

ANTIPATER *committeth the gouernment of Galilee to his sonne* HEROD, *and that of Ierusalem to* PHASÆLVS *his other sonne: and how* SEXTVS CÆSAR *aduanceth* HEROD *to great honours and dignities.*

ANTIPATER perceiuing that *Hircanus* was slow and idle, he declared and appointed *Phasælus* his eldest sonne gouernour ouer Ierusalem, and the countrey thereabout: As for *Herod* (who was very young, for hee was not at that time aboue fifteene yeeres olde) he committed Galilee vnto his charge: who although he were young in yeeres, yet did not his tender age any waies preiudice him, because hee was of a noble spirit, and found

Alias, chap. 20 Antipater maketh Phasælus gouernour in Ierusalem, and Herod in Galilee.

The yeere of the world, 3921. before Christs Nativitie, 43.

out this sodaine occasion to expresse that vertue that was in him. For hauing apprehended *Ezechias*, who was the Prince of those theeues, who ranged ouer all Syria a long time with a great troupe of outlawes, he put him to death with diuers of his complices. Which act of his got him no little estimation and credit among the Syrians: for by that meanes he rid their countrey of all those robbers, according as they desired. He was therfore praised thorow the villages, & Cities for this act, as he that had giuen them peace, and assured possession of their estates. For this cause he was made knowne to *Sextus Cæsar*, who was vncle to *Cæsar* the great. Furthermore his brother *Phasælus* was incited to follow his noble actions, and inforced himselfe to obtaine no lesse reputation then he had; for which cause he stroue to get the good will of the common people in Ierusalem, and gouerned the city with such discretion, that he acted all things to each mans content, and abused not his power to any priuat mans iniury: which was the cause that *Antipater* was honoured by the whole nation, with no lesse respect then if he had beene their onely Lord and Soueraigne. Yet did not this eminency of estate so farre distract him, that he forgot the loue and duty he ought to *Hircanus* (as in such like occasions it oftentimes falleth out) notwithstanding diuers of the greatest amongst the Iewes (seeing *Antipater* and his sonnes so highly aduanced both by the publike fauour of the whole nation, as also by the reuenues, that they drew both out of Iewry, as also by the emploiment of *Hircanus* money) were grieuously incensed against them. For *Antipater* had made friendship with the Emperors of Rome, and hauing perswaded *Hircanus* to send them money, he had appropriated the same vnto himselfe, sending it not in *Hircanus* name, but in his owne; which though *Hircanus* knew, yet was he not mooued therewith, but rather well contented. But that which most of all terrified the Princes of the Iewes was, to behold the violent and audacious nature of *Herod*, who gouerned after a royall and tyrannicall manner: For this cause they addressed themselues to *Hircanus*, and accused *Antipater* openly. How long (said they) wil you dissemble and winke at those things that are daily practised? see you not that *Antipater* and his sons possesse in effect the royall power and authority of the kingdome, and that you haue onely the name? Assure your selfe that you are not out of danger in contemning thus both your selfe and your kingdome. For *Antipater* and his sonnes are not now your substitutes, neither intend they your profit, or your countries good (whatsoeuer your opinion is of them) but they openly are known for Lords and Commanders. For *Herod* (*Antipaters* son) hath already put *Ezechias* and his complices to death, & thereby transgressed our lawes, which forbid to take away any mans life (how wicked soeuer hee be) except he be first of all condemned to death by the councell: and notwithstanding this, hee hath been so bold, as to doe iustice without your authority. When *Hircanus* heard this, he grew wroth (for their mothers, whom *Herod* had slaine, had incensed him by their continuall exclamations in the temple, exhorting the King and people to call *Herod* to account before the councell of that which he had done.) So that *Hircanus* mooued by these women, called *Herod* to answer vnto those accusations which were obiected against him. Who made his appearance, forewarned by his father not to present himselfe after the manner of a priuate person, but well attended and accompanied to withstand all inconuenients. After therefore he had taken order for the affaires in Galilee (according as he thought meet in his owne discretion) & that he himselfe was sufficiently accompanied to make his voiage, with such a guard as neither might terrifie *Hircanus* with number, nor leaue himselfe vnsecured in danger, he resorted to Ierusalem. Furthermore, *Sextus Cæsar* Gouernour of Syria wrote vnto *Hircanus* to absolue him, adding threats to his perswasions, if so bee hee should performe the contrary; which gaue *Hircanus* occasion to deliuer *Herod* in despite of the councell and their intent; the rather also for that hee loued him as intirely as his sonne. When as therefore *Herod* presented himselfe before the councell with his retinue, all of them were astonished, and none of those that accused him in his absence, durst open their mouthes to speake one word, but all of them kept silence, not knowing what to doe. Now whilest they stood vpon these tearmes, a certaine man called *Sameas*, who was of vpright conuersation, and for this cause was not distracted with feare, arose and spake to his effect: Drad King, and you honourable assistants, I could neuer yet remember, that euer any man which was called in question to defend his cause before vs, hath appeared in this equipage; and I suppose that none of you can say, that the like hath euer happened: but whosoeuer commeth into this place to receiue iudgement, hee presenteth himselfe with humilitie and feare, with a countenance prepared to implore mercy, hauing his haire long, and his garment blacke: but this gallant *Herod* accused of murther (and for this occasion called before vs) who could imagine that he should appeare before vs in a purple robe, hauing his haires trimmed, and besides that, a guard of armed men about him? with an intent

Herod executeth Ezechias and his followers for robberies.

Sextus Cæsar Gouernour of Syria.

The forme of Phasælus his gouernment.

Antipater notwithstanding his high authority, was alwaies faithfull to Hircanus.

Antipater winneth the Romanes hearts by Hircanus money, & draweth the Iewes into hatred.

The Iewes accuse Antipater and Herod before Hircanus.

The yeere of the world, 3922. before Christs Nativitie, 42.

Herod called in question, appeareth with a great traine.

Sextus Cæsar writeth to Hircanus to discharge Herod.

Sameas one of the Iudges fortelleth Hircanus and his counsailers of their imminent death by Herods meanes.

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that if we condemne him, according to law, he may put vs to death without law, that after hee hath violated all right, he might eſcape and ſaue himſelfe. But I blame not *Herod* in this action, for that he hath a more inward regard of his particular profit, then of the law: but I accuſe both you and the King, who haue giuen him ſuch aſſurance. Know therefore, that there is a ſoueraigne God, that will one day puniſh both you and the King, and him whom you will deliuer by the Kings meanes. And ſo generally fell it out as hee had ſaid: For as ſoone as *Herod* had obtained the kingdome, hee put all thoſe of the councell to death, and *Hircanus* himſelfe likewiſe, onely *Sameas* was exempted: for he held him in great eſtimation, becauſe of his wiſedome and iuſtice, and becauſe that at ſuch time as the Citie was beſieged by *Herod* and *Soſius*, *Sameas* perſwaded the people to receiue *Herod*, telling them that by reaſon of their ſinnes and offences, they might not eſcape from him; whereof we will ſpeake in place conuenient. *Hircanus* perceiuing that the Iudges were inclined to condemne *Herod*, deferred the ſentence till the next day, and ſent ſecretly vnto *Herod*, counſelling him to flie out of the Citie, aſſuring him that there was no other meanes to ſaue his life. Thus poſted he to Damaſco (as if he had fled from the Kings preſence) and preſenting himſelfe before *Sextus Cæſar*, after hee had aſſured his perſon, hee reſolued with himſelfe, that if the councell ſhould call him once more to his anſwer, he would not obey them. But after his departure the councell were diſpleaſed with *Hircanus*, and laboured to perſwade him, that all theſe things tended to his deſtruction: which hee well perceiued, yet knew hee not what to doe, he was ſo negligent and voide of foreſight.

The yeere of the world, 3922. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 42.

Herod honored Sameas.

Herod admoniſhed by Hircanus, ſaueth himſelfe by flight, and appeareth no more in iudgment.

When *Sextus* had made *Herod* Gouernour of Cœloſyria (which eſtate he ſold vnto him for ready money) *Hircanus* was afraid leſt *Herod* ſhould make warre againſt him: neither paſſed there long time before the effect grew anſwerable to his feare. For *Herod* marched forth againſt him, with a great army, ſuppoſing himſelfe to be much wronged by the aſſignation hee had ſent him, and in that he was ſummoned to giue a reaſon of his actions before the councell. But his father *Antipater*, and his brother *Phaſælus* came forth againſt him to hinder his approach towards Ieruſalem, ſtriuing to appeaſe his fury, & counſelling him not to attempt any thing by way of action; but that contenting himſelfe that he had threatned and affrighted *Hircanus*, hee ſhould not attempt any further againſt him, who had raiſed him to that high degree. They told him alſo, that it became him not onely to remember that he was cited to anſwer, but that he was abſolued alſo, and permitted to depart without danger or any violence. Moreouer, that he ought to thinke, that God gouerneth the ballance of warre, and that the iſſues of battels is vncertaine, and for that cauſe he ought not to expect the victory, if hee made warre againſt the King who was his familiar, and from whom he had receiued farre more kindneſſe, and no diſpleaſure: who though hee made ſome appearance and ſhadow of ſeueritie, touching the accuſation intended againſt him, yet notwithſtanding it proceeded not ſo much from him, as from his euill counſellers. *Herod* in ſome ſort pacified by theſe perſwaſions, obeyed his father, ſuppoſing that it ſufficed him in regard of his future hopes, that he had giuen the people ſo large a teſtimony of his power. This was the eſtate of the Iewes at that time.

Alias, chap. 11 Sextus Cæſar ſelleth his Preſidents place to Herod for ready money.

Herod marcheth againſt Hircanus with a great army, and is diſſwaded from warre by his father Antipater, and his brother Phaſælus.

But *Cæſar* arriuing at Rome, prepared himſelfe to ſet ſaile towards Affricke, with an intent to make warre againſt *Scipio* and *Cato*. To him *Hircanus* ſent Embaſſadours, beſeeching him to confirme the amitie and aſſociation that hee had with him. But now at this preſent, I thinke it very conuenient to declare all the prerogatiues, and aſſociations that the Romanes and their Emperors made with thoſe of our nation, to the end that all other people might know, that the Kings of Aſia and Europe haue beene well affected towards vs, and haue made great account of our valour and fidelitie. And although diuers men lewdly affected towards vs, beleeue not that which the Macedonians and Perſians haue written of vs, becauſe the ſame matters are not extant in all places, neither ſet downe in publike writings, but only amongſt our ſelues and ſome Barbarians; yet is it manifeſt that they cannot contradict the declarations made by the Romanes, which are manifeſtly affixed in publike places in Cities; as likewiſe alſo at this preſent they are written in the Capitol in brazen pillars. *Iulius Cæſar*, in like manner in a brazen pillar erected by him, hath declared vnto the Iewes that inhabited Alexandria, that they were free Citizens therein. And to the intent that theſe things may more manifeſtly appeare, I will propoſe the decrees of the Senate, and of *Iulius Cæſar*, made in fauour of *Hircanus* and our nation. *Caius Iulius Cæſar Emperour, high Prieſt, Dictator the ſecond Time*, to the Gouernours, Senate and people of the Sidonians, Health: If you are well, we are in health, both our ſelues and our armie. I haue ſent you the Copy of an inſcription, regiſtred in fauour of *Hircanus Alexanders* ſonne, high Prieſt and Prince of the Iewes, to the end it may bee placed among publike monuments: and my will

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 19. Hircanus Embaſſadours to Cæſar.

The Iewes much honoured by the Kings of Europe and Aſia.

Iulius Cæſar teſtified in a brazen pillar, that the Iewes were free Citizens of Alexandria.

Iulius Cæſars Decree as touching the honours, immunities and priuiledges granted to the Iewes.

The yeere of the world, 3922. before Christs Natiuitie, 42.

will is, that it be engrauen in a table of brasse, both in Greeke and Latine letters; the tenour whereof is this that followeth: Because *Hircanus Alexanders* sonne the Iew, both at this present as also heretofore; as well in peace as in warre, hath expressed his fidelitie towards vs and our estate, as diuers Chieftaines of our armies yeeld testimony of him; and for that in our last Alexandrine warre, he seconded vs in the battell with fifteene hundreth men; and hauing beene sent by vs to *Mithridates*, hath surmounted all those of his company in valour. For these causes my will is that *Hircanus Alexanders* sonne and his successors, be Princes of the Iewes: and further, that they continue alwaies in the high Priesthood, according to the ordinance and custome of their countrey: and that both he and his children be our associates; and be inrowled likewise amongst our chiefest friends: and all that which appertaineth to the Priesthood, according to the ordinances of the Iewes, be attributed to him and his. And if there happen any different as touching the discipline of the Iewes, our pleasure is, that it be determined by him. And as touching the munitions of warre, and the money to be leuyed for the entertainment of souldiers, we thinke it not meete that they should be charged. The Decrees made and granted by *Caius Cæsar* being Consull, are these:

That the sonnes of *Hircanus* bee Princes ouer the nation of the Iewes, and inioy the places granted vnto them. That the high Priest and Prince of the Iewes giue fauour and aide vnto those that are offenced. That Embassadours be sent to *Hircanus* the sonne of *Alexander* high Priest of the Iewes, to intreat of amitie and association with vs. That a brazen table be erected in the Capitol: and likewise at Sidon, at Tyre, and at Ascalon in the Temples, wherein shall be engrauen the contents hereof in Romane and Greeke letters, to the end that all the Treasurers that are in the Cities, and all other Magistrates may by this our Decree vnderstand, that they are our friends, and that their Embassadours bet entertained with kindnesse and presents, and that these Edicts be sent into all places.

Caius Cæsar Emperour, Dictator, Consull, for the good of the Senate and people of Rome, hath granted to the honour, vertue, and humanitie of *Hircanus* the sonne of *Alexander*, that both hee and his children shall bee high Priests in Ierusalem, and of the whole Nation, according to the Rites and Customes, whereby their ancestors haue enioyed the Priesthood.

Caius Cæsar, Consull the fift time, hath ordained that they shall inhabit Ierusalem, and build againe the walles of the Citie; and that *Hircanus* (*Alexanders* sonne, the high Priest and Prince of the Iewes) shall gouerne as best him liketh, and that euery second yeere of their tribute, there be a Chore deducted out of the rent they owe, and that they be exempt from all other impositions, and tributes.

Caius Cæsar, twice Emperour, hath ordained, that the Iewes shall contribute euery yeere for their Cities, except Ioppe; he acquiteth them also euery seuenth yeere (which they call the yeere of rest) because that therein they neither reape, nor sow, neither gather the fruits of trees. His further pleasure is, that euery second yeere, they bring their tributes vnto Sidon, which shall be the fourth part of that which shall be sowne; and besides this, that they pay the tenths to *Hircanus* and his sonnes, which they haue paid to their Predecessours vnto this day. Commanding that no man, whether he be Gouernour, Captaine, or Embassadour, or any other whatsoeuer hee be, leuy souldiers within the countrey of Iudæa, or draw any thereout: neither exact any money, whether it be for garrisons in winter, or for any other cause, but that the Iewes be exempt from all troubles in all places, and enioy all that which sithence they haue had, bought, and possessed. It is our pleasure also, that the Citie of Ioppe be vnder their gouernment (which they haue euer enioyed since the beginning of their friendship with the Romanes.) We further grant, that *Hircanus Alexanders* sonne and his children, receiue the tribute of that Citie (both by them, that till the land, as by the gates, entries, and issues of merchandizes that are transported vnto Sidon) twentie thousand, sixe hundreth, seuentie and fiue bushels euery yeere, exempting the seuenth yeere, which is called the yeere of rest, wherein they neither labour nor gather any fruit of the trees. It is the Senates pleasure also, that *Hircanus* and the Iewes haue those villages, which are in the great champain, which he & his predecessors haue possessed, and that with the like interests that they held them before this; and that the same customes continue therein, whereby they held and gouerned them. Their will is likewise, that the same lawes which haue from the beginning beene respectiuely obserued betweene the Iewes and their high Priests, be continued; and whatsoeuer benefits were granted them, by the consent of the Senate and people of Rome. Moreouer it shall be lawfull for those of Lydda, to vse the same rites and priuiledges also. And as touching the

the demaines places, and habitations that haue appertained to the Kings of Syria and Phœnicia, by the gift made vnto them at such time as they were allied to the Romanes: the Senate (I say) ordaineth, that *Hircanus* the high Priest & Prince of the Iewes possesse the same. It is lawfull also for *Hircanus* and his sonnes, and their Embassadours sent by them, to behold the Iusts and Combates, and to sit among the Senators, and that at all and euery time or times wherein they shall require to be brought into the Senate by the Dictator, or by the Master of the horse, they may haue free entrance; and that within ten daies at the most they receiue their answer, if there bee any decree ratified by the Senate. *The yeer of the world, 3922. before christs Natiuity, 42.*

Caius Cæsar, Emperour, the fourth time Consull, and the fift time Dictator for terme of life, hath ratified these things, as touching *Hircanus* the sonne of *Alexander*, the high Priest & Prince of the Iewes: Because that the Generals my predecessors haue testified as well in the prouinces, as before the Senate and people of Rome, both of the good deserts of *Hircanus* high Priest and Prince of the Iewes, and that nation also, towards vs and our State; and whereas both the Senate and people of Rome haue gratified them for the same: wee thinke it conuenient also to haue the same in memory, and to giue order that *Hircanus* and his sonnes may be remunerated by the Senate and people of Rome, according to the measure of their loyalties and good deserts.

Iulius Caius Cæsar Romane Consull, to the Gouernours, Senate and people of *Patras*: Health: The Iewes are come vnto vs to Delos, with some of the Colonies of their countrimen in the presence of your Embassadours, and certifie vs of a decree made by you: whereby you forbid them the practice and ancient vse of their sacrifices and oblations: I thinke it not meete that you make any such decrees against our friends, and associates; neither that you forbid them to liue according to their fashions and customes; or to imploy their purses together in furnishing their feasts and sacrifices; since in Rome it selfe they are not interdicted or forbidden to performe the same. For at such time as *Caius Cæsar* Consull had prohibited by Edict, that in celebrating the Bacchanals, no one should dance about the Citie; yet were the Iewes alone exempted from this inhibition: and neither haue they beene prohibited to contribute, neither to banquet together. My selfe also in like case in the defence I haue made to forbid all other sodalities, haue excepted the Iewes therein, and haue giuen them leaue and licence to assemble and demeane themselues, according to the customes, ceremonies, and ordinances of their countrey. If therefore you haue made any such decrees against our friends and associates, you shall doe well to disanull them, by reason of the vertue of the Iewes, and the forwardnesse they haue protested in performance of our seruice.

M. Antonius, and P. Dolobella, bring Hircanus Embassadors into the Senate.

After *Caius Cæsars* death, the Consuls *Marcus Antonius*, and *Publius Dolobella*, assembled the Senate, and hauing brought in *Hircanus* Embassadours, they declared their requests, and contracted amitie with them: the Senate likewise ordained, that each thing should bee granted them that they required. And *Dolobella* hauing receiued *Hircanus* Letters, sent them thorowout all Asia, and to Ephesus (which is the Metropolitane City of Asia) in these termes: The Generall *Dolobella* to the Princes, Senate, and people of Ephesus, Health: *Alexander* the sonne of *Theodore* Embassadour to *Hircanus* the high Priest and Prince of the Iewes, hath giuen vs to vnderstand, that his subiects cannot goe on warfare, because it is not lawfull for them to beare armes, nor to trauell on the Sabbath day; as also for that they may not seeke for their victuals and other necessaries (on that day) according to the custome of their countrey: for this cause I grant them exemption from the warre, in like manner as my predecessors haue done; permitting them to vse the ceremonies and rites of their countrey, assembling themselues to make their oblations and sacrifices, as their lawes and customes require, in contributing to the offering of the sacrifices in the Temple. And my will is, that you write to this effect to euery Citie of the Prouince. See here how *Dolobella* honoured *Hircanus* at such time as he sent his Embassadours vnto him.

Dolobellas Letters to the Ephesians.

Lucius Lucullus in the French, Lentulus in the Latine, being Consull, maketh an Edict in behalfe of the Iewes. Iosephus conclusion concerning these Edicts.

Lucius Lentulus Consull pronounceth that the Iewes (that are citizens of Rome) and that obserue and offer the sacrifices of the Iewes in Ephesus before the tribunall, be exempt from warfare, by reason of their religion. Giuen the nineteenth of October. There are besides these many other Edicts & Ordinances made to the like effect, by the same Generals, and by the Romane Senate in fauour of *Hircanus* and our nation, and some other cities. In like sort there were diuers decrees and writs sent vnto the Gouernors & Rulers of the prouinces touching our priuiledges: all which may be easily beleeued by those that shall reade our History, with no preiudicate opinion, if they consider those that we haue here inserted. For wee haue shewed more expresse and liuely testimonies of the friendship that we haue had with the Romanes, and such as at this day

The yeere of the world, 3922. before Christs Natiuitie, 42.

are affixed to pillars, and engrauen in tables of brasse in the Capitoll; and that hereafter shall remaine affixed for euer: For which cause, I haue thought it to bee a friuolous and vnnecessary matter to insert all in this place; and I thinke that there is not any man of so siniſter iudgement, that will not beleeue how much we haue beene esteemed by the Romanes, as they haue giuen testimonies by diuers Decrees publiſhed in our behalfe; neither may any man suppose that we lye, considering the truth of that which we publiſh.

Cæcilius Bassus murthereth Sextus Cæsar.

Thus haue we sufficiently declared the amitie and association, that in times past wee haue had with the Romanes. About this time it came to passe, that the estate of Syria was sore troubled vpon the occasion that ensueth: *Cæcilius Bassus* one of *Pompeies* partakers, laid an ambush for *Sextus Cæsar* and slew him, and seizing vpon his army, vsurped the gouernment: whereby there arose great warre nigh Apamea. For *Cæsars* Captaines marched out against *Cæcilius*, with great force both of foote and horsemen, to whom *Antipater* sent his sonnes with a power to second them (in remembrance of the benefits he had receiued at *Cæsars* hands) supposing it to be an act of iustice, that the murtherer should be punished for his so hainous offence. Now whereas this warre continued a long time, *Marcus* came and succeeded *Sextus*. Meane-while *Cæsar* was slaine by *Cassius* and *Brutus* in the midst of the Senate, after he had commanded three yeeres and sixe moneths, as it is expressed in another place.

Marcus succeedeth Sextus in Syria. Cæsar slaine by Cassius and Brutus.

CHAP. XVIII.

CASSIVS *afflicteth the Iewes, and exacteth about eight hundreth talents at their hands.*

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 20. Cassius commeth into Syria, and exacteth more then 700. talents of siluer from the Iewes.

AFTER *Cæsars* death, the brand of ciuill warre began to flame, and the greatest men of Rome trauelled the one this way, the other that way, to gather men of warre. But *Cassius* came into Syria, with an intent to take the army that was neere to Apamea: and hauing leuied the siege, he drew both *Bassus* and *Marcus* to be of his faction, and trauelling from City to City, he gathered a number of souldiers, & much furniture, and imposed huge tributes: but especially he afflicted Iewry, and exacted of that country more then seuen hundreth talents of siluer. *Antipater* seeing the State in so great feare and trouble, committing the exaction of the two parts of this money to his sonnes; the other hee commanded to be assigned to *Malichus*, who was his enemy, and the other part vnto another. *Herod* first of all gathered that which was commanded him in the countrey of Galilee, and for this cause was greatly beloued by *Cassius*: for hee being prudent and discreet, thought it no small policie at that time to win the Romanes good will by other mens expence. Vnder the other gouernours the Cities were set to sale, together with their inhabitants: and amongst them these foure were the chiefest, namely, Gophna, Emaus, Lydda, and Thamna: for *Cassius* sold the people thereof to them that would giue most. Furthermore, *Cassius* was so much transported with choler, that he had slaine *Malichus*) so much was he mooued against him) if *Hircanus* had not restrained his fury, by sending him one hundreth talents of his owne money by *Antipater*. But as soone as *Cassius* was departed out of the countrey of Iudæa, he practised *Antipaters* death, supposing that his cutting off would assure *Hircanus* state the more strongly. But *Antipater* was not ignorant of this his resolution; for hauing an inkling thereof, hee got himselfe on the other side of Iordan, and assembled an armie of souldiers both Iewes and Arabians. Hereupon, *Malichus* (who was a politique and subtill fellow) denied stoutly that he had intended any Treason, purging himselfe with an oath before *Antipater* and his children, that he had neuer any such intent, especially for that he saw that *Phasælus* held Ierusalem, and *Herod* had an armie at command. And in the end, perceiuing the difficultie wherein he was, he reconciled himselfe to *Antipater*, and they agreed at that time that *Marcus* gouerned Syria: who perceiuing that *Malichus* began to raise troubles in Iewry, resorted thither, and there wanted little but that he had slaine him, had not *Antipater* by earnest request obtained his life.

Hercd winneth Cassius heart by the money he leuyeth in Galilee.

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Malichus layeth in wait to murther Antipater, but forsweareth the same and is reconciled.

CHAP. XIX.

MALICHVS *poysoneth* ANTIPATER.

Cassius and Marcus make Herod Gouernour of Cœlosyria.

BVT imprudent *Antipater* saued *Malichus* to his owne mischiefe: For when *Cassius* and *Marcus* had assembled their armie, they committed all the charge into *Herods* hands, and made him Gouernour of Cœlosyria, and deliuered him great forces both of foote and horse, and ships by sea: They promised him likewise the kingdome of Iudæa, after they had finished

shed the warre, that was at that time betwixt them and *Anthony* and *Cæsar* the yonger. Whereupon *Malichus* mightily fearing *Antipaters* power, determined to make him away; and hauing corrupted *Hircanus* butler with money (with whom both of them celebrated a feast) hee made him away by poison, and afterwards assembling many men of warre about him, hee made himselfe Master of the Citie. When *Herod* and *Phasælus* vnderstood of the traiterous conspiracie attempted against their father, they were grieuously incensed against *Malichus*. But he denied all, and in especiall abiured the intent or practice of the murther. Thus died *Antipater* a iust and vertuous man, and such a one as dearely loued his countrey. But *Herod*, who was his yonger sonne, incontinently resolued to reuenge his fathers death, and came forth with an army against *Malichus*: But *Phasælus*, who was the elder, determined to circumuent him by policie, for feare lest he should raise a ciuill warre. He therefore accepted of *Malichus* iustifications, and made a shew that he supposed that he had in no such sort sought *Antipaters* death, and onely intended his fathers monument and funerals. Meane while, *Herod* resorting to Samaria, and finding it in desperate estate, restored the same, & pacified the dissensions that were amongst the inhabitants. Not long after (by reason of a feast) he came to Ierusalem with his men of warre. Whereupon *Malichus* being affraid of this his accesse, perswaded *Hircanus* that he should not permit him to enter into the Citie: whereunto *Hircanus* condescended, alleadging for pretext of his defence, that amongst the holy people it was not lawfull to intermixe a troupe of polluted men. But *Herod* made small reckoning of them that brought him this newes, & notwithstanding this command, entred the Citie by night: whereat *Malichus* was much amazed. Whereupon, according to his wonted dissimulations, he openly wept & bewailed the death of *Antipater* as his especiall friend; but vnder-hand he prepared a guard for his owne safety. Notwithstanding it was thought meet by *Herods* friends, to take no notice of this dissimulation; but to make a shew for their parts, that they were well-affected towards *Malichus*.

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Malichus caused Antipater to bee poisoned.

CHAP. XX.

HEROD, *at the command of* CASSIVS, *killeth* MALICHVS *by policie.*

HEREVPOM *Herod* certified *Cassius* of *Antipater* his fathers death, who knowing very well of what conuersation *Malichus* was, wrote back vnto *Herod* that he should reuenge the death of his father: besides, he sent secret letters to the captaines that were in Tyre, commanding them to aide and assist *Herod* in that so iust execution which he intended. After therefore that *Cassius* had taken Laodicea, and the inhabitants of the countrey came together, bringing with them crownes and siluer to present him, *Herod* expected that *Malichus* in that place should receiue his punishment: but he entring into suspicion of some practice, at such time as they drew neere vnto Tyre in Phœnicia, attempted farre greater things. For whereas his sonne was an hostage in Tyre, hee entred the City with intent to draw him thence, and afterwards to returne into Iudæa. After this, vsurping vpon that opportunity which he had by reason of *Cassius* troubles (who hastily marched forward to meet with *Anthony*) he determined to draw the people to an insurrection, and to make himselfe Lord of the country: but God disappointed his vniust purposes: For *Herod* being a man of a ripe iudgement, incontinently discouered his pretence, and sent one of his seruants before, as if vnder purpose to prepare a banquet, because he had told him beforetime that he would entertaine all his followers: but in effect, he sent him to the Captaines to command them to issue out with their daggers, and to meet *Malichus*; who marching foorth and meeting him neere vnto the shore of the City vpon the sea coast, stabbed him in that place with their daggers. Which act did so much astonish *Hircanus*, that through amaze he waxed speechlesse: and finally being much mooued, hee demanded of *Herods* men, what accident had happened, and who it was that had slaine *Malichus*? Whereof when they certifyed him, and how nothing was done without *Cassius* command: he answered that all things were well done, for that *Malichus* was a wretched man and a traytor to his countrey. See here how *Malichus* was iustly punished for the wickednesse hee committed against *Antipater*.

When *Cassius* was departed out of Syria, there arose a new tumult in Iudæa: for *Felix*, who was left in Ierusalem with an army, marched forth against *Phasælus*, and all the people were in armes. For which cause *Herod* speedily repaired to *Fabius*, Gouernour of Damasco, and intending to succour his brother, was preuented by a sicknes: so that *Phasælus* obtaining the victorie by

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by his owne forces against *Fælix*, encloſed him vp in a tower, whence afterwards hee diſmiſſed him vnder compoſition. Whereupon he preſently and grieuouſly rebuked *Hircanus*, for that being forgetfull of diuers benefits which he had receiued by him, hee had giuen aide vnto his enemies. For *Malichus* brother being at that time reuolted, planted garriſons in diuers fortreſſes, & namely in Maſada, which was the ſtrongeſt of them all. As ſoone as *Herod* therefore had recouered his health, he drew forth his forces againſt him, and diſpoſſeſſed him of diuers places that hee held, and after ſuffered him to depart with his life and goods.

Fælix aſſaileth Phaſæius in Ieruſalem, and is ouercome by him.

CHAP. XXI.

HEROD *diſcomfiteth* ANTIGONVS *the ſonne of* ARISTOBVLVS, *and driueth him out of Iudæa, ſeeking to recouer his fathers Kingdome by aide of the Prince of Tyre.*

Ptolomey Mennæus adopteth Antigonus, Ariſtobulus ſonne.

PTOLOMEY *Mennæus* drew vnto him by force of his money *Ariſtobulus* ſonne the yong *Antigonus*, who had gathered a power, and hired *Fabius*, and was likewiſe drawne by *Ptolomey*, vnder titles of conſanguinity and adoption. With him ioyned *Marion* (whom *Caſſius* had made Gouernour in Tyre:) For this man hauing occupied Syria by tyranny, kept garriſon therein: *Marion* alſo inuaded Galilee, which confined his countrey; and hauing ſeized three ſtrong fortreſſes therein, hee kept garriſons in the ſame. *Herod* alſo marching forth againſt him, diſpoſſeſſed him of them all; & graciouſly diſmiſſed thoſe Tyrians that had the keeping thereof, beſtowing benefits on ſome of them, for the loue he bare vnto their Citie. And that done, hee came and encountred with *Antigonus*, and fought with him, and ouercame him before hee had ſcarcely entred on the marches of Iudæa, and draue him from thence. When hee was come to Ieruſalem, *Hircanus* and all the people honoured him with crownes: for already was hee inſerred into *Hircanus* family, for that by promiſe hee was his ſonne in law; by which meanes, he had more willingly vndertaken his defence, for that hee was to marry *Alexanders* the ſonne of *Ariſtobulus* daughter, who was *Hircanus* neece: on whom hee begat three ſonnes & two daughters. Before her alſo had he married a wife of his owne nation, who was called *Doris*, on whom he begat *Antipater* his eldeſt ſonne.

Herod expelleth Antigonus out of Iury.

Herod marrieth Mariame Hircanus neece by his daughter Doris Herods wife.

CHAP. XXII.

HEROD *meeting with* ANTONIVS *in Bithynia, giueth him a great ſumme of money, to the end hee ſhould not giue eare to thoſe that would accuſe him.*

ANTONIVS and *Cæſar* hauing ouercome *Caſſius* neere vnto the Citie of Philippi; *Cæſar* went from thence into France, and *Antonius* into Aſia. And being in Bithynia, Embaſſadours reſorted vnto him from all parts: Thither alſo repaired certaine principall men among the Iewes to accuſe *Phaſælus* and *Herod*; ſaying that *Hircanus* had onely the name, but he the authority of the Kingdome. But *Antonius* greatly honoured *Herod*, who came vnto him to anſwer thoſe accuſations that they had impoſed on him: for which cauſe they that were his oppoſites, could obtaine no audience: for *Herod* had bought that priuiledge from them with his money. As ſoone as *Antonius* was arriued in Epheſus, *Hircanus* the high Prieſt and all our nation preſently ſent an Embaſſadour vnto him, with a crowne of gold; requiring him that he would write vnto the prouinces, that the Iewes whom *Caſſius* had taken priſoners (contrary to the law of armes) might be ſet at liberty, and that their countrey (which was taken from them in *Caſſius* time) might be reſtored. *Antonius* ſuppoſing that the demands which the Iewes had propoſed, were reaſonable, wrote backe preſently to the high Prieſt *Hircanus* and the Iewes; and ſent an edict alſo to the Tyrians to this effect:

The Iudge corrupted with money. Hircanus Embaſſadours preſent Antonius with a crowne of gold, and require the captiue Iewes liberty ſold by Caſſius.

Antonius writeth to Hircanus as touching Brutus and Caſſius actions and death.

"*Marcus Antonius* Emperour, to *Hircanus* high Prieſt and Prince of the Iewes; Health: If you are well, all goeth well. I and mine army are in perfect eſtate. *Lyſimachus* the ſonne of *Pauſanias*, and *Ioſeph* the ſonne of *Mennæus*, and *Alexander* the ſonne of *Theodore* your Embaſſadors, came vnto me to Epheſus, and haue renued the ſame Embaſſade which they heretofore brought to Rome, and at this preſent likewiſe they haue duely and faithfully acquitted themſelues of the Embaſſade which they preſent in the behalfe of you, and your nation, by giuing vs to vnderſtand what affection you beare towards vs: ſo that I eſteeme you for our friend, ſith I am giuen to vnderſtand how friendly you haue behaued your ſelfe towards vs both in words & deeds, ſince we haue

A haue had any knowledge of your good and honeſt conuerſation and pietie. For at ſuch time as our aduerſaries and enemies of the Roman nation ſpoiled all the countrey of Aſia, and without regard of their oathes ſpared neither cities nor temples; we haue oppoſed our ſelues againſt them, not onely for our priuate reſpect, but in the quarrell of the commonweale, to the intent to puniſh the authors of ſuch offences committed againſt men, and of ſuch impieties perpetrated againſt God: for which we ſuppoſe that the ſunne hath in a manner obſcured himſelfe, by beholding with vnwilling eies what an hainous offence was committed againſt *Cæſar*. But wee haue gotten the vpper hand of their impious enterprizes, which are fallen vpon Macedonia, as on the countrey and ayre, from whence proceede ſuch deteſtable and vngracious deſſeignes: and wee B haue likewiſe cut off the courſe of their deſperate reſolution, which made them encounter vs neere to Philippi a city of Macedonia, where we ſeized their places fortified by nature, and encloſed with mountaines as if it were with walles, as farre as the ſea, in ſuch manner as the paſſage was barred vp, as it were with a gate, had not the gods giuen vs way by reſiſting their vniuſt exploits, & furthering ours. *Brutus* is likewiſe compelled to flie to Philippi, where being incloſed by vs, he ſuffered the like ruine with his conſort *Caſſius*; and ſince they haue beene puniſhed as they deſerued, me ſeemeth that we are ſeized of peace, and that Aſia hath had repoſe from warre, and all the body thereof is releeued from a grieuous maladie, by the meanes of our victory. For which cauſe remembring vs of you and your nation, to the end to increaſe your good fortunes, we will bethinke vs of that which ſhall be commodious for you: and wee haue already ſent letC ters from city to city, to the intent that if any one among you, either captiue or free-man, haue been ſold to the vtmoſt by *Caius Caſſius*, or any of that army, they may be ſet at liberty. And our will is, that you make vſe of the bounty which we beſtow vpon you, both in our ſelfe as in *Dolabellas* right, forbidding the Tyrians to moleſt you, and commanding them to reſtore all that which they haue taken from the Iewes in goods or poſſeſſions. As for the crowne which you ſent me, I accept the ſame.

The yeer of the world, 3924. before Chriſts Natiuity, 40.

Marcus Antonius Emperour, to the Gouernours, Senate and people of Tyre, Health: I haue been informed in Epheſus by *Hircanus* Embaſſadors (who is high Prieſt & Prince of the Iewes) that you haue ſeized their country, & ſpoiled the ſame, at ſuch time as our aduerſaries held that prouince. But in as much as we haue vndertaken the warre for the Empire, and that in defence D of right and pietie, we haue puniſhed theſe ingratefull, diſloyall & perfidious perſons; our will is, that you ſuffer our allies to liue in peace: and as touching that which you haue obtained by our aduerſaries, our pleaſures is, that you reſtore the ſame to thoſe that are diſpoſſeſſed. For no one of them hath obtained either prouince or army by the conſent of the Senate; but haue rauiſhed them by force, and afterwards beſtowed them on thoſe who haue been miniſters of their impieties and iniuſtice. But ſince they haue beene puniſhed according to their deſerts, wee require that our allies may enioy their owne, without any impeachment: and if you hold any places at this preſent, which belong to *Hircanus* Prince of the Iewes (that were ſeized ſince the time that *Caius Caſſius* by iniuſt warre inuaded our prouinces) reſtore them vnto him, without offer of any violence, to hinder him from the poſſeſſion of his owne. And if you haue or pretend to haue any right in them; at ſuch time as I ſhall repaire to thoſe places, it ſhall be lawfull for you to debate your right, and we will ſo iudge, as that our allies ſhall receiue no wrong.

Marcus Antonius writeth to the Magiſtrates of Tyre, to reſtore Hircanus and the Iewes their lands, goods, and liberty.

Marcus Antonius Emperour, to the Gouernours, Senate, and people of Tyre: Health: I haue ſent you my edict, which my pleaſure is that you carefully looke vnto, and that you regiſter it amongſt your publicke records in Romane and Greeke letters, and ſet it vp in writing in an open place, to the end that it may be read by all men.

Marcus Antonius Emperour and Triumuir, in the preſence of the Tyrians aſſembled for their publike affaires, hath declared, that *Caius Caſſius* during the troubles, by the aſſiſtance of his ſoldiers, hath rauiſhed another mans prouince; and hath in like ſort ſpoiled our allies, and hath ranſackt the nation of the Iewes, who are friends to the people of Rome: and for that by our valour we haue repreſſed his inſolence, by our edicts and iudgements we will correct his offences; to the end that all things may be reſtored to our allies, and that all whatſoeuer hath bin ſold, and appertained to the Iewes (whether they be priſoners or poſſeſſions) be reſtored to their maſters, to the end that each man may be at liberty as he was before; and that each mans poſſeſſion may be reſtored to his firſt owner. And my pleaſure is, that whoſoeuer diſobeyeth this ordinance, he may be puniſhed. And he that ſhall be conuicted to haue diſobeyed the ſame, hee ſhall be puniſhed according to his demerit. He wrote to the like effect to the Sidonians, Antiochians, and Arabians; all which we will inſert in a conuenient place, to teſtifie what account the Romans made of our nation.

CHAP.

The yeere of the world, 3924. before Christs Natiuity 40.

CHAP. XXIII.

ANTONIVS *arriuing in the prouince of Syria, maketh* HEROD *and* PHASÆVS *Tetrarchs.*

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 11. Cleopatra commeth into Cilicia to Antonius.

AFTER this, *Antonius* retyred himselfe into Syria, and *Cleopatra* came forth to meet him neere vnto Cilicia, and entangled him in her loue. At that time also, one hundreth of the chiefest reckoning among the Iewes, came once againe in Embassade to him to accuse *Herod*, and his adherents: who to this end had chosen out the most esteemed Orator that might be found. *Messala* likewise vndertooke the defence of the yong men that were accused, and made them answer. *Hircanus* also was there in person, who was already by marriage allied vnto them. After that *Antonius* had heard both the one and the other in the City of Daphen, he demanded of *Hircanus*, which of both the parties gouerned the common-weale best? who returned him answer, that they, who were on *Herods* side, were most studious of the weale publike. *Antonius* (who long since had borne good affection towards them, by reason of the ancient hospitalitie that he had receiued with their father, during the time that *Gabinius* was in Iudæa) established them both for *Tetrarchs*, committing to their hands the affaires in Iudæa: And to this effect wrote he his letters, and committed fourteene of their enemies to prison; whom had not *Herod* besought for their liues, he had condemned them to death. This notwithstanding, as soon as they returned from their Embassade, they could not containe themselues in quiet, but resorted once more vnto *Antonius* to the number of ten thousand, to the city of Tyre where *Antonius* soiourned. But *Antonius* (already corrupted by store of money by *Herod* and his brother, who commanded in that place) ordained that the Embassadours of the Iewes should be punished, for that they had attempted and affected some innouation; where contrariwise he confirmed *Herods* gouernement. At that time *Herod*, who walked by the sea side, came vnto them, aduising both them and *Hircanus* (who at that present was with them) to giue ouer their appeale, for feare lest some grieuous misfortune should befall them. Whereunto since they gaue no regard, certaine Iewes and inhabitants of that city, all at once ranne vpon them, who slue some of them, and hurt other some, & the rest taking their flight towards their country, euer afterwards contained themselues and liued in quiet, through the feare they had conceiued. But when the people ceased not to exclaime and protest against *Herod*, *Antonius* was in such sort displeased, that hee commanded all those whom he held prisoners, should be slaine.

Antonius makete Phasælus and Herod Tetrarchs.

A thousand Iewes repaire to Tyre to accuse Herod, who are partly slaine, partly wounded, and partly put to flight.

The yeere of the world, 3925. before Christs Natiuitie. 39.

The yere after, *Pacorus* the Kings sonne, and *Barzapharnes* a Prince among the Parthians, inuaded and seized Syria. And about this time died *Ptolomey* the sonne of *Mennæus*; and his sonne *Lysias* raigned in his stead, who plighted friendship with *Antigonus* the sonne of *Aristobulus*, who obtained this fauour at his hands by the counsell and sollicitation of a certaine Prince of great authority and credit with him.

CHAP. XXIIII.

The Parthians make warre in Syria, to restore ANTIGONVS *the sonne of* ARISTOBVLVS *to his Kingdome.*

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 22. Antigonus promiseth the Parthians a great summe of money to install him in the kingdome

AFTER this, *Antigonus* promised the Parthians to giue them one thousand talents of siluer, and fiue hundreth women, if so bee they would depriue *Hircanus* of the Kingdome, and restore it vnto him, and withall put *Herod* and his friends to death. Yet did hee not deliuer them that he promised, notwithstanding the Parthians led their army into Iury to restore *Antigonus*, to wit, *Pacorus* by the sea-coast, and *Barzapharnes* to the landward. The Tyrians locked their gates against *Pacorus*, but the Sidonians and Ptolemaidans receiued him into their Citie. He sent a troupe of horsemen into Iury to discouer the estate of the countrey, and to giue succours to *Antigonus*. The chiefetaine of these horsemen was the Kings butler; who in like sort was called *Pacorus*. But for that certaine Iewes (inhabiting about the mount Carmel) ioyned themselues with *Antigonus*, and were prepared with him to inuade his enemies, he conceiued some hope that he might by their meanes reduce a certaine part of the region vnder his gouernment, which is called Drymæ: & certain of his wel-willers meeting him in the way, perswaded him to presse forward as farre as Ierusalem; where being seconded by others (and his followers already much increased in number) they addresse themselues to assault the Kings Palace. And whereas those of the faction of the brethren brought present supplies, and the skirmish was maintained

Pacorus sendeth horsmen to Antigonus in Iudæa.

The Iewes inhabiting about mount Carmel, ioyne themselues with Antigonus.

tained in the market place, the yong men repulſed the enemie, and draue him into the Temple. Which done, they ſent certaine armed men into the houſes neere adioyning, to guard them: but the people ruſhing in vpon them, and ſeeing they were deſtitute of aide, burned both them and the houſes wherein they were. But this iniquity of theirs was preſently reuenged by *Herod*, who in a skirmiſh that he had with them, ſlew a great number of them. And whereas there were daily aſſaults betweene both parties, the enemies expected vntill ſuch time as the people (aſſembled from all parts of the countrey) ſhould repaire to Ieruſalem to celebrate the feaſt of Pentecoſt. Which being come, many thouſands of men aſſembled about the Temple, both armed and vnarmed, who ſeized both the Temple and the City; except the Kings houſe onely, which *Herod* made good with a few men of warre. The wall thereof did *Phaſælus* his brothers keepe. But *Herod* with a company of his followers ſallied out vpon the enemy, who were planted in the ſuburbes, and fighting valiantly againſt them, he put diuers thouſands of them to flight, wherof ſome retired themſelues into the City; other ſome into the Temple; the reſt into a certaine bulwarke neere at hand. In this battell alſo *Phaſælus* ſhewed no little fauour.

The yeere of the world, 3025. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 39.

Pentecoſt.

Herod fighteth with his enemies in the ſuburbs.

Pacorus Chieftaine of the Parthians entering the City, perſwadeth Phaſælus to go Embaſſador to Barzapharnes

But *Pacorus* conductor of the Parthians, came into the City with ſome few horſemen at *Antigonus* requeſt, making ſhew that he came to appeaſe the ſedition; but the effect and ſcope of his comming was, to obtaine the ſoueraignty for *Antigonus*. Furthermore, after that *Phaſælus* was come out to meet with him, and had courteouſly entertained him in his houſe, *Pacorus* perſwaded him to goe Embaſſadour with him to *Barzapharnes*, laying a baite vnder this pretence to ſurprize him. He ſuſpecting no treacheries, was eaſily perſwaded, notwithſtanding that *Herod* miſliked the courſe, who knowing the perfidious manner of the Barbarians, exhorted him rather to aſſaile *Pacorus*, and to aſſault and oppreſſe his forces, when they were come vnto him. Naitheleſſe *Hircanus* and *Phaſælus* vndertooke this Embaſſade, and *Pacorus* (leauing with *Herod* two hundreth horſemen, and ten of thoſe whom they call free men) conducted the Embaſſadors. Now as ſoone as they came into Galilee, the Gouernours of the Cities in that countrey, came forth armed to meete them: *Barzapharnes* alſo at the firſt gaue them friendly entertainment, and honoured them with preſents; but anon after, he began to practiſe treachery. For *Phaſælus* and his attendants were conducted to a lodging that adioyned the ſea; where hearing tidings that *Antigonus* had promiſed one thouſand talents, and fiue hundreth virgins to the Parthians, he began already to ſuſpect the Barbarians. For a certaine friend of his had giuen him an inkling that there were treaſons intended againſt him that very night, and that his lodging was priuily beſet with a guard. And ſurely they had beene ſurprized, had they not expected that the Parthians (who were round about Ieruſalem) ſhould be ſeized of *Herod*, fearing leſt he hauing an inkling of their diſaſter, ſhould betake himſelfe to flight. And that this was true, they incontinently gathered by the guard that was ſet about them: For which cauſe there were certaine of *Phaſælus* friends, who counſelled him, that without any more delay, he ſhould betake him to his horſe, & flie from thence: and amongſt the reſt *Ofilius* was moſt earneſt, who had wrought out of *Saramalla* a rich Syrian (who offered them his ſhips that road hard by to further their flight) all that which they pretended. But *Phaſælus* would neither forſake *Hircanus*, nor leaue his brother *Herod* in danger, but repairing to *Barzapharnes*, he told him, that he did him wrong to vſe theſe ſiniſter practices againſt them. For that if he had need of money, he was more likely to receiue it at his hands, then from *Antigonus*; and howſoeuer he wrought, it was an intolerable iniury to put Embaſſadours to death, who came vnto him vnder pledge of his honour, and had no waies offended him. But the Barbarian hearing theſe things, proteſted by an oath, that no one point of that which he had ſuſpected, was true; but that he was onely troubled with falſe ſurmize: whereupon he preſently departed to *Pacorus*.

The Parthians compl ot trecheries againſt Phaſælus.

CHAP. XXV.

The Parthians lead away HIRCANVS *and* PHASÆLVS *into captiuitie.*

AS ſoone as he was departed, certaine of the Parthians tooke *Hircanus* and *Phaſælus* priſoners, who mightily deteſted their periuries. But the Eunuch that was ſent vnto *Herod*, had commandement giuen him to entice and traine him without the City walles, and afterwards to apprehend him. But *Herod* was forewarned of this treachery, by certaine meſſengers (who were ſent by *Phaſælus* to giue him notice thereof) who being intercepted by the enemie in the way, and *Herod* getting notice thereof, he addreſſed himſelfe to *Pacorus* (and thoſe in

Hircanus and Phaſælus ſurprized by the Parthians.

The yeere of the world, 3925. before Christs Natiuitie, 39.

in greateſt authority among the Parthians) as to them that were the maſters: who ſubtilly diſſembled, notwithſtanding they knew how all things went, telling him that he ſhould doe well to repaire with them without the wall to go and meete thoſe meſſengers, who brought him letters; who had not as yet beene ſeized by their aduerſaries, but came to certifie him of *Phaſelus* good eſtate. But *Herod* gaue them no credit, becauſe hee was already otherwaies aduertized of his brothers ſurprizal, & had alſo farre greater ſuſpicion of the Parthians by the ſollicitation of *Hircanus* daughter, whom he had married. And although the reſt made no account of her aduertiſements, yet *Herod* gaue credit vnto her, for that ſhe was a moſt wiſe woman. Now whileſt the Parthians were in deliberation what were beſt to be done (in that it was held no policy to make open aſſault vpon ſuch a man) they deferred the whole matter vntill the next morning. Whileſt thus they were debating of their differents, *Herod* came vnto them, who rather giuing credit to that which he had heard as concerning his brother (and touching the treaſons intended againſt him by the Parthians) then to his aduerſaries, as ſoone as it was night, concluded to make vſe of the time, & to make away, without ſtaying any longer amongſt thoſe vncertaine dangers, which his enemies intended againſt him. For which cauſe hee fled with thoſe men of warre which hee had with him: and mounting his mother, his ſiſter and his betrothed, whom he was to marry (who was *Alexanders* daughter, the neece of *Ariſtobulus*) and her mother (who was *Hircanus* daughter) and her yonger brother, with all their family & traine, he departed into Idumæa without eſpiall or ſuſpicion of the enemy. Amongſt whom there was not one ſo hard or yron-hearted, who ſeeing ſuch a pittifull ſpectacle, could not be mooued to compaſſion, beholding the mothers drag away their little children, and abandon their countrey with teares and complaints: and that which was worſe, to leaue their friends in bondage, without any hope of cõfort or redreſſe.

The Parthians lay a plot to ſurprize Herod: hee diſcouereth it, and preuenteth them by flight.

But *Herod* maſtered theſe misfortunes by his inuincible courage, and for that hee was a conſtant man in all fortunes, he exhorted euery one of them whom he met in the way, to be of good courage; and not abandon themſelues to immeaſurable ſorrow, for that by ſuch meanes they might hinder his retreat, on which their ſole and ſecureſt conſeruation depended: whereupon they for their parts indeuoured themſelues to digeſt their griefes, according to *Herods* exhortation. Meane-while he hardly refrained from laying violent hands on himſelfe, by reaſon of the chariot wherein his mother rode, which ouerturned and had almoſt ſlaine her; yea ſo much did this caſualty terrifie him (for feare leſt the enemy in purſuit ſhould ſurprize him during theſe delaies) as that he drew and prepared his ſword to kill himſelfe, had not ſome aſſiſtants and followers ſtept in to him & ſtayed the ſtroke, beſeeching him inſtantly not to forſake them, & leaue them ſubiect to the enemies violence: aſſuring him that it was not the part of a valiant man to reſpect his owne priuate intereſt, and neglect his friends perill. By theſe perſwaſions he was induced to hold his hands, both by reaſon of the apprehenſion of theſe words, which were ſpoken vnto him, as alſo for that he was ouerruled by the multitude of thoſe who would not permit his hand to execute his will: ſo that taking vp his mother, and doing her all the ſeruice that the time permitted, he followed on his way, and with the ſpeedieſt & neereſt meanes he could, he retired toward the Caſtle of Maſſada; where in the way, he oftentimes fought againſt the Parthians that charged and purſued him, and returned alwaies with victory from them. The Iewes alſo were not in peace with him during this his flight; for ſcarcely had he trauelled ſixtie ſtounds out of the City, but that they aſſailed him in the high way: but he put them to flight and obtained the victorie, not like a deſperate man enforced thereunto through neceſſity, but like a diſcreet well furniſhed and valiant ſouldier. So that in the very place where he obtained that victory againſt the Iewes (after ſuch time as hee was made King) hee builded a moſt ſumptuous palace, and neere vnto the ſame a city which he called Herodium. Whileſt hee remained at Reſſa (a borough of Idumæa) *Ioſeph* his brother came forth to meete him, and to conſult with him as touching their whole eſtate, and to know of him what ſhould become of that great multitude that followed them, conſidering that they had no ſouldiers in pay, and the Caſtle of Maſſada (whither he pretended do flie) was too little to hold all the people: for which cauſe he ſent away many to the number of nine thouſand, willing them to diſperſe themſelues here and there in the countrey of Idumæa; and for the better diſpatch of their iourney, he furniſhed them with victuals. As for himſelfe, he tooke with him his moſt able ſouldiers and inward friends, and repaired to the Caſtle of Maſſada, in which place he left the women and their traine, to the number of eight hundreth or thereabouts: and furniſhing the place with corne, water and other prouiſions neceſſary, he went vnto Petra the chiefeſt City of Arabia. As ſoone as it was day, the Parthians ſacked all that which appertained to the Citizens of Ieruſalem; and among other things they ſpoyled

Herod comforteth his friends in their flight.

Herod ſeeing his mothers chariot ouerturned, is ready to murther himſelfe.

Herod retiring towards Maſſada, is aſſailed by the Parthians.

The Parthians ſpoile the citizens of Ieruſalem, and deſtroy Mariſſa.

A ſpoiled the palace; notwithſtanding they medled not with *Hircanus* money, which amounted to ſome three hundreth talents. They left diuers other things behind them alſo that appertained to *Herod*, and eſpecially that which had been tranſported into Idumæa by his mature prouidence. Neither were the Parthians content with the ſpoile of the City, but they forraged all the countrey round about, and razed Mariſſa a very rich City. Thus *Antigonus*, brought backe into his countrey by the king of the Parthians, receiued *Hircanus* and *Phaſælus* that were priſoners: yet was he vehemently diſpleaſed, becauſe the women had eſcaped, whom according to his promiſe he intended to haue deliuered with the money: and fearing leſt *Hircanus* through the fauour of the people ſhould be reeſtabliſhed in his Kingdome (who then was priſoner in the cuſtody of the Parthians) he cut off both his eares, depriuing him by that meanes from enioying the Prieſthood any more, by reaſon of that maime, becauſe the law commandeth that they who are in that dignity, ſhould be ſound in all their members. But *Phaſælus* is to be admired for his great courage at that time: for vnderſtanding that hee muſt needly die, he was no waies diſmaied with death, but that which he held moſt miſerable and diſhonourable was, that he muſt needs die by the hands of his enemy. Seeing therefore that he could not diſpatch himſelfe by other meanes, (becauſe he was bound and chayned) he knockt out his owne braines againſt a ſtone, and ſo ended his life (with as great honour as may bee imagined in ſuch a deſperate eſtate) depriuing his enemy of that power which he intended to practiſe in tyrannizing ouer him at his pleaſure. It is ſaid that the wound being very deepe, *Antigonus* ſent priuily ſurgeons to cure him; and that vnder colour of healing him, they ſhould put poiſon into the ſame, where-through he might dye. But before *Phaſælus* gaue vp the ghoſt, he vnderſtood by a certaine woman, that his brother *Herod* had eſcaped from his enemies: for which cauſe he endured his death with far greater cheerefulneſſe and conſtancy, ſeeing that hee left behind him ſuch a man, as would reuenge his death, and puniſh his enemies. But *Herod* was no waies diſcomforted with the greatneſſe of thoſe aduerſities which enuironed him round about, but was the more whetted on to find out new inuentions, and to aduenture dangerous attempts. For he went vnto *Malchus* King of the Arabians (to whom beforetime hee had ſhewed much courteſie) hoping to receiue the like of him in this time of his great neceſſity, and to draw ſome money from him either by loane or gift, according as he had often and very bountifully pleaſured him. For being ignorant of his brothers death, hee endeuoured himſelfe to ranſome him ſpeedily from his enemies, by paying his ranſome (which amounted to three hundreth talents) and for that cauſe he led with him the ſon of *Phaſelus*, who was onely ſeuen yeeres old, to leaue him in pledge amongſt the Arabians for the ſumme that was demanded. But certaine meſſengers came to him from *Malchus*, who charged him in the kings behalfe to retire backe againe, for that the Parthians had enioyned him that he ſhould neither receiue nor retaine *Herod*. And this colourable pretence vſed he, becauſe he would not pay his debts: and hereunto was he perſwaded by the aduice of the greateſt in authority among the Arabians, who pretended thereby to make themſelues maſters of that treaſure that *Antipater* had committed to their cuſtody. *Herod* anſwered them, that hee repaired not into their countrey to giue them cauſe of any trouble, but onely to conſult with him about certaine matters of great importance touching his owne eſtate, and that afterwards he was reſolued to depart, and withdraw himſelfe into Ægypt as ſecretly as might be poſſible. He returned therefore to a certaine temple, where he had left diuers of his followers; and the next day he came to Rhinocura, in which place he heard tydings of his brothers death. But afterwards *Malchus* repented himſelfe of his ingratitude, and ſpeedily ſent after *Herod*, but he could not ouertake him: for he had gotten farre onward of his way, and was already arriued in poaſt neere to Peluſium: where being denied his paſſage to Alexandria in thoſe ſhips that were there, he addreſſed himſelfe to the magiſtrates of the place, who highly reſpected and honoured him, and ſent him to the City where *Cleopatra* was; who entertained him kindly: yet notwithſtanding could ſhe not perſwade him to remaine with her. Whereupon he repaired towards Rome (notwithſtanding the winter and thoſe grieuous troubles that at the very ſame time afflicted Italy, as it was reported.) Embarking himſelfe therefore to ſaile into Pamphilia, he was toſſed with a moſt cruell ſtorme; ſo that with great danger at laſt he arriued in Rhodes, hauing beene inforced in the tempeſt to caſt into the ſea a good part of his ſubſtance. There met he with *Sappinas* and *Ptolomey* two of his indeared friends. Hee found alſo that the City of Rhodes had ſuffered much miſery by *Caſsius* warres: and although his meanes were very ſcant, yet profited he them in what he might, and cauſed their walles to be repaired, notwithſtanding that by ſo doing, hee greatly hindred himſelfe. After that, he cauſed a little frigote to be built, and embarked himſelfe with

The yeere of the world, 3925. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 39.

Antigonus reſtored to the kingdome by the Parthians, cutteth off Hircanus eares, to preuent his reinſtalement in the Prieſthood.

Phaſælus daſheth out his owne braines. Antigonus putteth poiſon into Phaſælus wounds in ſtead of curing him.

Herod flieth to Malchus King of Arabia to borrow money.

Herod is commanded out of Arabia, and flieth into Ægypt: from thence after ſome ſtormes hee repaireth to Rome, where he certifieth Antonius of that which had befallen him.

The yeere of the world, 3925. before Christs Natiuitie, 39.

his friends to repaire into Italy, and arriued at Brundusium, and from thence went to Rome. The first to whom he discouered his misfortunes, was *Marcus Antonius*: to whom he reported all the occurrences in Iudæa, and how his brother *Phasælus* was taken by the Parthians and slaine; and how *Hircanus* was imprisoned with him. The manner also how they had established *Antigonus* King, vnder promise to giue them one thousand talents, and fiue hundreth of the faireſt women, whom he intended to choose out of his owne race. Lastly, how he stole away by night, and rescued them; and escaping his enemies hands, had afterwards endured many paines and miseries. Furthermore, that his friends were in great danger, and left besieged; for which cause hee had sailed by winter, and despised all dangers, onely to seeke for assistance at his hands, on whom depended his hope, and last refuge.

CHAP. XXVI.

HEROD *is made King of Iury by the Romane Senate.*

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 23. al. 25.

ANTONIVS hearing all those alterations that had befallen *Herod*, had compassion of his misery (bethinking himselfe of the estate and condition of great men, who are likewise subiect to no lesse casualties) and the rather was hee induced to doe him good, both in remembrance of the friendship he had with *Antipater* his father, as also by reason of *Herods* promises of certaine summes of money, if so be he were made King by his means, as he had beene beforetime declared Tetrarch. But that which most mooued him hereunto, was the hatred which he bare to *Antigonus*, whom he accounted to be a mutinous man, and an enemy to the Romans fortune. On the other side, *Cæsar* was well inclined to succour him, both in regard of those armies which *Antipater* had brought into Ægypt in his fathers seruice, as also because of the good hospitality & kindnes that he had shewed him in all things; as in especiall to gratifie *Antonius*, who was well affected towards *Herod*. Whereupon the Senate being assembled, *Messala* and *Atratinus* brought foorth *Herod*, and after they had praised him, and recited the benefits which the Romans had receiued by his father, and the great affection and good will which he bare to the people of Rome; they accused and declared *Antigonus* for the Romans enemy, not onely for his ancient crimes, but also for that in contempt of the Romans he had receiued the kingdome from the Parthians. Whilest the Senate was sore displeased at the report of these things, *Antonius* arose, and declared openly before them all, that in furtherance of the Parthian warre, it were not amisse that *Herod* should be made King: which opinion of his was generally allowed, and finally ratified. The principall demonstration of the loue and affection which *Antonius* bare vnto *Herod*, was, that he not only obtained him the kingdome, beyond all hope: for neuer thought he that the Romans would grant that dignity vnto him, who were wont to reserue that honour to those of the kings blood; and therefore he intended to haue demanded it for his wiues brother *Alexander*, and nephew to *Aristobulus* by the fathers side, and to *Hircanus* by the mother (which *Alexander Herod* afterward put to death, as it shall bee declared in place conuenient) but also for that within the tearme of seuen daies, he sent him out of Italy with the vnexpected titles of his felicity.

Cæsar Augustus Herods friend.

Herod admitted into the Senate, and declared king

Herod intending the kingdome for his wiues brother, enioyeth the same himselfe.

As soone as the Senate was risen, *Antonius* and *Cæsar* issued foorth, leading *Herod* betweene them, and being accompanied by the Consuls and other magistrates, went vp into the capitoll to doe sacrifice, and to place there this decree the Senate had made as touching this matter. The first day of *Herods* raigne *Antonius* feasted him; and after this sort was he established King in the hundreth eighty and fourth Olympiade, in the yeere wherein *C. Domitius Caluinus* twice Consul, and *Caius Asinius Pollio* were Consuls. Meane while *Antigonus* besieged those that were in the castle of Massada, who were plentifully furnished with all things necessary (except it were water) for which cause *Ioseph Herods* brother that was within, and two hundreth of his friends, had concluded to flie vnto the Arabians: for that they vnderstood that *Malchus* had repented himselfe of the fault he had committed against *Herod*. But whilest they stood vpon these tearmes, God powred downe a huge raine on a certaine night, that in short time filled their cesternes in such sort, as that they had no more necessity to flie; and from that time forward they waxed confident: and for that this abundance of water befell them by Gods prouidence, they made a sally vpon their enemies, in which they charged *Antigonus* soldiers after such a maner, sometime in open field, sometime by couert assault, that they slue a great number of them. At that time *Ventidius* a Roman captaine was sent into Syria to driue the Parthians from thence, & after their departure he arriued in Iury, making shew that he would assist *Ioseph*: but in effect al his pretẽce was to draw

Herod ascendeth the Capitoll with Antonius and Cæsar.

Herods family besieged by Antigonus in Massada.

Ventidius vnder pretext to helpe Ioseph, fisheth to get money of Antigonus.

draw money from *Antigonus*. Being therfore encamped neere vnto Ieruſalem, and hauing drawn ſufficient money from *Antigonus*, he retired himſelfe with the greater part of his forces: and to the intent his deceitfull dealing might not be diſcouered, he left *Silo* with a company of his ſouldiers: who likewiſe was honoured by *Antigonus*, for feare leſt he ſhould be cauſe of ſome new trouble, before ſuch time as the Parthians, whoſe comming he expected, ſhould yeeld him aide.

The yeere of the world, 3926. before Chriſts Nativity 38.

CHAP. XXVII.

HEROD *returneth from Rome by ſea, and fighteth againſt* ANTIGONVS.

AFTER that *Herod* was come from Italy by ſea to Ptolemais, and that he had aſſembled no ſmal number of ſouldiers both ſtrangers & his own countrimen, he marched forward againſt *Antigonus*, and paſſed thorow Galilee. *Silo* and *Ventidius* alſo gaue him aſſiſtance in this action, hauing receiued direction by *Gellius* from *Antonius*, that they ſhould aſſiſt *Herod* to recouer his countrey. But *Ventidius* was employed in appeaſing the troubles that were raiſed in the Cities by the Parthians: and as touching *Silo* hee kept in Iudæa, hauing beene corrupted by *Antigonus*. But the further that *Herod* daily marched into the country, the more and more increaſed his forces; and all Galilee (except a very fewe) ſubmitted themſelues vnto him. Whileſt therefore hee marched forward toward Maſſada, (beeing vrged thereunto in that hee was to releeue his parents that were beſieged therein) the City of Ioppe would not grant him paſſage: for the Citizens thereof were his enemies: ſo that it behooued him firſt of all to ruinate the ſame, to the end he might leaue no retreat or place of reſcous for his enemy on his backe, if ſo bee he made toward Ieruſalem. Vpon which occaſion *Silo* laying hold, diſlodged his army and made thitherward: whom when the Iewes did purſue, *Herod* ſallied out with a ſmall company, and put them to flight, and ſaued *Silo*, notwithſtanding hee fought very coldly & cowardly. Afterwards being ſeized of Ioppe, he haſted onwards to deliuer his friends that were beſieged in Maſſada; but part of the inhabitants ſubmitted themſelues vnto him for the friendſhip they had borne vnto his father: another ſort of them, for the honour that they bare vnto him: the reſt admitted his gouernment, in acknowledgement of thoſe benefits they had receiued from them both. But the greateſt part was thereunto mooued by the hope they had conceiued of their new elected King, and the confirmation of his gouernment. Thus by theſe meanes was his army mightily increaſed.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 24 al. 16.

Herod returning backe out of Italy, leadeth forth his army againſt Antigonus.

Herod aſſaulteth Ioppe, & taketh it.

Many ſubmit themſelues to Herod.

Whileſt thus he marched forward, *Antigonus* ſeized thoſe places that were fitteſt to lay ambuſhes in, or to fight at aduantages by the way (notwithſtanding that by thoſe meanes and ſtratagems he did but ſmall or no hurt at all to his enemie;) ſo that *Herod* raiſed the ſiege, & diſcharged his friends out of the Caſtle of Maſſada: & after he had taken the fort of Reſſa, he approched Ieruſalem, being attended by *Siloes* army, & by diuers Citizens of the City, who were afraid of his power. And when as he had pitched his campe to the weſtward of the City, thoſe that kept the watch and guard on that ſide, ſhot their arrowes and caſt ſtones againſt him: diuers likewiſe trouped foorth, and fought, hand to hand againſt thoſe that were planted there: For which cauſe firſt of all *Herod* cauſed proclamation to be made round about the walles, ſignifying vnto them that he reſorted thither for the common profit of the people, and for the cõſeruation of the city, without intent of reuenge or memory of any wrongs that his priuate enemies had offered him, promiſing his moſt free pardon to all thoſe whoſoeuer had hainouſly offended him. Hereunto *Antigonus* made this anſwer (turning his ſpeech to *Silo* and the Roman ſoldiers) that contrary to all iuſtice they gaue the Kingdome to *Herod*, who was a priuate man, and an Idumæan (that is to ſay, a halfe Iewe,) whereas it hath beene a cuſtome to beſtow the ſame on them that are of the line of the Prieſts. For albeit at that preſent they were diſpleaſed with him, for that he was ſeized of the Kingdome by the meanes of the Parthians, and had reſolued with themſelues to diſpoſſeſſe him; yet that there were diuers others of that royall race, who might be made Kings according to the law, who haue no waies miſdemeaned themſelues towards the Romanes; and moreouer there are Prieſts, who ſhould not be iuſtly and vprightly dealt withall, if they ſhould be depriued of that honour which appertaineth vnto them. Whileſt they debated the matter after this manner between them, and grew to hot and iniurious taunts the one againſt the other, *Antigonus* commanded his men to aſſayle thoſe that were neere vnto the wall: who ſhooting many arrowes with great courage againſt them, draue them eaſily from the Tower they kept.

Reſſa taken, & Maſſada deliuered from the ſiege, after which Herod marcheth towards Ieruſalem.

Herod proclaimeth about the wals of Ieruſalem, that he repaired thither for the good of the people, and the common weale.

Antigonus vpbraideth Herod that he is but halfe a Iew, & of no kingly race.

The enemy repulſeth Herods power from the wall.

The yeere of the world, 3927. before Christs Nativitie, 37.

At that time *Silon* gaue manifeſt proofe that he had beene corrupted by money: for he ſubor- G
ned diuers of his ſouldiers, who cried out that they had want of victuals, and demanded greater pay for their maintenance, and requeſted that they might be placed in ſome conuenient garriſons to winter in, for that the places round about the Citie were deſolate; becauſe all neceſſaries for maintenance of life had bin taken away and waſted by *Antigonus* ſouldiers. Thus was the whole army troubled; ſo that each of them prepared themſelues to diſlodge. But *Herod* importuned and cryed out vpon the Captaines and Souldiers that were vnder *Silons* charge, telling them that it concerned them not to abandon him, whom *Cæſar*, *Anthony* and the Senate of Rome had ſent thither: That for his owne part he would giue order that they ſhould haue abundance & foiſon of whatſoeuer they demanded; and incontinently departing from them (after he had pre- H
ſented them with this requeſt) he depriued *Silon* of all colour and pretext of flight: for he cauſed an incredible quantitie of victuals to bee brought them; and commanded his friends that inhabited the confines of Samaria, to bring them corne, wine, oyle, cattell, and all other ſuch prouiſion from Iericho, to the end that from that time forward the ſouldiers might want nothing. *Antigonus* was not ignorant thereof; ſo that he incontinently ſent men thorowout the countrey, who might intercept and ſurprize the purueiours and victualers. Who following *Antigonus* commandement, aſſembled a great number of ſouldiers neere vnto Iericho, and encamping in the mountaines, eſpied and watched thoſe that brought the victuals. Meane while *Herod* lay not ſtill, but tooke with him ten companies, fiue of Romane ſouldiers, and fiue of Iewes, with whom he intermixed ſome forraine ſouldiers, with ſome few horſemen, and came to Iericho; where being arriued, hee ſeized the towne, which was abandoned by the inhabitants, of whom fiue hundred with their wiues and children were retired into the tops of the mountaines, whom hee tooke, and afterwards ſet at libertie: but the Romane ſouldiers, entring into their houſes, and finding them full of all ſorts of mooueables, they ſpoiled the ſame. And the King hauing left a garriſon in Iericho, returned to his owne place, diſmiſſing the Romane armie to goe and winter in the countries lately ſurrendred vnto him; namely, in Idumæa, Galilee, & Samaria. *Antigonus* alſo purchaſed this fauour at *Silons* hands by ſtore of bribes, that part of his army was lodged in Lydda, all which he did to currie fauour with *Anthony*.

Silon ſuborneth ſome of his ſouldiers, to take an occaſion to depart from Ieruſalem.

Herod procured and furniſhed the army with victuals and abundant munition.

Antigonus ſendeth out ſouldiers to ſurprize Herods victualers.

The Romans ſent to their garriſons to winter.

Whileſt thus the Romans liued in all abundance & bare no armes; *Herod* would not be ſtill, but ſent his brother *Ioſeph* into Idumæa, with one thouſand footmen, and foure hundreth horſe; and himſelfe reſorted to Samaria, where his mother and his other parents kept, who beforetime were departed out of Maſſada. After this hee went into Galilee to ſurprize certaine caſtles which were held by *Antigonus* garriſons, and beeing arriued at Sephoris (during a great ſnow) after that *Antigonus* garriſons were departed out of the foreſaid caſtles, hee found a great aboundance of all ſorts of neceſſarie munition. And there hauing notice of certaine theeues, who inhabited in caues, he ſent a troupe of horſemen, with three companies of footmen, againſt them: whom he commanded to doe iuſtice on thoſe robbers (now the place where they kept, was not farre from a borough called Arbela:) and fortie daies after, he himſelfe with all his armie reſorted thither. Now whereas the enemies iſſued out againſt him with a hardy reſolution, the left wing of his ſquadron retired and fainted; but hee comming on with his maine battell, put them to flight, who were already almoſt maſters of the field, & made thoſe of his followers that fled, to turne their faces, and to purſue their enemies as farre as the floud Iordan: who fled ſome of them by one way, ſome by another; ſo that hee drew all Galilee vnder his ſubiection, except thoſe that inhabited and held the caues. He diſtributed money alſo amongſt his ſouldiers, and gaue each ſouldier a hundreth and fiftie drachmes, and far more vnto their chieftaines, and afterwards ſent them to winter in garriſons neere at hand.

Robbers.

Herod fighteth with his enemies in Galilee, and ouercommeth them, and bringeth all Galilee vnder his ſubiection.

About this time *Silon* and his Captaines, who had paſſed the winter in the ſaid garriſons, came vnto him (for that *Antigonus* would no more furniſh them with victuals:) for he gaue them maintenance for no more time then a moneth, commanding thoſe that dwelt round about them, to ſpoile the countrey, and afterwards to retire themſelues into the mountaines, to the end that the Romans might be deſtitute of neceſſary maintenance, and by that meanes might bee conſumed with famine. *Herod* gaue *Phæroras* his yongeſt brother the charge of that prouiſion, commanding him to incloſe the fort of Alexandrion with a wall; who ſpeedily brought to paſſe that the ſouldiers had all ſorts of neceſſaries at commandement: he reedified alſo the fort of Alexandrion which had beene laide deſolate. About that time *Anthony* ſoiourned in Athens, and *Ventidius* was in Syria, who hauing ſent for *Silon* to accompany him againſt the Parthians, did firſt of all charge him to aſſiſt *Herod* in that warre: & afterwards to excite the prouinciall confederates

Antigonus refuſeth to victuall the Romane army.

Ventidius ſendeth for Silon to war againſt the Parthians.

to

to further his warre. But *Herod* diſmiſſing *Silon* and his company to follow their deſtinated wars with *Ventidius*, did in his owne perſon lead out his ſouldiers againſt thoſe theeues that liued in dens. Now theſe caues were ſituate in the moſt higheſt and inacceſſible mountaines, impregnable through narrow paths, enuironed with ſharpe rocks, wherin the robbers inhabited ſecretly, with all their families, King *Herod* cauſed a certaine number of coffers to be made, faſtned to yron chaines, which he cauſed to be let downe by an engine from the top of the mountaine (becauſe it was neither poſſible by reaſon of the ſteepineſſe of the hill to aſcend the ſame from beneath, neither from aboue to creepe downward againſt them.) Theſe cheſts were filled with ſoldiers, armed with great hookes to draw theſe theeues vnto them, and to breake their necks headlong from the height to the bottome. But the vſe of theſe coffers was dangerous, for it was neceſſary to let them downe an infinite depth into the caues, eſpecially for that the theeues had neceſſarie munition among them: notwithſtanding when they had gotten downe, none of the theeues durſt peepe out of the mouthes of their caues, but feare conſtrained them to hold themſelues quiet. But a certain ſoldier, hauing girt his ſword by his ſide, and taken hold of the chaine with both his hands whereto the coffer was faſtned, ſlid downe as far as the entry of the caue: and being diſpleaſed that no one iſſued out, he ſhot diuers arrowes at thoſe that were within, & wounded them; and after that, with his hooke hee drew thoſe vnto him who reſiſted him, and tumbled them downe headlong from the ſteepy rocke: which done, he ruſhed in vpon thoſe that were within the caue, and ſlew many of them, and afterwards returned and reſted himſelfe in his coffer. Diuers hearing the grones of thoſe that were wounded, were ſurprized with feare & deſpaire of their life: but the nights approach was the cauſe that the matter was not fully atchieued, and many of them (receiuing noitce of the Kings free pardon by a Herauld) ſubmitted themſelues. The next day they renued & continued the ſame manner of fight, and diuers iſſued out of their coffers to fight vpon the outward entrances of the caues, into which they caſt fire, which (for that there was great quantity of wood in the caues) did quickly burne. Within theſe caues there was a certaine old man apprehended, with his wife and ſeuen ſonnes: who being required by them that hee would ſuffer them to goe and ſubmit themſelues to their enemies, tooke vp the entry of the caue, and as his ſonnes aduanced themſelues to iſſue out, he ſlew them, vntill ſuch time as he had maſſacred them all, and after them his wife; and finally, when hee had caſt their dead bodies downe the rockes, he threw himſelfe downe headlong after them, preferring death before ſeruitude. Yet before his death, he reuiled *Herod* in bitter words, and vpbraided him of his obſcuritie & ignoble race: & although *Herod* (who ſaw all that which had happened) ſtretched out his hand vnto him & promiſed him pardon; yet would he not reſpect him; and by this meanes were all theſe caues entered, and the theeues therein taken.

The yeere of the world, 3927. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 37.

Hedio & Ruſfinus, chap. 25.

Herod leadeth his ſouldiers againſt thoſe theeues that held the caues.

Herod letteth downe his ſouldiers from the top of the mountaine in coffers.

A certaine old man killeth his wife and ſeuen of his ſonnes, and at laſt caſteth himſelfe headlong frō the rocke.

Now when the King had eſtabliſhed *Ptolomey* Captaine ouer the ſouldiers in that region, hee retired himſelfe into Samaria, with ſixe hundreth horſemen, and three thouſand footmen, with a reſolution to fight with *Antigonus*, and to end their quarrell. But *Ptolomey* had but very ſlender ſucceſſe in his gouernment: for they that before-time had troubled the country of Galilee, ſallied out vpon him, and ouerthrew him. After which execution they fled into the Mariſhes and vnacceſſible places, where they robbed and ſpoiled all the countrey. But *Herod* returning and ſetting vpon them, puniſhed them: for he ſlew ſome of them, and the reſt were conſtrained to flie into ſtrong places, where he beſieging them and entring their fortreſſes perforce, ſlew the men, and deſtroyed their fortifications: and hauing brought this rebellion to an end, he condemned the Cities to pay him the ſumme of one hundreth talents. Meane while, *Pacorus* was ſlaine in warre, and the Parthians were diſcomfited with him; which was the cauſe that *Ventidius* ſent *Macharas* to ſuccour *Herod* with two legions and 1000. horſe, aud that by the commandement of *Antonius*. But *Macharas* was drawne by *Antigonus*, who corrupted him with money: and notwithſtanding *Herods* contradiction & diſſwaſion; yet reſorted he vnto him, alledging that he did it to looke into his actions. But *Antigonus* ſuſpecting his ſudden approach, entertained him not, but cauſed him to be darted at and driuen thence; giuing him to vnderſtand by his entertainment, what opinion he had of him, and how he was affected towards him: who at that time perceiued plainly that *Herod* had giuen him good counſell; and that himſelfe had miſdone in misbeleeuing his aduice: for which cauſe he returned to the City Emaus, and ſlew all thoſe Iewes whom he met withal in the way, whether friends or enemies: ſo highly diſpleaſed was he at that which had hapned. *Herod* ſore mooued hereat, came to Samaria, reſoluing with himſelfe to poſte vnto *Antonius* to complaine of theſe aggrieuances; conſidering that he had no need of ſuch aſſociates, who did him more harme then his enemies; whereas of himſelfe he was able to make good

Herod retireth toward Samaria, to fight with Antigonus.

Herod puniſheth the rebels in Galilee.

Ventidius ouercommeth Pacorus and the Parthians in battell.

Machæras killeth many Iewes.

Herod reſoluing to depart to Antonius, and to accuſe Machæras, is reconciled by him, and leaueth his brother Ioſeph with an army behind him.

The yeere of the world, 3927. before Christs Natiuitie, 37.

Herod repaireth to Antonius at the siege of Samosata, and in the way killeth many Barbarians.

his warre against *Antigonus*. But *Macheras* hasted after him, requiring him to stay, and to trauell no further on that iourney; or if he might not be deliuered, he prayed him to leaue his brother *Ioseph* behind him, who might with them make warre against *Antigonus*. By these perswasions and instant intreaties of *Macheras*, he was somewhat appeased: so that he left his brother *Ioseph* behinde him, with an army; charging him no way to hazzard his fortune, or to fall at oddes with *Macheras*. As for himselfe hee hasted toward *Antony*, who at that time besieged Samosata (a Citie situate neere vnto Euphrates) hauing with him an armie of his associates, both horsemen and footmen. When *Herod* was arriued in Antioch, he found diuers men assembled there, who were desirous to goe and seeke out *Antony*: but they durst not set forward on the way, for feare lest certaine Barbarians should set vpon them, and kill them in their iourney: these did *Herod* assure, and offered himselfe to be their guide vpon the way. Now when they came to their second baite, some two daies iourney off Samosata, the Barbarians laid an ambush for them, and had barred vp the way with hurdles, and had likewise hidden certaine horsemen thereabouts, who should lie in couert vntill such time as the passengers had recouered the Plaine. Now when the foremost were past, the ambush consisting of about some fiue hundreth horsemen, sodainly charged *Herod* who was in his rereward; when as therefore they had broken the former ranks whom they had met, *Herod* with his troupe that was about him, incontinently repulsed them; and after he had encouraged his followers and whetted them on to the fight, hee wrought so much, that he made those that fled to turne their faces, and to fight; so that the Barbarians were put to the sword on all sides. The King also pursued them so long, vntill at last hee recouered that which had beene taken by them, which was a certaine number of sumpter-horses and slaues. But being charged afresh by others, and they in greater number then those who encountred him at first, he likewise (rallying his forces together) charged and ouercame them; and killing diuers of them, he secured the way to those that followed after, who all of them acknowledged him for their preseruer and guide.

Herod was honourably entertained by Antonius and his host.

When hee drew neere vnto Samosata, *Anthony* sent out his armie in goodly array to meete and honour him, and withall to succour him, in that he had heard that the Barbarians had assailed him. As soone as he came to *Anthonies* presence, he entertained him kindly; and after hee had heard that which had befallen him in the way, he embraced him in admiration of his vertue, and did him great honor, as to him whom a little before he had raised to a royall dignitie. Not long after this, *Antiochus* surrendered the fort of Samosata to *Anthony*, and vpon this occasion the warre was ended. Whereupon *Anthony* committed the prouince with the armie to *Sosius*: and after he had commanded him to succour *Herod*, hee departed into Ægypt. *Sosius* therefore sent tow legions of souldiers before into Iudæa to succour *Herod*, and afterwards hee followed with the rest of his army.

The yeere of the world, 3928. before Christs Natiuity, 36.

Sosius hath the armie committed to his charge by Antonius, who departeth into Ægypt.

Ioseph Herods brother is slaine by Antigonus.

In the meane while *Ioseph* died in Iewry on this occasion that ensueth: For forgetting his brother *Herods* commandement, which hee gaue him at such time as he repaired to *Anthony*, hee tooke to him fiue companies of souldiers which *Macheras* had left him; and marching towards Iericho to gather in the fruites of the field, he pitched his tents vpon the mountains: And for that the Romane troups were but newly leuied, & consisted of those men who were vntrained in the warres, and for the most part were gathered out of the countrey of Cœlosyria: the enemies hauing aduertisement hereof, assayled and surprized him in certaine places of disaduantage, where there was a hot skirmish betweene them, in which *Ioseph* died, fighting valiantly; and all his army was discomfited: for sixe companies of them were slaine. After that the dead bodies were at *Antigonus* command, he cut off *Iosephs* head, which *Pheroras* his brother ransomed for the price of fiftie talents. Which done, the Galileans reuolting from their Gouernours, drowned *Herods* partakers in the lake; so that diuers commotions and troubles were raised in Iewry. *Macheras* he fortifieth the Castle of Geth. This misfortune of *Iosephs* was reported to the King, in a certen suburb of Antioch called Daphne, who before the tidings, had already conceiued some suspicion and feare, grounded vpon certaine dreames, which gaue him certaine intelligence of his brothers death. Departing therefore from thence with all expedition, he arriued neere to the mount Libanus, where he tooke about 800. men with him, and the Romane legion which he had, and from thence came to Ptolemais; from whence he departed with his army by night, and crossed Galilee with them. Whereupon the enemies came forth against him, and were ouercome by him, and shut vp in a fort, from whence they were departed but the day before; where *Herod* assayled them by breake of day: But being vnable to offer them any preiudice, by reason of the indisposition of the weather, he led his men into the villages neer adioyning. But when *Antonius*

The Galileans reuolt from Herod. Macheras fortifieth Geth.

Herod departeth from Daphne a suburbe of Antioch, into Galilee.

Herod fighteth with the Galileans, and ouercommeth them, and drieth them into a castle.

second

ſecond legion was come, and annexed to his forces; they that were within the fort were diſmayed, and forſooke the ſame by night. So that *Herod* marched with all diligence to Iericho, with an intent to reuenge his brothers death; and being encamped neere vnto the ſame, hee banqueted and entertained the Chiefetaines of his army; and after the feaſt was ended, and he had diſmiſſed his company, he withdrew himſelfe into his lodging. In which place it appeared, how much God loued the King: for the roofe of the houſe where hee had ſolemnized his feaſt, fell downe without hurt to any one whomſoeuer: for no man was left within it. Whence it came to paſſe, that each one perſwaded himſelfe that *Herod* was beloued by God; conſidering he had auoyded ſo great and vnexpected a perill.

The yeere of the world, 3928. before Chriſts Natiuity, 36.

The houſe wherein Herod ſolemnized his feaſt, fell downe when the gueſts were gone, without any mans detriment.

The next day, ſixe thouſand of his enemies came downe from the toppe of the mountaines to fight with him, who affrighted the Romanes, and their forlorne hope chaſed *Herods* ſouldiers with darts, and ſtones, who was himſelfe alſo hurt in the thigh with an arrow. *Antigonus* ſent a Captaine to Samaria, whoſe name was *Pappus*, with ſome ſouldiers, intending therby to ſignifie vnto his enemies, that he had more men of warre then hee needed. *Pappus* drew neere to *Machæras* the Romane Captaine: and as touching *Herod*, he tooke fiue Cities by force, and put ſome two thouſand of them that were in garriſon to the ſword; and afterwards (hauing ſet the houſes on fire) hee went out to encounter *Pappus*; who was encamped in a borough called *Iſanas*. Diuers that came from Iericho and Iury, ſubmitted themſelues to *Herod*, who drawing neere the enemy (who marched forward with great hardineſſe) fought with him and ouercame him, and being inflamed with a great deſire he had to reuenge his brothers death, he purſued them that fled, and ſlew them euen within their borough. Theſe houſes were incontinently filled with men of war, and diuers fled and hid themſelues vpon the tops thereof, who were at laſt taken; for the roofes of the houſes were beaten downe, and he ſaw that all was filled with ſouldiers, whereby diuers were ſlaine by ſtones that were darted at them from aboue, and afterwards caſt and killed them by heapes: which was the moſt grieuous ſpectacle of all thoſe that had hapned in thoſe wars, to ſee an infinite number of bodies hidden one vnder another amidſt the roomes of the houſes.

Herod wounded by his enemies.

Antigonus ſendeth Pappus to Samaria.

Fight in the houſes.

This exploite of *Herod* did very much abate the courage of his enemy, who hereafter expected farre more worſe fortunes at his hands: For a man might haue ſeene them flie away in heapes: and had not a ſudden and forcible tempeſt falne vpon them, the triumphant army of *Herod* had incontinently entred Ieruſalem with aſſurance of victory, which had made a finall end of all that warre. For, *Antigonus* each day bethought him how to flie away, and to forſake the Citie. But for that it was already growne darke, *Herod* commanded his ſouldiers to refreſh themſelues; and for that he himſelfe was weary, he entred into his lodging to bathe himſelfe: in which place he ouerwent a mighty misfortune, from which he eſcaped by Gods prouidence. For (whereas he was naked and accompanied with one only ſeruant to attend him) at ſuch time as he bathed, there were a certaine number of armed enemies hidden in that lodging, who were fled thither for the feare they had: and during the time that *Herod* bathed, the firſt amongſt them iſſued with his naked ſword and got the doore; and after him the ſecond; and the third no leſſe armed, without offending the King, for the feare that they had of his preſence: and content to eſcape in their owne perſons, without the preiudice of other men. The next day he ſent *Pappus* head to his brother *Pheroras*, who was ſlaine by his owne ſword in reuenge of the iniury offered to *Ioſeph*. When the tempeſt was done, hee departed from thence, and approched neere to Ieruſalem, and encamped neere vnto the Citie. This was about the third yeere ſince he was created King at Rome: and encamping himſelfe in the place which was (as he thought) fitteſt for battery; hee addreſſed himſelfe towards the Temple ſide, reſoluing to batter and make breach in that place in like manner as *Pompey* had done before him. Hauing therefore erected three bulwarkes in three places, he builded towers thereon by the aſſiſtance of many workemen; and by meanes of a great quantity of wood, which he cauſed to be cut downe round about the place; and hauing pointed ſuch men as were of ripe iudgement to ouerſee theſe works, he left his army well prouided, and reſorted to Samaria, to marry with the daughter of *Alexander*, who was *Ariſtobulus* ſonne to whom he was betrothed, according as I haue heretofore declared.

The yeere of the world, 3929. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 35.

Herod being alone and naked in his houſe, eſcaped vnhurt amongſt many armed enemies.

Herod ſendeth Pappus head to his brother Phæroras.

Herod beſiegeth Ieruſalem.

Herod repaireth to Samaria to marry Alexanders daughter.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

ANTIGONVS *is discomfited by* SOSIVS *and* HEROD.

The yeere of the world, 3929. before Christs Nativitie. 35.

Hedio & Rhefinus, chap. 26. al. 27.

Sosius and Herod lead a mighty army against Ierusalem.

AFTER this marriage was solemnized, *Sosius* repaired thither thorow the countrey of Phœnicia, and hauing first of all sent his army thorow the continent, he himselfe also resorted thither with many as well footmen as horsemen: thither also repaired the King from Samaria, with no small army, to annexe himselfe with the old bands: for he had about thirty thousand men. All these assembled themselues together neere vnto the wals of Ierusalem, and planted their siege nigh vnto the wall of the citie that extendeth towards the northward. The army contained eleuen legions of footmen, with sixe thousand horsemen: besides the succours that came from Syria. Of this army there were two Generals, namely *Sosius*, who was sent by *Antonius* to succour *Herod*: and *Herod* himselfe, who made war for himselfe, with an intent that hauing dispossessed *Antigonus* (whom he had proclaimed enemy to Rome) he himselfe might be King in his place, according to the Senates decree. Those Iewes that were within the enclosure of the walles (that is to say, almost all the nation) resisted the Herodians with great courage and affection, vaunting and boasting much of the Temple of the Lord, and wishing all good hap & successe to the people, namely, that God would deliuer them from all dangers: and spoiling all prouision without the Citie, that was either behouefull for the vse of man or beast, by their secret thefts and excursions also they made the very besiegers destitute of reliefe and victuals. Which inconuenience *Herod* so well preuented, that he forestalled their meanes of theft, and laid ambushes in place conuenient to cut them off. As for victuals, he sent his footmen to fetch his prouision from farre; so that within a very little space they had aboundance of all that which was necessary in the campe. He erected also with no lesse carefulnesse three bulwarkes, by the diligent labour of a great number of workemen: for it was summer time, and neither was the aire incommodious, or negligence of the workemen such, but that they presently furnished and finished them. Afterwards hauing raised their engines vpon them, they battered the wall, with as much violence and diligence as was possible: notwithstanding all this, they did no waies amate those that were within; who for their parts vsed all the cunning that might be possible to defend themselues, and by diuers sallies set fire vpon the enemies engines; and burnt not onely those that were halfe made, but those that were wholly perfected: and when necessitie draue them to handy strokes, they shewed no lesse valour then the Romanes courage; but they were inferiour vnto them in skill and martiall discipline. And when as the first wall was beaten down, they builded vp a new, & countermined against those mines that were made by the enemy; so that they fought vnder ground hand to hand. Thus vsing despaire rather then courage, they sustained the war to the vttermost; yea notwithstanding they were besieged by a great army, and pressed by famine and want of victuals: for the yeere wherein the siege was continued, was the seuenth, in which the earth was vnmanured, which by vs is called the yeere of rest. But finally twenty chosen souldiers first of all mounted vpon the wall; and after them one of *Sosius* Centurions: for the first wall was taken in the fortieth day after the siege, and the second on the fiftieth, and some galleries were burned, which were neere vnto the Temple: which (as *Herod* said) were burned by *Antigonus*, to bring him into more hatred among the Iewes. When the outward part of the Temple, and the lower part of the City were taken, the Iewes fled into the Temple, and into the higher towne, for feare they had, lest the Romanes should hinder them from offering their daily and ordinary sacrifices vnto God: and they sent Embassadours to their enemies, to require that it might be lawfull for them onely to bring in certaine beasts to offer them for sacrifices. Which *Herod* their King granted them, hoping by this meanes that they would submit themselues and yeeld vp the places. But perceiuing that his opinion failed him herein, and that they obstinately resisted him, to continue the soueraignty in *Antigonus*; he gaue the assault, and tooke the Citie by force: where all things were incontinently filled with murthers, in that the Romans were displeased, because they had so long time continued the siege; and the Iewes that were on *Herods* side, enforced themselues vtterly to exterminate all those that were of the contrary party: so that continuall slaughters ranged and raigned euery where, both in porches, and in the houses whereinto they entred: Neither did the religious reuerence of the Temple saue those suppliants that resorted thither for safetie, but that without all compassion both old and young were slaughtered: Neither did their murthering hand spare or refraine from women; nay not so much as from young infants. And although the King besought and requested them to forbeare them, yet no man gaue ouer, but all sorts of per-

Herod preuenteth the dearth.

The Iewes without feare resist those that besieged them.

The outward part of the Temple, and the lower Citie taken.

The Iewes flie to the vpper Citie, and the Temple.

Ierusalem taken.

persons were murthered by them, without respect either of sexe or age. *Antigonus* inconsiderate of that estate wherein he had beene, or the fortune and disaster that at that present attended him, came downe from the tower and humbled himselfe on his knees before *Sosius* feet; who hauing no compassion of the change of that estate wherein he saw him, outragiously scorned him, calling him *Madame Antigona:* yet left he him not without guard after the manner of a Woman, but fast bound for his further assurance. But *Herod* was busied in deuising how hee might moderate his associates and strangers, after he had had the vpper hand ouer his enemies: For the strangers swarmed into the Citie by heapes, and not onely into the Temple, but also into the Sanctuary. Hee therefore exhorted some, and threatned other some, and restrained the rest by force of armes; and he was more troubled at that present in being a Conquerour, then if he had beene conquered: for that those things that were not lawfull to bee seene, were beheld by prophane men. He preuented likewise the spoile of the Citie, as much as in him lay: Beseeching *Sosius* most instantly, to preserue it to the vtmost, asking him if the Romanes would leaue him King of a desart, after they had voided the Citie of men and goods? Alleadging furthermore, that he esteemed the gouernment of the whole world of no value, in regard of the life of one of his Citizens. *Sosius* answered, that it was reason that the pillage should be giuen to the Souldier, who had borne the hazzard of the siege: whereunto *Herod* answered, that he would satisfie euery man out of his owne treasury: and by this meanes, hee ransomed the rest of the Citie by fulfilling those promises: For he gaue many mightie gifts vnto euery one of the souldiers, and by proportion vnto the Captaines: but aboue all, hee royally rewarded *Sosius*; so that euery one of them departed very rich in siluer.

The yeer of the world, 3929. before Christs Natiuity, 35.

Antigonus submitteth himselfe to Sosius.

Herod sore troubled in pacifying the strangers.

The spoile of the Citie hindred.

These calamities hapned in the Citie of Ierusalem, in the yeere wherein *Marcus Agrippa* and *Canidius Gallus* were Consuls, which was in the hundreth, fourescore and fift Olympiade, in the third moneth, on the dayes wherein the solemne fast was celebrated; as if this affliction had iumpt together in one issue and instant with that of *Pompeys:* for on the same day had the same Citie beene taken twentie and seuen yeeres before. *Sosius* offered a crowne of gold vnto God, and afterwards departed from Ierusalem, leading *Antigonus* prisoner with him vnto *Anthony*. But *Herod* fearing lest if *Antigonus* should be kept by *Anthony*, and sent to Rome, hee should debate his title with him before the Senate by protest that he was descended of the royall Line; whereas *Herod* was but a Plebeian and common person: and that although he had offended the Romanes, and thereby might not deserue to be King; yet at least his children, who were of the Princely Line, were not to be denied their title: *Herod*, I say, fearing these things, wrought so much by force of his money with *Anthony*, that he caused him to put *Antigonus* to death, so that at that time *Herod* was truly deliuered from all feare. Thus ended the estate of the Asmoneans, after 120. and sixe yeeres. This Family was famous both for their nobilitie, and also by reason of their Sacerdotall dignitie, and for the noble actions and exploits, which their ancestors had atchieued for our nation; but they lost their authoritie through their mutuall factions: which soueraignte was deriued to *Herod Antipaters* sonne, who was ignoble by birth, and of meane friends; who were subiects and vassals to Kings. See here what we haue receiued from our ancestors, as touching the end of the race of the Asmoneans.

When Ierusalem was taken.

Herod bribeth Antonius with money to make away Antigonus.

The end of the Asmonean family, and the extinction of their Priesthood.

THE

THE FIFTEENTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES: WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the fifteenth Booke.

1 *Ieruſalem being ouercome by* Soſius *and* Herod, Antigonus *is healed by* Anthonies *commandement.* Herod *maketh away the chiefe friends of* Antigonus.
2 *How* Hircanus *being diſmiſſed by the Parthians, returneth to* Herod.
3 Herod, *after he had made* Ariſtobulus *(his wife* Mariammes *brother) high Prieſt, practiſeth and worketh his death.*
4 Cleopatra *thirſting after the kingdomes of Iewry and Arabia, laboureth to begge a part of them at* Anthonies *hands.*
5 *The arriuall of Queene* Cleopatra *in Iudæa.*
6 Herod *maketh warre againſt* Aretas, *at ſuch time as* Anthony *was ouerthrowne by* Cæſar *in the Actiac warre.*
7 *Of the earthquake in Iewry.*
8 Herods *Oration to his armie.*
9 Herod *intending to repaire vnto* Cæſar, *doth of neceſsitie kill* Hircanus.
10 *How* Herod *obtained the continuance of his kingdome of Iudæa at* Cæſars *hands.*
11 Herod *maketh away* Mariamme *through falſe calumniations of her enemies.*
12 *Of the famine that afflicted the land of Iewry.*
13 *The building of Cæſarea.*
14 Herod *buildeth a new Temple in Ieruſalem.*

CHAP. I.

Ieruſalem being taken by SOSIVS *and* HEROD, ANTIGONVS *is healed by* ANTHONIES *command:* HEROD *maketh away all his chiefeſt friends.*

The yeer of the world, 3930. before Chriſts Natiuity, 34.

IN the former booke I haue declared how *Soſius* and *Herod* tooke the Citie of Ieruſalem by force, and with it *Antigonus* priſoner: now will we alſo declare that which hath ſubſequently followed: for after that *Herod* had obtained the abſolute gouernment ouer the whole land of Iudæa, he aduanced all thoſe among the common people, who fauoured his proceedings: as for thoſe who were oppoſed againſt him, there paſſed not a day wherein ſome one or other of them ſuffered not puniſhment. But amongſt the reſt, *Pollio* the Phariſee, and *Sameas* his Diſciple, were highly honoured by him: For during the time of the ſiege of Ieruſalem, they counſelled the inhabitants to receiue and entertaine *Herod:* for which cauſe he reſpected them accordingly. This *Pollio* in times paſt (when *Herod* was found guiltie of death) foretold *Hircanus* and the reſt of the Iudges in way of exprobration, that being abſolued by them, he ſhould one day inflict puniſhment on them all. Which prediction God in proceſſe of time approoued by the euent: no ſooner therefore became he maſter of Ieruſalem, but he gathered together all the rich houſhold ſtuffe that was in the Palace; and furthermore hauing ſpoiled the rich men of their goods, and by this meanes leuied a great ſum of gold and ſiluer, he ſent great preſents to *Anthony* and his friends. Moreouer, he condemned fiue and fortie of *Antigonus* principall and nobleſt fauourites to death, ſetting ſtraight watch about their doores, that none of them might be carried out vnder colour of being dead. The dead bodies likewiſe were troden vnder foot: and all the gold, ſiluer, or iewels that was to be found amongſt them, was carried to the King, and conuerted to his vſe, ſo that there was no end of theſe miſeries. For the couetouſneſſe of the Conquerour (whoſe greedy and thirſty deſire could hardly be quenched) laid hold on

Herod preferreth his fauorites, and killeth his enemies.

The Phariſees honoured by him.

Pollio foreprophecied Herods tyranny.

The ſlaughter of them that were of Antigonus faction.

on whatſoeuer was theirs. And for that it was the ſeuenth yeere, it neceſſarily came to paſſe that the land was left vnmanured: for we are forbidden to ſow in this yeere. *Anthony* hauing taken *Antigonus* priſoner, reſolued to keepe him in priſon vntill the time of his triumph: But after he had receiued tidings that the nation of the Iewes were ready to innouate and rebell, & continued their good affection toward *Antigonus*, in regard of the hatred they conceiued againſt *Herod*; he concluded with himſelfe to take his head from him at Antioch: For the Iewes could ſcarcely containe themſelues. *Strabo* of Cappadocia teſtifieth no leſſe in theſe words: *Anthony* hauing brought *Antigonus* the Iew to Antioch, cauſed his head to be cut off; and was the firſt among the Romanes that hath cauſed a King to bee beheaded in this manner: ſuppoſing that the Iewes might neuer otherwiſe be induced to change their opinions, and receiue *Herod*: yet this opinion of his was not anſwerable to equity. For notwithſtanding whatſoeuer impulſion hee might deuiſe, yet could they not be induced to call him King: in ſo high eſtimate and account held they their former King. But *Anthony* ſuppoſed that that infamy would obſcure his renowne, and leſſen the generall hate that they bare to *Herod*. See here what *Strabo* writeth.

The yeere of the world, 3930. before Chriſts Nativity 34.

Antigonus beheaded. Strabo of Antigonus. " " Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 2. " "

As ſoone as the high Prieſt *Hircanus* (who was priſoner among the Parthians) heard that *Herod* had taken poſſeſſion of the Kingdome, hee returned backe vnto him, being deliuered after this manner following: *Barzaphares*, & *Pacorus* Princes of the Parthians had taken *Hircanus*, who was firſt high Prieſt, and afterwards king, and with him *Phaſælus Herods* brother, and ledde them away priſoners with them into their owne countrey: *Phaſælus* not able to endure the diſ-honour of impriſonment, and preferring an honourable death before a reprochfull and ignominious life, murthered himſelfe, as I haue heretofore declared.

Hircanus hearing tydings that Herod had obtained the kingdome returneth vnto him.

CHAP. II.

How HIRCANVS *diſmiſſed by the Parthians, returned vnto* HEROD.

PHRAATES King of Parthia, vnderſtanding how nobly *Hircanus* was deſcended, who was brought priſoner vnto him, entertained him graciouſly: and for this cauſe drew him out of priſon, permitting him to conuerſe in Babylon, in which place there were a great number of Iewes, who honoured *Hircanus* very much; and no leſſe then their high Prieſt and King. The like alſo did all they of that nation inhabiting as farre as Euphrates, which did not a little content *Hircanus*. But after that hee was aduertiſed that *Herod* was poſſeſſed of the kingdome; hee transferred his hopes another way, beeing of his owne nature tenderly affected toward his friends, expecting that one day *Herod* would requite him, for that he had deliuered him from death whereunto hee was condemned, and in danger likewiſe of the penalty and puniſhment. He began therefore to conſult with the Iewes as touching his iourney, who in way of duty and loue came to viſit him, and who beſought him, and importuned him to abide with them, offering him all ſeruice and honour; aſſuring him that he ſhould in no leſſe manner be reſpected among them, then their high Prieſt and King; yea in farre higher regard then he might any waies be in his owne countrey, by reaſon of the maime he had in his body through *Antigonus* tyranny: alleadging that Kings doe not ordinarily call to their remembrance thoſe pleaſures that they haue receiued in their infant fortunes, becauſe that with their eſtates they change both their manners and inclinations. But notwithſtanding all theſe or ſuch like allegations, yet could not *Hircanus* be withdrawne from the deſire he had to repaire homeward. *Herod* alſo wrote vnto him, that he ſhould require *Phraates* and the Iewes that inhabited his kingdome, in no ſort to enuie his felicity, in that he ſhould partake with him both in dignitie and royalty, alleadging that the time was now come, wherein he might acknowledge the benefits he had receiued, by being heretofore nouriſhed & preſerued by him. With theſe letters he ſent *Samaralla* likewiſe on an Embaſſage to *Phraates* furniſhed with great and rich preſents, endeuouring by that meanes to winne him, that he in no ſort ſhould hinder his gratulation and good intent towards one that had ſo highly deſerued at his hands: yet were not his proteſtations anſwerable to his pretence. For inſomuch as he gouerned not with that vprightnes which became a iuſt king; he feared leaſt ſome alteration might befall him, according to his demerits: for which cauſe he ſought to get *Hircanus* vnder his power, or at leaſtwiſe to diſpatch him out of his life, which he afterwards performed. When as therefore *Herod* had perſwaded the Parthian to diſmiſſe *Hircanus*, and the Iewes to furniſh him with money ſufficient to beare his expence in his iourney, he receiued him with all honour. In common aſſemblies he gaue him alwaies the higheſt place, and in the time of

Hircanus highly honored in Babylon by the Iewes

Hircanus leauing his countrey expecteth fauour at Herods hands.

Samaralla Herods Embaſſadour to Phraates.

Herod highly honoureth Hircanus.

The yeere of the world, 3930. before Christs Nativitie. 34.

Herod giueth the high Priesthood to Ananel.

of festiuals, he made him alwaies sit downe before him;and the more closely to deceiue him,he called him brother, endeuouring himselfe by all means wholly to extinguish in him all colour and cause of suspicion of treachery: neither intermitted he any other stratagems, whereby in his opinion he might any waies further or promote his cause;and yet by these meanes occasioned he no small sedition in his owne family. For carefully prouiding lest any one among the nobility should be established high Priest,he sent to Babylon for a certaine man of base condition,called *Ananel*, and gaue him the Priesthood. For which cause *Alexandra* grew sodainely displeased, not being able to endure that outrage.This woman was *Hircanus* daughter,and *Alexanders* wife, who was King *Aristobulus* son, who had two children by her husband, the one wondrous beautifull,who was called *Aristobulus*: the other was *Mariamme*, who was likewise faire,and married to *Herod*.She was sore mooued and highly displeased to see her sonne so much indignified, for that during his life another was called to the honour of high Priesthood:for which cause she wrote vnto *Cleopatra* by the meanes ofa certaine Musicion,beseeching her to beg the high priesthood at *Antonius* hands for her sonne. But for that *Antonius* made little reckoning of those suits, a certaine friend of his called *Gellius*, who was come into Iury about certaine of his affaires,and who had seen *Aristobulus*,fell in loue with him by reason of his beauty: & being abashed likewise at his great and goodly stature, and allured by *Mariammes* admirable beauty, he openly protested, that he accounted *Alexandra* a happy mother in her children: and deuising to this effect with her, hee perswaded her to send the pictures of her two children to *Antonius*, for that if he should but behold them, he would refuse him in nothing, wherein he should request his friendship. *Alexandra* perswaded by these words, sent their pictures vnto *Antonius*.*Gellius* also made the matter more wonderfull, telling him that the children seemed rather to be ingendered of no mortall straine, but by some diuine power,labouring as much as in him lay,that *Antonius* might be allured to affection them. Who supposing it to be a matter ill beseeming him to send for *Mariamme*,who was married to *Herod*,and desirous likewise to auoid *Cleopatras* suspicions, wrote vnto *Herod*,that vnder some honest pretext he should send *Alexandras* sonne vnto him(with this addition, if it might not seeme troublesome vnto him.) Which matter when *Herod* vnderstood, he thought it no waies incident to his security to send *Aristobulus*, (who was a faire yong man, and little more at that time then sixteene yeeres old, and so nobly borne: considering that *Antonius* was at that present in such authority,that no one in Rome was in greater credit then he; and who besides that,was very much addicted to his pleasures, which he openly hunted after without feare of punishment in regard of his greatnesse and power. He therefore wrote him this answer,that if the yong man should but onely depart out of the countrey, all the land would incontinently be filled with warre and troubles,for that the Iewes pretended alteration in gouernment, and sought to innouate by preferring a new King. When as therefore he had in this sort excused himselfe vnto *Antonius*; he resolued to entertaine both the yonger *Aristobulus* and his mother *Alexandra*,with more respect. Moreouer his wife *Mariamme* did continually importune him to giue the Priesthood to her brother, alleadging that by that honour he might preuent the occasion of his trauell.For which cause assembling his friends together in counsell,he grieuously accused *Alexandra* before them, protesting that shee secretly conspired against the Kingdome, and that by the mediation of *Cleopatra*, she laboured to dispossesse him of the soueraignty, to the intent that her sonnes by *Antonius* meanes might gouerne in his stead. Which practice of hers was so much the more vniust, because she depriued her owne daughter of that honour wherein she was inseated, and raised vp troubles likewise in that kingdome which hee had conquered with great trauell, and extreme danger: Yet notwithstanding that he willingly forgat that which was past,and forgaue those wrongs she had vrged against him, & was ready notwithstanding to shew all kindnesse and courtesie both to her and hers. Furthermore, he gaue the high Priesthood to young *Aristobulus*, alleadging that heretofore he had established *Ananel* in that place for no other respect, then for that *Aristobulus* was vnder yeeres.

Alexandra solliciteth Antonius by Cleopatras mediation for the high Priesthood for her sonne.

Antonius requireth Aristobulus at Herods hands

The causes why Aristobulus was not sent.

Herod inueigheth against Alexandra for pretending to vsurpe the kingdome.

After that he had thus seriously and considerately discoursed in the presence of the Ladies, & the consistorie of his friends; *Alexandra* almost beside her selfe, not only through the ioy she had conceiued by this vnexpected good fortune, but also for the feare she had to be suspected,began to defend her selfe with teares & protestations,saying,that al whatsoeuer she had either practised or done,was to prefer her son vnto the Priesthood whom sheſaw dishonored:but as touching the kingdom,that she had neuer pretended,neither would(if so be she should be presented therewith) receiue the same,thinking her selfe for the present sufficiently honoured,both for that she saw *Aristobulus* in that estate, for the assurance that all her progeny should receiue, in that he was lifted

Alexandra excuseth herself, and hauing promise of the Priesthood for her sonne, is reconciled to Herod.

A ted vp in dignitie aboue the reſt. Being therefore ouercome by thoſe merits, ſhee accepted willingly the honour for her ſonne, and ſhewed her ſelfe obedient in all things, requeſting him that if ſhe had committed any thing raſhly and through inconſideration of paſſion, either in reſpect of her children, or in vnbridled carriage of her tongue, hee would be pleaſed to pardon her. After theſe debates and interchangeable diſcourſes on either ſide, they ſhooke hands the one with the other, in token of a more fixed and vnfained friendſhip then was before, burying (as they then pretended) all euill ſuſpicion or cauſe of vnkindneſſe.

The yeer of the world, 3930. before christs Natiuity, 34.

CHAP. III.

B

HEROD *preferreth* ARISTOBVLVS, *his wife* MARIAMMES *brother, to the Prieſthood; and afterwards putteth him to death.*

HEREVPON *Herod* tooke away the Prieſthood inſtantly from *Ananel*, who was not that countryman borne (as we haue heretofore declared) but was borne amongſt thoſe Iewes that inhabit and were planted beyond Euphrates by the Aſſyrians. For diuers thouſand Iewes inhabit the countrey of Babylon, and from thence tooke he his originall alſo, being otherwiſe of the race of the Prieſts, and intirely affected toward *Herod* for a long time before, with whom hee had familiar acquaintance. Hee had preferred him to his honour at ſuch C time, as he was made King; and degraded him likewiſe to appeaſe the troubles of his family; demeaning himſelfe herein contrary to the law of the countrey: for whereas any one hath once bin inſtalled in that degree, he is neuer to be diſplaced. The firſt that tranſgreſſed this ordinance, was *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who diſpoſſeſſed *Ioſuah*, and preferred his brother *Onias* to his place. The ſecond was *Ariſtobulus*, who tooke it away from his brother *Hircanus*, and vſurped himſelfe. *Herod* was the third, who gaue the Prieſthood to *Ariſtobulus*, eſtabliſhing him in *Ananels* place before he was dead: and by this meanes ſuppoſing that he had found out a remedy to appeaſe the diſcords of his family, he notwithſtanding all this, liued not without ſuſpicion what euent would follow after this reconciliation: for he feared *Alexandra*, leſt demeaning her ſelfe in ſuch ſort as before-time ſhe had done, ſhe ſhould ſeeke occaſion hereafter to raiſe new troubles. D He commanded her therefore to containe her ſelfe within the royall palace, and to do nothing of her owne authoritie. Beſides that he had appointed certaine intelligencers, who ſhould diligently obſerue that nothing ſhould be done without his knowledge, no not concerning her particular expences and table. All which things exaſperated her hate, and increaſed the ſame againſt *Herod*; for being full of feminine pride, ſhe diſdained to ſee her ſelfe thus wrongfully ſuſpected, deſiring rather to ſuffer any thing, then to be depriued of the libertie of free ſpeech; and vnder colour to be honoured, to liue continually in ſeruitude and feare. Whereupon ſhee ſent certaine of her truſtie friends to *Cleopatra* to complaine, and lament vnto her the importable miſeries of her preſent eſtate, requiring her, according to her power, to giue ready and ſpeedy reliefe. Whereupon *Cleopatra* ſent her word, that both ſhee and her ſonne ſhould reſort vnto her into Ægypt, E with as great ſecrecy as might be poſſible. Vpon which aduice and the allowance thereof, ſhee practiſed this policie. Shee cauſed two coffins to be made, ſuch as men were wont to bury the dead in, in which ſhee hid both her ſelfe and her ſonne, commanding thoſe ſeruants of hers that were priuy to her deliberation to carry them out in the night time, and to bend their courſe directly towards the Sea, where there was a barke in readineſſe prepared to ſhape their courſe and conuey them into Ægypt. But *Eſop* one of her houſhold ſeruants declared vnto this enterprize of hers to *Sabbion* one of *Alexandras* friends, ſuppoſing that he had beene made priuy thereunto: who had no ſooner inkling thereof, but (for that before-times he was *Herods* enemy, by reaſon he was ſuſpected to haue beene one of thoſe that ſought to poyſon *Antipater*) he determined by diſcouery of this ſecret flight, to conuert *Herods* hate into aſſured friendſhip: and preſently diſcouered *Alexandras* ſecret enterprize to the King. Who diſſembling the matter vntill it was vp- F on the point of execution, ſurprized her at ſuch time as ſhe thought to flie, and yet notwithſtanding he pardoned her that fault (in that he durſt not decree any puniſhment againſt her, though he could haue found in his heart to haue vſed ſeueritie) for that *Cleopatra* would not haue contained her ſelfe, had ſhe but had ſuch an occaſion offered her to expreſſe her hatred againſt *Herod*. For which cauſe, vnder the colour of a high and magnanimous ſpirit, he made ſhew to pardon her of his meere clemency: yet inwardly reſolued he to make young *Ariſtobulus* away: yet not raſhly vpon the inſtant, leſt the act ſhould grow apparant and palpable.

Hedio & Ruf. finus, chap. 3. Herod taketh the Prieſthood from Ananel.

The Prieſthood taken from three.

Alexandra ſuſpected by Herod, is ſpied and watched, and her actions obſerued.

Alexandra pretending to flie into Ægypt is betraied by her ſeruants.

Herod contriueth Ariſtobulus death.

The yeere of the world, 3931. before Christs Natiuitie, 33.

Now the feaſt of Tabernacles was at hand, which was one of thoſe that was ceremoniouſly and ſolemnely celebrated among vs; for which cauſe he concealed his intents during the feſtiuall daies, intending both in himſelfe, and in the preſence and company of the people, to follow all kinde of pleaſure and delight; yet did his enuy incite him to haſten the execution of his will. *Ariſtobulus* was at that time ſome ſeuenteene yeeres old, who at ſuch time as he approached the Altar to offer ſacrifices, according to the law, apparelled in the high Prieſts ornaments to performe the ceremonies, he (who for amiable countenance and goodly ſtature, ſurpaſſed the youngneſſe and tenderneſſe of his yeeres) expreſſing in his countenance the dignitie and nobilitie of his race, drew the eies and good affection of all the people vnto him; ſo that they openly called to remembrance the noble actions of *Ariſtobulus* his grandfather. All the people therefore being ſurmounted by thoſe their affections, and at that preſent time being all of them troubled with the ioy they conceiued, they brake out by little and little into happy acclamations, mixed with wiſhes and prayers: ſo that the good will the people bare to *Ariſtobulus*, diſcouered it ſelfe openly, and they manifeſtly (although too haſtily in ſuch a kingdom) declared what euils they generally endured: For all which cauſes *Herod* concluded to execute that which he had heretofore complotted, and conceited againſt *Ariſtobulus*. As ſoone therefore as the feaſt was ouer-paſſed, he ſoiourned in Iericho, where *Alexandra* entertained him. In that place he vſed *Ariſtobulus* with all kindneſſe, to the end to draw him vnto ſome place, where he feared nothing, playing alſo with him, and counterfeiting to ſport, after the faſhion of the young men, to gratifie him. Now, for that the place where they diſported themſelues, was by nature too hot, they quickly wearied, left their ſport, and went out together to take freſh ayre, and recouering a pleaſant ſhade vnder certaine arbors, and neere certaine fiſh-pooles, which were largely ſpred round about, they beheld certaine of their ſeruants and friends that ſwomme therein, with whom not long after *Ariſtobulus* began to ſwim, being perſwaded thereunto by *Herod*. Whereupon *Herods* confederates (who were deputed to execute the murther) laid hands on him and thruſt him vnder the water, pretending to ducke him in ſport, and neuer gaue him ouer, vntill ſuch time as they had ſtifled him in the water. This hapned about the euening, and after this manner dyed *Ariſtobulus*, after he had liued in all for the ſpace of eighteene yeeres, and adminiſtred the Prieſthood one whole yeere: and after this, *Ananel* preſently recouered his former dignitie.

Ariſtobulus is drowned by Herods direction, Ananell reſtored to the Prieſthood.

Now when this accident was reported to the women, all of them were ſuddenly deuoured in teares, and tranſported with ſtrange lamentations, which they ſpent ouer the dead body. All the citie alſo was maruellouſly amated, neither was there any priuate family that thought not it ſelfe touched by this inconuenient, but imagined the loſſe in particular to concerne himſelfe, and no other. But aboue all, when *Alexandra* had notice of this wicked deed, ſhe was more paſſionate and perplexed then any other, being ſo much the more diſcomfited, for that ſhe knew how all things had hapned. But the feare of a farre greater miſchiefe conſtrained her to repreſſe her paſſion, in ſuch ſort, that diuers times ſhe was ready to bereaue her of her owne life, and diſpatch her ſelfe out of miſery with her owne hands. But ſhe contained her ſelfe, to the end, that ſuruiuing (and liuing after her ſonne, who was ſo traiterouſly and fraudulently ſlaine, and prolonging her owne life without giuing any ſuſpicion or ſhadow, that ſhe ſuppoſed her ſonne to be thus curſedly murthered) ſhe might with more opportunitie expect the occaſion to reuenge her ſelfe: For which cauſe, ſhee diſſembled all things, gouerned her griefe, and made ſhew that ſhe knew nothing of that which was either intended, or had hapned. As for *Herod*, he laboured by all meanes to perſwade the ſtrangers, that this death had befalne *Ariſtobulus* without his knowledge; and did not only prepare that which was requiſite for the funerall, but vext himſelfe likewiſe, and made ſhew of a man truly deuoured in this ſorrow: and it may be, that in remembrance of *Ariſtobulus* beauty and flouriſhing young yeeres, he was truly touched with compaſſion, notwithſtanding that he imagined that this death of his, ſhould be a meanes of his intire ſecurity, demeaning himſelfe in all things very circumſpectly, with intent to purge himſelfe of that crime. But eſpecially he ſhewed his great magnificence in the interring of his body, both in the furniſhing and preparation of the herſe, as in the perfumes and other things thereunto belonging, in ſuch ſort, as the griefe which the Ladies had conceiued, was pacified after this manner of conſolation.

The lamentation for Ariſtobulus death.

Herods counterfeit ſorrow.

CHAP.

CHAP. IIII.

The yeere of the world, 3931. before Christs Natiuitie, 33.

CLEOPATRA *thirsting after the Kingdome of Arabia and Iewry, laboureth to beg a part of them at* ANTHONIES *hands.*

BVT none of all these things could either mooue or mollifie *Alexandra*, but that daily more and more shee increased her sorrow, and in the heart of her teares kindled her wrath and heate with a desire of reuenge. Shee therefore certified *Cleopatra* by her priuate letters of *Herods* treasons, and her sonnes most miserable and vntimely death, *Cleopatra* long before that time desirous to assist her, and hauing compassion of her miserie, vndertooke the matter, and ceased not to incite *Anthony* to reuenge *Aristobulus* death, telling him that it was an vnpardonable errour, that *Herod* being created King in such a state, whereunto he had no right, should bee suffered to practise such conspiracies against the true and lawfull Kings. *Anthony* perswaded by these her words (as soone as he came vnto Laodicea) sent for *Herod*, to the end that making his appearance, he might answer that which might be obiected against him, as touching *Aristobulus* death: for hee disliked the act, notwithstanding that *Herod* himselfe had attempted it. But although *Herod* was affraid of this accusation, and did not a little suspect *Cleopatras* displeasure (for that shee ceased not continually to prouoke *Anthony* against him) yet obeyed he this commandement, & transported himselfe thither (the rather for that he durst not otherwise doe) notwithstanding he left his vncle *Ioseph* behind him, committing the gouernment both of the Kingdome and his priuate estate vnto him, giuing him secret instructions to kill *Mariamme*, if so bee that *Anthony* should happen to doe him any mischiefe. For he loued her so extremely by reason of her beautie, that he supposed himselfe iniured, if after his decease she should be beloued by any other; and he openly declared that all that misery which befell him, proceeded from *Anthonies* passion, and intire affection, and admiration of her beautie, whereof he had beforetime heard some report. As soone therefore as hee had in this sort disposed his affaires, notwithstanding he had little hope of good hap, yet repaired he to *Anthony*.

Alexandra certifieth Cleopatra of Herods treasons and her sonnes traiterous murther.

Herod ready to repaire vnto Anthony, commandeth Ioseph, to whose charge he committed the kingdome to kil his wife.

But *Ioseph* gouerning that kingdome that was committed to his hands, conuersed diuers times vpon this occasion with *Mariamme*, and communicated oftentimes with her, not onely for publique profit sake, but also to doe her that honour which so great a Princesse deserued. At such time therefore as hee secretly deuised with her, as touching the friendship and ardent affection which *Herod* bare vnto her, his speeches were iested at after the manner of Ladies, but especially flouted at by *Alexandra*. For which cause *Ioseph*, being ouer-forward to expresse the Kings good will towards her, proceeded so farre, that he discouered the commandement that was giuen him; thereby to make manifest, that it was not possible for *Herod* to liue without her, and that if any inconuenient should happen vnto him, he would not in death also bee diuioyned from her. This discourse of *Iosephs* was not interpreted by the Ladies, as a demonstration of his good will, but rather as a manifestation of *Herods* malignitie; who dying, desired also that they should perish, and interpreted that which he had spoken, as the testimonie of his tyrannous & malicious heart. At that time there was a rumour spred in the citie of Ierusalem by *Herods* maligners, that *Anthony* had in such sort tormented him, that he was dead. Whereupon all those of the Kings house were troubled, & in especiall the Ladies; so that *Alexandra* incited *Ioseph* to forsake the palace, and take the Ladies, and to retire himselfe vnder the ensignes of the Romane legion, who at that time were about the citie for the security of the kingdome, vnder the conduct of the Tribune *Iulius*, to the end first of all, that if any trouble should happen in the Kings house, they might be by this meanes in safetie, hauing the Romanes to friend; and afterwards, for that they hoped that if *Anthony* should see *Mariamme*, shee might obtaine all things at his hands whatsoeuer shee desired, assuring him that he would restore the Kingdome vnto her, and depriue her of nothing that concerned, or was answerable to her royall estate.

A fooliſh rumour of Herods death.

But whilest they were distracted with these deliberations, there came letters from *Herod*, contrarie to some few mens report, and all mens expectation. For as soone as hee came vnto *Anthony*, he compassed his fauour by his many presents, which he had brought with him to that intent from Ierusalem, and sodainly debating the matter with him, he appeased him in such sort, as hee was no more displeased against him: and from that time forward, *Cleopatras* speeches were but coldly conceited of in regard of his so ample satisfaction. For *Anthony* said, that there was no reason that a King should be answerable for that which he had done in his kingdome; for that in so doing, he should no more be King: but that when the honour is once giuen him, he hath the

Herod appeaseth Anthony by presents, and certifieth his friends by letters of his health.

The yeere of the world, 3930. before Christs Natiuitie, 32.

authoritie likewise left him, to vse his regall power. Vrging further, that it concerned *Cleopatra* likewise her selfe, not to search too curiously into the affaires and gouernment of kingdomes. *Herod* certified all this by his letters, and signified further what other honours hee had receiued at *Anthonies* hands in assemblies and feasts, to which he inuited him alwaies; notwithstanding that *Cleopatra* seemed to be displeased therewith, detracting him; and being desirous to get the kingdome of Iewry into her hands, stroue by all meanes possible to put him to death: but that he had found *Anthony* alwaies an vpright man, & feared not henceforward that any euill should befall him: and returning presently vpon this, he brought with him a more ample testimony of *Anthonies* most assured affection, both in respect of his owne Kingdome, as of his particular affaires. And as touching *Cleopatra*, she pretended not to seeke any further then that which she had, because that *Anthony* had giuen her Cœlosyria in stead of that which shee had demanded, forbearing thence-forward to mention Iewry any more, because that *Anthony* wholly reiected those suites.

After these letters came vnto their hands, the trouble and disturbance wherein they were, & their desire to retire vnto the Romans, as if *Herod* had beene dead, was wholly extinguished. Yet was not this their resolution hidden from the King; but that *Herod*, after he had brought *Anthony* on his way (who at that time set forward in his warres against the Parthians) he returned into Iewry. Vpon his arriuall, his sister *Salome*, and his mother certified him exactly of *Alexandras* intent, and the determination of her friends. *Salome* likewise spake against *Ioseph* her husband, and slandered him, obiecting against him that hee had *Mariammes* company. All which she spake through the malice she had long time conceiued against him, for that in a certaine debate *Mariamme* had in her rage despitefully hit them in the teeth with their obscure birth. *Herod* (who was alwaies inflamed with the earnest affection which he bare vnto his wife *Mariamme*) was sodainly troubled hereat: and although iealousie pressed him forward, yet loue restrained him and kept him from doing any thing rashly, through passion or affection: for which cause hee called *Mariamme* aside, & demanded of her in secret, what familiar company she had kept with *Ioseph?* Shee by solemne oathes and by all possible allegations in her owne defence appeased the King by little and little, and pacified his choler. For in such sort was he transported with the loue that he bare vnto his wife, that he beleeued she had sufficiently purged her selfe of those slanders, that had beene inforced against her; yeelding her most heartie thankes for her honest affection towards him, and declaring vnto her openly the great esteeme and loue that he bare vnto her. Finally (as it often falleth out amongst louers) they fell to teares, and embraced each other with great affection: for that she gaue him no credit, hee endeuoured the more to draw her to beliefe. Whereupon *Mariamme* said vnto him: It is not the act of a louer to haue giuen commandement, that if any thing should befall thee otherwaies then well with *Anthony*, I should presently be done to death with thee; notwithstanding I haue no waies offended thee. No sooner were these words out of her mouth, but the King entred into a strange passion, and giuing ouer his embraces, hee cried out with a loud voice and tore his haire, saying, that hee had a most euident proofe that *Ioseph* had committed adultery with her: for that he would not haue discouered those things which had beene spoken to him in secret, except they had greatly trusted the one the other: & in this emotion or rage of iealousie hardly contained he himselfe from killing his wife. But the force of loue ouercame him so much, that hee bridled his rage, notwithstanding it were irkesome and grieuous vnto him. Yet gaue hee order that *Ioseph* should bee slaine, without either audience or iustification of his innocency: and as touching *Alexandra*, who was the cause of all these troubles, he kept her prisoner.

Ioseph and Mariamme accused before Herod.

Mariamme excuseth and purgeth her selfe before the King, and is reconciled.

Herod commandeth that Ioseph should be slaine, and imprisoneth Alexandra.

Medio & Rufinus, chap. 4.

About the same time there grew certaine troubles and alterations in Syria: for that *Cleopatra* continually sollicited and importuned *Anthony*, and whetted on his displeasure against all, perswading him to remoone all from their gouernements, and to bestow the same on her selfe. And for that *Anthony* loued her extremely, she was in great estimation and credit with him: and being in her owne nature inclined to couetousnesse, shee abstained from no kinde of corrupt dealing and wickednesse. For knowing that the kingdome should descend vnto her brother, shee caused him to be poisoned, when as hee was but fifteene yeres olde: as for her sister *Arsinoe*, she caused her to be slaine by *Anthonies* meanes at such time, as shee made her praiers in the Temple of Diana in Ephesus. Moreouer, in what place soeuer shee vnderstood that there was any hope to get money, whether it were in robbing of Temples, or in breaking open sepulchres; she would be possessed thereof: neither was there any religious place so sacred, from whence she tooke not away the ornaments. Furthermore, there was not any thing so prophane and interdicted, which

Cleopatra very couetous. Cleopatra murthereth her brother and sister.

shee

A she laid not hands on to satisfie her vnbridled auarice. Neither was the whole world sufficient enough to content this magnificent Lady, who was made slaue to her owne desires; and her disordinate appetite was such, that all the riches in the world were not able to satiate and fill the same. For this cause she incessantly importuned *Antonius* to take from others, to be liberall towards her: and therefore entring into Syria with him, shee presently bethought her selfe how shee might get it into her possession. For she caused *Lysanias Ptolomies* sonne to be put to death, obiecting against him that he had priuate intelligence with the Parthians. Shee begged Iury also at *Antonius* hands, and required him besides that, to dispossesse the Kings of Arabia. He was in such sort possessed by this woman, that he seemed not only to be bewitched with her words, B but also inchanted by her poysons, to obey her in whatsoeuer she thought meet: yet was hee ashamed to commit so manifest an iniquitie, for feare lest being so farre ouer-ruled by her, hee should happen to offend in matters of more consequence. Lest therfore either by denying her, he should draw her to discontent; or by condiscending to her demands, he should seeme to bee the wickedest man aliue, he deducted a seuerall portion of both their dominions, and presented her with the same. He gaue her likewise those Cities that are situate betweene the flood Eleutherius and Ægypt, except Tyre and Sidon, which he knew to be free Cities of long continuance: although by earnest sollicitation shee thought to be seized of these also.

The yeere of the world, 3932. before Christs Nativity 32.

Cleopatra contriueth Lysanias death.

Antonius giueth Cleopatra a portion deducted out of Iury and Arabia.

Chap. V.

Cleopatras *progresse in Iudæa.*

C After that *Cleopatra* had obtained all these things, and had accompanied *Antonius* as farre as Euphrates, who at that time went to make warre in Armenia: she returned back againe, and by the way visited Apamea and Damasco, and at last tooke her progresse into Iury: Where King *Herod* met with her, and assured that portion which had beene giuen vnto her in Arabia, with all the reuenewes of Iericho vnto her. This countrey bringeth forth that balme, which of all other oyntments is the most precious, & onely groweth in that place, and no other, to the bignesse of great Dates. Being arriued in that place, and growne inwardly familiar with *Herod*, she sought to allure and draw him to her lust, being of her selfe naturally addicted to such pleasures and intemperance; and haply also being somewhat touched with loue, or rather (as it D seemeth most likely) shee in this sort laid the foundation to intrap him, vnder colour to reuenge her selfe of some outrage by that meanes. But in effect she generally manifested, that she was ouercome by her desire and sensuall lust. But *Herod* was not ouer-kindly bent towards *Cleopatra*; knowing of long time how badly she was inclined towards all men; and at that time he conceiued the greater hatred against her, because by that intemperance of hers she pretended to destroy him: and although that from the beginning he had reiected her sollicitations; yet determined he to reuenge himselfe on her, if so bee by these her subtill vnderminings she should prosecute and continue her subtill policies to betray him. He asked counsell also of his friends, whether hauing her in his possession, hee should put her to death. For in so doing, all those should be deliuered from diuers euils, whom either in time past shee had molested, or hereafter should bring in trouE ble. Moreouer, that it should be profitable for *Antonius* also, whom without all doubt she would forsake, if any occasion or necessitie should enforce him to make triall of her friendship. But whilest he debated and discoursed vpon this resolution, his friends restrained and disswaded him; assuring him that it was a great indignity for him, who was a Prince of high thoughts and haughtie resolutions, to cast himselfe into manifest perill, beseeching him to attempt nothing rashly: For that *Antonius* would not endure the same, notwithstanding it might be approoued that it stood with his profit: nay, rather that by this meanes he should increase his desire, for that by force and subtiltie he might seeme to haue lost her. Further, that no one colour of excuse should be left him, in that shee was the woman of greatest note and nobilitie of that time; and that whatsoeuer profit might redound vnto him by her death, should be annexed with *Antonius* iniury. F Whereby it most euidently appeared, how great and remedilesse damages would befall both to the kingdome and the Kings family also; whereas nothing letted him by repulsing her vnlawfull demand, to dispose all things for the present state with great discretion. By these and such like reasons and probable coniectures, they deterred and disswaded him from aduenturing vpon his apparant danger, and attempting so hainous an act: so that contrariwise they induced him to offer *Cleopatra* many rich presents, and to conduct her onward on her way towards Ægypt.

As soone therefore as *Antonius* was seized of Armenia, hee sent *Artabazes*, *Tigranes* sonne, with all his children, who were great Princes, prisoners into Ægypt, & presented them to *Cleopa-*

Cleopatra commeth to Herod, who instateth her in that part of Arabia, and these reuenewes of Iericho that were giuen her.

An intemperate woman giuen to lust.

Herod goeth about to put Cleopatra to death, and is dissuaded by his friends.

Antonius conquereth Armenia.

Herod bringeth Cleopatra onward on her way, towards Ægypt.

The yeere of the world, 3933. before christs Natiuity, 31.

tra, with all those precious Iewels likewise, which were taken by him, or found in the kingdome. But *Artaxias* his elder sonne (who at that time had saued himselfe by flight) raigned in Armenia: whom *Archelaus* and *Nero* the Emperour draue out of his kingdome, and placed his yonger brother *Tigranes* in his roome, as it shall be declared hereafter. As for the tributes of the countries which *Herod* was bound to pay vnto *Cleopatra*, for the lands bestowed on her by *Antonius*, hee without deceit iustly paid them, supposing it to be very incident to his security, to continue himselfe in her good fauor. As for the Arabians, they seeing that *Herod* had the leuying of such a tribute, paied him for some little time two hundreth talents a yeere; but afterwards they grew slow and negligent in their payments, and scarcely satisfied the halfe, and that also very negligently.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 5.

CHAP. VI.

HEROD *maketh warre with* ARETAS *at the same time that* ANTONIVS *is ouerthrowne by* AVGVSTVS CÆSAR *in the Actian warre.*

ARETAS demeaning himselfe thus vngratefully, and refusing to doe that which in right he ought to performe; *Herod* made a shew to take armes against him, but deferred his reuenge in regard of the contentions amongst the Romanes. For at that time nought else was expected then the Actian warre (which fell in the hundreth, eighty and seuenth Olympiade) in which *Augustus Cæsar* determined to try his title with *Antonius* for the Monarchie. In the meane while *Herod*, who had already for many yeeres beene Master of a peaceable and fruitfull countrey, from whence he drew rich reuenewes and many forces, gathered diuers companies of men, with the greatest expedition that he might, to succour *Antonius*. But he by Letters signified vnto him, that he had no need of his assistance: notwithstanding he commanded him to make a road vpon the Arabian, whose perfidious dealing *Antonius* had not onely vnderstood by *Herod* himselfe, but also by *Cleopatras* aduertisements. For shee very cunningly conceiued, that it would redound vnto her profit, if one of these two should ouerthrow the other. *Herod* according to these instructions from *Antonius*, returned backe into his countrey, and retained his armie alwaies ready about him, and incontinently with the same inuaded Arabia, and with his forces both horsemen and footmen came directly to Diospolis, where the Arabians (hauing notice of his intended warre against them) came out to meete him. In this place fought they a most cruell battell, wherein at the last the Iewes had the vpper hand. After this, a great army of Arabians assembled themselues at Cana, a certaine place in Cœlosyria. Whereof when *Herod* was fore-aduertised, he marched foorth against them, accompanied with the greater part of his forces. As soone as hee drew neere to Cana, he determined to incampe in that place, and after he had well fortified and entrenched his forces, to set on the enemy vpon the first opportunitie: but whilest he imployed himselfe in the execution hereof, all the armie of the Iewes cryed out, requiring him without delay, to lead them forward against the Arabians. And thus highly were they incouraged, both in respect of the confidence they had in the good administration and ordering of their army, as in regard of their forwardnesse, who had bin actors in the former warre, and partakers of the victory; so that they scarce gaue their enemy leisure to settle themselues to their weapons. When as therefore *Herod* perceiued that the heat and forwardnes of the souldier could hardly be appeased; he thought good to make vse of the readines of his army, and arming himself he marched foremost, being seconded by his souldiers in battell ray, with a soldier-like march. This sudden approach of his wonderfully abashed the Arabians: For although for a while they made head against them; yet perceiuing their enemies full of heart, and themselues vnable to resist them, diuers of them retreated and betooke themselues to flight; so that all of them had beene vtterly defeated, had not *Athenio* endamaged *Herod* and the Iewes. For he hauing the command of that army which *Cleopatra* had in that place; and besides that, bearing a priuy grudge towards *Herod*, disposed his army in a readines, and expecting the euent of the battell, resolued with himselfe to containe his forces if the Arabians ouercame the Iewes; and if so be they had the worst (as indeed it came to passe) to set vpon the Iewes, who should be spent by that time; and surprizing them at vnawares euen in the height of their hope of good hap, to massacre and slaughter them with his fresh supplies. When as therefore the Iewes had spent all their strength against their professed enemies, and expected nothing lesse then the assurance of the victory, he charged and ouercame them who had retreated into certaine rough and difficult places (wherunto their enemies were better accustomed then themselues (where being grieuously wounded and ill intreated by the Arabians, who returned backe and set vpon them,

Herod leuieth an army, to assist Antonius against Octauian.

Herod is incited by Letters to the Arabian warre.

Herods battels and conquests.

The yeere of the world, 3934. before the Natiuitie of Christ, 30.

Cleopatras Chieftaine ouerthroweth Herod.

The Arabians returning to the battel, kill those that fly, and take the campe.

diuers

A diuers of them that fled were ſlaine, and died ſundry kinds of death; and of thoſe that eſcaped, few of them recouered the campe. *Herod* loſing the hope of this battell, poſted on horſebacke as faſt as he might, to bring on freſh ſupplies: but notwithſtanding all his expedition and diligence; yet could he not recouer the place in due time, but that the camp of the Iewes was taken and ſacked, and the Arabians obtained no ſmall good hap beyond their expectation, becomming Lords of that victory which was wholly vnexpected by them, and wherin they ſlew a great number of their enemies. From that time forward, *Herod* began to make certain incurſions and roades into Arabia, preying the country, and doing them much miſchiefe: He incamped himſelfe likewiſe vpon the mountaines, forbearing to draw his whole forces into the field; notwithſtanding by his
B diligence and induſtry in trauell, his labours were not fruitleſſe; but that preuailing in ſome exploits, he ſought out all means to aboliſh & put away the ignominy of his former diſcomfiture.

The yeere of the world, 3935. before Chriſts Nativity, 29.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Earthquake that hapned in Iewry.

AT ſuch time as *Cæſar* and *Anthony* made triall of their titles in the Actian warre, and in the ſeuenth yeere of the raigne of King *Herod*, there hapned ſuch an earthquake in the
C countrey of Iudæa, that neuer the like was ſeene in any other place: ſo that diuers beaſts were ſlaine thereby, and many men were ouerwhelmed with the ruines of their houſes, and periſhed to the number of ten thouſand. Onely the men of warre receiued no damage, becauſe they encamped in the open field. The Arabians hearing tidings hereof (which were farre greater by report, then they were in effect, by ſuch, who in fauour of the Arabians, and hate of the Iewes, reported the ſame) waxed proud: yea ſo much was their courage increaſed hereof, as if all the Cities of Iewry had beene already ouerthrowne, and the men thereof extinguiſhed; and as if they had no aduerſaries remaining aliue to contradict them. For which cauſe laying hold of thoſe Embaſſadours of the Iewes, who came vnto them to intreat of peace in their deſperate eſtates, they ſlew them, and afterwards in the heate of their ſpleene, ſet vpon their enemies campe.
D But the Iewes not daring to expect or preuent their aſſault, for their preſent miſeries had deiected their minds, ſeemed to neglect their Common-weale, and in maner to deſpaire of their ſafety. Theſe thus affected did the King incourage, and called vnto him their Captains, and (as much as in him lay) awaking and reuiuing their drouping ſpirits; and when he had reſtored thoſe of better hope, to more ſucceſſefull good hap, at length he attempted to ſpeake vnto all the armie, who in the former ouerthrowes, would yeeld no reſpect or allowance to perſwaſion. Theſe did heboth to comfort and exhort in ſuch manner, as followeth;

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 6. An earthquake in Iudæa killeth ten thouſand men.

The Arabians kill the Embaſſadours of the Iewes.

Herod comforteth the Iewes that were out of heart for their former loſſes.

CHAP. VIII.

HERODS *Oration to his army.*

E FRIENDS and fellow ſouldiers, there is not one of you but knoweth at this time, there are ſo many preſent and impendent misfortunes attending our eſtates, as are able to wearie and amaze thoſe men, that are of the greateſt reſolution. But ſith we muſt needly fight, and that all thoſe things that haue befallen vs vnto this preſent, are of that kinde, that by your owne vertue & magnanimitie they may be recouered; I haue reſolued to informe, and confirme you in thoſe meanes, whereby you may retaine and continue your accuſtomed valour and noble courage. Firſt of all therefore I will approoue vnto you (as touching our warre) that it conſiſteth on iuſt grounds, for that we are inforced thereunto through the outrage of our enemies: the knowledge whereof ſhould chiefely make you recouer your courage. Secondly, I will apparently approue vnto you, that our eſtates are not ſo deſperate, but that we haue great and aſſured hopes to
F obtaine the victorie. Firſt of all therefore, I will diſcourſe of that which formerly I propoſed, and will make your ſelues Iudges of thoſe things which I will diſcourſe vpon. For your ſelues are priuy to the Arabians vniuſtice, and how perfidious they are to their friends, and impious and barbarous towards all men; but in eſpeciall, they haue alwaies troubled vs, prouoking vs through their extreme auarice and malignant enuie, with perpetuall iniuries. And yet to let ſlip all other our benefits to that nation, who is hee that deliuered them from their imminent perill and thraldome, that was hazzarded by *Cleopatras* meanes, but our ſelues? For the friendſhip I had with *Anthony*, and his beneuolence towards me, was the cauſe that their burthen of miſerie

Herod comforteth and exhorteth his ſouldiers.

The cauſe of warre againſt the Arabians.

was

was ſo lightned; for that *Anthony* forbore to commit any thing that might draw vs to ſuſpicion. G
The yeere of the world, 3935. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 29. Beſides, after ſhe had wrought him by her ſollicitation to cut off certaine portions of the two kingdomes to be giuen vnto her, the matter was ſo handled by me, that by diuers preſents particularly beſtowed vpon him by my hands, I haue obtained ſecurity for vs both, and by disburſing two hundreth talents of mine owne, and giuing my word for two hundreth more for others, for
» the reuenewes of that very land which in times paſt was ours, and theſe now poſſeſſe and enioy.
» Notwithſtanding, reaſon it were in my opinion, that we that are Iewes ſhould not be tributaries,
» or giue any portion of our country to any man; and if we muſt needly doe it, it ill becommeth vs
» to pay it for theſe, who enioy their liues by our meanes. It ſhould not be reaſonable for the Ara-
» bians, who after they had confeſſed with many plauſible proteſtations and thankeſgiuings, that H
» they enioy their liberty by our benefit, to haue depriued and thruſt vs from our owne, and to
» haue vniuſtly dealt with vs; yea euen with vs, I ſay, who were not their enemies, but rather on
» the contrary ſide their chiefeſt friends in the time of peace. And if fidelity ſhould be reſpected
» euen amongſt thoſe that are our moſt hated enemies, much more neceſſarily ought it to be ob-
» ſerued by thoſe that are friends. But theſe men ſet light thereby, who think nothing honeſt, but
» that which is annexed with Lucre; and thinke no wrong vnexcuſable, nor impunitie iniury, that
» hath but a ſhew of profit. Is there any queſtion then, whether we ſhould chaſtice theſe vniuſt
» men by a iuſt warre? ſith both God commandeth no leſſe, and enioyneth vs alwaies to hate our-
» rage, and reuenge iniuſtice, eſpecially in that war, which is not onely iuſt, but neceſſary? For that
» which both in the confeſſion of the Græcians, and opinion of the Barbarians is moſt hateful and I
» hainous, this haue they perpetrated in murthering our Embaſſadours. For the Greekes ſay, that
» Embaſſadours are ſacred and inuiolable, and we our ſelues haue receiued our moſt wholeſome
Legates inuiolable. and holieſt precepts of the Law of God by Angels, that is, from his Heraulds and meſſengers:
» for this name can both bring God to mans knowledge, and reconcile enemy to enemy.
» What impietie therefore is more vnpardonable, then to put thoſe Embaſſadours to death,
» who bring tidings of right and iuſtice? or what proſperity can they expect either in their wars,
» or felicity in their whole liues, after ſo hainous a crime? Truely I cannot imagine any: But per-
» haps ſome man will ſay, that right and equitie is on our ſide; but that the greater number of men
» and meanes are with them: but this their ſpeech is vnworthy of my followers. For with thoſe,
With whomſoeuer iuſtice is, there is God alſo. with whom iuſtice is, with thoſe alſo is God; and where God is, there neither wanteth multi- K
tude nor fortitude. But let vs wade further, and weigh our own forces by themſelues. In the firſt
battell we had the victory: in the ſecond, vpon the firſt charge we put them to flight, and found
» them vnable to make their partie good againſt vs. Afterwards, when the victory was ours, be-
» hold, *Athenio*, not by lawfull warre, but by ſubtill treacherie aſſaulted vs. But ſhall this be called
» their fortitude, or rather their fraud and ſecond iniquity? why therefore ſhould we haue leſſe
» courage, who ought to haue the greater confidence? or why ſhould we feare them, who are al-
» waies inferiours, if they fight openly, and without fraud; and when they ſeeme to ouercome,
» they doe it by vniuſtice?
» Moreouer, if any man ſuppoſe them to be valiant, this ſhould the rather incite them more
» and more vnto vertue; for it is no honour for a generous and noble mind to ouercome his inferi- L
» our, but to haue meanes and might to conquer his ſuperiour. And if any one be terrified by our
» domeſtick and homebred miſeries, and by our late earthquake, firſt of all let him think with him-
» ſelfe, that he erreth in that wch deceiueth the Arabians, by ſuppoſing the ſame to be more grie-
» uous and terrible then indeed it was. And afterwards let him think, that it becommeth them not
» to draw matter of feare from thence, whence the other tooke occaſion of courage. For as tou-
» ching themſelues, they conceiue not any hope thorow any good that is in themſelues, but onely
» in the truſt they haue that we are already deiected by our calamities. But when they ſhall ſee vs
» march forth againſt them, their courage will be weakned, and our confidence by this means ſhall
» be awakened, for that we are not at this time to encounter with deſperate men: For neither are
» we ouermuch afflicted; neither (as ſome thinke) hath this miſerie befallen vs thorow Gods diſ- M
» pleaſure, but theſe are the caſualties of fortune. And if by the will of God theſe things are come
» to paſſe, it is maruell if by the ſame will our calamitie ceaſe not; and that our puniſhment ſhould
» not ſatisfie his diſpleaſure. But that this preſent war is approued by him for iuſt, he himſelfe hath
» euidently declared. For whereas diuers thorow the whole region, haue beene oppreſſed by the
» earthquake, none of you that beare armes haue incurred any miſchiefe; but all of you haue beene
» preſerued, which is a manifeſt token of the will of God; and if your children and wiues had ge-
» nerally followed the warres as you doe, none of you ſhould haue been wanting. When as there-

fore

A fore you ſhal haue bethought your ſelues of theſe things, and moreouer in regard that God hath at all times an eſpeciall care ouer you: faile not to purſue this iniurious nation with a iuſt war, that neither reſpecteth the lawes of friendſhip, nor keepeth the league of couenant; valiant in murthering ſacred Embaſſadors; and abiect and villanous, where things are to be attempted by valour. *The yeere of the world, 3935. before Chriſts Nativitie, 29.*

Theſe perſwaſions of his did not a little encourage the Iewes to the battell, and made them more forward then before. As for *Herod*, after he had offred ſacrifice, according to the cuſtome, he drew his army foorth, and led them with great confidence againſt the Arabians; and paſſing Iordan, he encamped neer vnto the enemy, with an intent to ſurprize a fort ſituate between them both: making this account that it would further him much, either if vpon the preſent he ſhould
B be drawne forth to fight, or if it concerned him to march onward, for that this place ſhould ſerue him to encampe in with more ſecurity. The ſame reſolution alſo had the Arabians, for which cauſe they fell to skirmiſh in that place, wherein the firſt on both ſides that gaue the charge, and afterwards ſome other followers were ſlaine: ſo that thoſe of the Arabians ſide being ouercome, betooke them to retreat. This ſucceſſe of theirs bred no little hope in the Iewes, who ſeeing the enemies army addreſſed to attempt any thing rather then to fight, waxed the more hardy to aſſaile the Arabian in his trenches, and beate him from his campe. They being forced by theſe aſſaults, drew forward to their defence in great diſorder, bringing neither courage nor hope of victory with them: yet notwithſtanding they defended themſelues, both in regard of their great number, as alſo in reſpect of that neceſſity wherunto they were inforced by the Iewes. The skir-
C miſh on both ſides was hot, and diuers on either party were put to the ſword: but in the end, the Arabians being put to the worſt, turned their backs. The ſlaughter was ſo great, that they not onely periſhed by their enemies ſwords, but they themſelues alſo murthered one another in the preaſe, and diſorderly flight, in which they were trodden vnder foot, and lay ſlaughtered in a manner by their owne weapons. So that in that diſcomfiture there died ſome fiue thouſand: the reſt haſtily fled on the other ſide of the rampire: but being ouerpreſſed with want of victuals, and in eſpeciall with lacke of water, they had not any ground or aſſurance to eſcape. After them poſted the Iewes, and being vnable to recouer the fortreſſe with them, they begirt the campe with a ſiege, and ſhut vp all the paſſages that no ſuccour could come vnto them, and tooke from them all opportunity to eſcape, although they ſhould affect flight.

The Arabians are ouercome by Herod.

D When as therefore they ſaw themſelues reduced into ſuch extremity, they ſent Embaſſadors vnto *Herod*, firſt of al to demand a truce: and afterwards for that they were oppreſſed with thirſt, to craue ſome remedy for their preſent neceſſities. But he neither reſpected the Embaſſadours, neither the proffered ranſome for the captiues, nor any other whatſoeuer reaſonable demand, deſiring earneſtly to reuenge himſelfe of thoſe iniurious treacheries they had practiſed againſt his Embaſſadors. Being therefore inforced by thirſt (which amongſt other plagues moſt grieuouſly afflicted them) many of them forſooke their trenches, and offred themſelues to bonds, and to be led away captiues; ſo that within fiue daies ſpace foure thouſand of them yeelded themſelues priſoners. On the ſixt day, all the reſt determined to ſally out, and aſſaile the enemy; rather making choice of aſſured death, then thus lingeringly and ignominiouſly to pine away. When as there-
E fore they had all concluded hereupon, they incontinently brake out of their trenches, but like vnapt ſouldiers for a skirmiſh, decaied not onely in body, but in mind; reputing their death for aduantage, to eſcape thereby their extreme misfortunes. For which cauſe vpon the firſt onſet, about ſome ſeuen thouſand of them were ſlaine: and thus the fierceneſſe of this nation being alaied by this ouerthrow, they ſubmitted themſelues to *Herod*, whom to their owne ſorrow they had approoued to be a valiant ſouldier.

The Arabians enforced by thirſt, require truce at Herods hands.

CHAP. IX.

HEROD *conſtrained to repaire vnto* AVGVSTVS CÆSAR, *putteth* F HIRCANVS *to death.*

HEROD puffed vp with his ſucceſſefull good fortune, returned back into his own countrey, hauing obtained great eſtimation and reputation by his valour and vertue. But at ſuch time as he ſuppoſed his ſtate to be moſt aſſured, he grew in danger both to loſe his dignity and life, by reaſon of that victory that *Cæſar* obtained againſt *Antony* in the Actian war. For at that time he not onely ſuppoſed himſelfe to be vtterly ouerthrowne, but both his friends and enemies that were round about him loſt their hopes, for that it was vnlikely that he ſhould eſcape

Hedio & Ruf. finus, chap. 7. Herod diſmaied at Antonies ouerthrow.

The yeere of the world, 3935. before Christs Natiuitie, 29.

escape vnpunished, who had been so inwardly vnited in friendshippe with *Anthony*. Whereby it came to passe, that his friends in no sort concealed their despaire, and his enemies vnder their colourable and dissembled griefes, couered their ioy, promising themselues thereafter a better and more pleasing administration of the common-weale. Hereupon *Herod* perceiuing, that except *Hircanus*, there was not any one of the bloud roiall aliue, determined to cut him off, resoluing with himselfe, that if he hapned to escape the danger, that a man who at that time was more worthier the Kingdome then himselfe, should not entermeddle amongst his affaires: and if any misfortune should behold him in regard of *Cæsar*, he desired to dispossesse *Hircanus* of the Kingdome, in regard of the enuy which he bare him, for that he was the onely man who deserued to be aduanced to that dignitie. Whilst thus he was tormented and trauelled in his thoughts, he had an occasion offered him by *Hircanus* owne followers to execute his intention. For *Hircanus* being of a mild & gentle nature, during all his life-time forbare to entermeddle with state affaires, committing all things to fortune, and contenting himselfe with whatsoeuer condition it pleased her to allot him.

Herod determineth to make away Hircanus.

But *Alexandra* being an ambitious woman, & vnable to conceale with modestie the hope she conceiued of change, sollicited her father that he should not any longer endure the subiection of *Herod*, who was the very scourge of their familie, but rather that he should stand vpon his owne guard, and reserue himselfe to his better hoped fortunes. She furthermore gaue him counsaile to write vnto *Malchus*, who had the gouernment of Arabia, requesting him to grant him both protection and entertainment; for that if *Herod* should chance to bee cut off by *Cæsars* displeasure, doubtlesse the Kingdome would returne vnto him, both in regard of his nobilitie, as also of the peoples fauour. These perswasions of hers *Hircanus* at the first repulsed, but afterwards being ouercome by the importunitie of the woman, who ceased not day & night to sing the same song of future hope, and of *Herods* treasons, he gaue certaine letters to a friend of his, written to the Arabian, wherin he required him to send him certaine horsemen, who might conduct him to the Asphaltite lake, which lieth distant from the confines of Ierusalem some three hundred furlongs. And therefore especially committed he these letters to *Dositheus* trust, both for that he fauoured *Hircanus* and his daughter, and seemed likely for diuers causes to hate *Herod*: for he was *Iosephs* Kinsman, who was slaine by *Herod*; and not long before, certaine of his brothers were slaine amongst others at Tyre by *Anthonies* command: yet for none of these occasions continued hee faithful to *Hircanus*. For he setting more by the present fauour of the King that then raigned, then the rest, discouered the letter vnto the King: who first of all giuing him thanks, required one office of friendshippe more at his hands; which was, that folding vp the letter, & sealing it, hee should conueigh and deliuer the same to *Malchus*, & returne his answere, for that it meerely concerned him, if he knew his resolution also. Which when *Dositheus* had diligently performed, the Arabian returned this answer, that he was ready to entertaine both himselfe and his whole family, & all those Iewes likewise which were of his faction, promising to send him a band of souldiers, who should be able to conduct him safely thither, & should be obedient to his command in all things. Now as soone as *Herod* was seized of these letters, he called for *Hircanus*, and demanded of him whether he had any confederacie with *Malchus*: who denied the same. But *Herod* protesting and bringing forth his letter in an open assembly, commanded him afterwards to bee put to death. Thus are these matters registred in *Herods* commentaries: for by some are they deliuered otherwise, namely, that he was executed, not for this crime which hee had committed, but for some treasons against the King. For they write to this effect, that *Herod* at a certaine banquet (dissembling his suspicion) demanded of *Hircanus*, whether he had receiued any letters from *Malchus*: and that he answered, that he had receiued letters, but such as contained nothing else but officious salutations. Further, that another asked him, whether he had receiued any present therewithall: and when he had answered, that hee had receiued nothing but foure coursers for his saddle, the King wrested this to a capitall offence of corruption and treason: and commanded him presently to be led to death. Now that he died guiltles, they alledge this for a most approued argument; namely, his gentle disposition, who euen in his youthfull yeeres neuer gaue signe or appearance of rashnesse, or pride, or signification of audaciousnesse, no not euen then when hee had the roiall gouernment in his hands, but in that freedome of authoritie, disposed the most things by *Antipaters* aduice. But at that time he was more then fourescore yeeres old, and knew that *Herods* estate was secured: & passing Euphrates also, & liuing on the other side of the riuer, he left such as held him in great honour, and returned home into his owne countrey, to the end hee might, liue vnder *Herods* gouerument. Whereby it is lesse likely, that he would attempt any alteration

Alexandra solliciteth Hircanus her father to require assistance at Malchus hands.

There hundred furlongs containe nine Germaine miles.

Hircanus by Herods commands is put to death.

Hircanus dieth guiltlesse. Hircanus life.

so

A so farre different from his nature; so that all these things seeme to be fained by *Herod*.

Thus ended *Hircanus* life, after his variable and aduerse fortune, wherewith during all his life time he was afflicted. For at such time as his mother *Alexandra* liued, he was created high Priest of the Iewes, and obtained that honour for the space of nine yeeres: and after his mothers death, he had scarcely gouerned the kingdome for the space of three moneths, but that he was expulsed by his brother *Aristobulus*; and afterwards restored by *Pompeyes* assistance, and receiuing all his former honours, he liued in full possession of them for the space of forty yeeres. After this he was once more distasted by *Antigonus*; and being maimed in his body, liued certaine yeeres in captiuity among the Parthians: from whence not long after he returned home; and though hee B had many things promised him by *Herod*, yet after so many alterations of fortune, he obtained nothing at his hands, and that which amongst all the rest is most of all to be lamented, as we haue said, he was vniustly put to death, an innocent, and in his old age. For he was a louer of iustice, and an obseruer of perpetuall modestie, and gouerned his kingdome for the most part by other mens direction, being onely guilty in himselfe of ignorance and the loue of idlenesse. Truely, *Antipater* and *Herod* by this mans goodnesse obtained their so great riches: for which deserts of his, against all law and right, he was cruelly put to death.

The yeere of the world, 3935. before Christs Natiuitie, 29.

But *Herod* after *Hircanus* death, addressed himselfe to performe his iourney towards *Cæsar*: and hauing little hope of any good fortune, in regard of his friendship with *Antonius*, he grew desperately iealous of *Alexandra*, for feare lest she taking opportunity of the time, should incite the C people to rebell, and fill the kingdome with domesticall sedition: for which cause, committing the gouernment of the estate to his brother *Pheroras*, he left his mother *Cypros*, his sister, and all his kindred in the Castle of Masada, and commanded his brother, that if any misfortune should befall him, he should retaine the kingdome in his owne hands and maintaine it. As for his wife *Mariamme*, for that by reason of certaine dislikes betwixt her, his mother, and sister, they might not liue together, he left her with her mother *Alexandra* in the Castle of Alexandrion, and committed them to the custody of his Treasurer *Ioseph*, and *Sohemus* the Iturian, and with her the keeping of his Castles, both which had alwaies beene his faithfull friends, and to whom in way of honour, he committed the custody of these princely Ladies. But he gaue them also this commandement, that if they should be certified that any sinister mishap had befallen him, they should D presently kill them both, and to the vtmost of their power, continue the kingdome in his children, and his brother *Pheroras*.

Herods disposition of his affaires before he repaired to Cæsar.

CHAP. X.

How HEROD *obtained the Kingdome of Iudæa at* CÆSARS *hands.*

AFTER he had in this sort giuen order for all his affaires, he withdrew himselfe vnto Rhodes, intending there to meet with *Cæsar*. And as soone as hee arriued in that City, E hee tooke the Diadem from his head, and laid it apart, but as for his other princely ornaments, hee changed them in no sort; and being admitted to *Cæsars* presence, hee at that time gaue a more ample testimony of the greatnesse of his magnanimity and courage: for neither addressed he his speech to intreat his fauour (according to the custome of suppliants) neither presented he any request, as if he had in any sort offended him, but gaue account of all that which he had done, without concealing or mistrusting any thing. For he freely confessed before *Cæsar*, that he had intirely loued *Antonius*, and that to the vtmost of his power he had done him seruice, to the end that he might obtaine the soueraignty and monarchy; not by annexing his forces vnto his, in that he was otherwise imployed in the Arabian warre; but in furnishing him both with wheat and money, and that this was the least office which it behooued him to performe towards *Antonius*; for that being once his professed friend, it behooued him not only to imploy his best endeauours on his so princely benefactor, but also to hazzard both his head and happines to deliuer him from perils. All which (said he) I haue not performed according as I ought to haue done; yet notwithstanding I know, that at such time as he was ouercome in the Actian battell, I did not alter my affection with his fortune: neither did I restraine my selfe: for although I befriended not *Antonius* with my presence and assistance in his Actian war, yet at least wise I assisted him with my counsell, certifying him that he had but one onely means left him for his security, and preuention of his vtter ruine, which was, to put *Cleopatra* to death, for that by cutting her off, he

Herod commeth to Cæsar, and declareth vnto him what pleasures he had done Antony, promising him no lesse duty and loue, if so be he might be receiued into his fauor.

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might enioy her eſtate, and might more eaſily obtaine his peace, and pacifie thy diſpleaſure againſt him. And for that he gaue but ſlender regard to theſe mine admonitions by his owne ſottiſhneſſe and indiſcretion, he hath hurt himſelfe and profited you, becauſe, as I ſaid, he did not follow my counſell. Now therefore (O *Cæſar*) in regard of the hate which you beare vnto *Anthony*, you condemne my friendſhip alſo. I will not deny that which I haue done; neither am I affraid freely and publikely to proteſt how much I haue loued him: but if without regard of perſons, you conſider how kindly I am affected towards my benefactors, and how reſolute and conſtant a friend I am, and how mindfull of kindneſſe, the effect of that which I haue done, may make me knowne vnto thee. For if the name be onely changed, the friendſhip notwithſtanding may remaine, and deſerue a due praiſe.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 8. Cæſar confirmeth Herods authority.

By theſe words (which were manifeſt teſtimonies of his reſolute and noble courage) he ſo inwardly indeared himſelfe vnto *Cæſar*, who was a magnificent and worthy Monarch, that he conuerted this his accuſation into an occaſion to win and work him to be his friend: for which cauſe *Cæſar*, in ſetting the Diademe vpon his head, exhorted him that he ſhould no leſſe reſpect his friendſhip, then he had in former time *Anthonies*: and withall, did him much honour; certifying him moreouer, that *Capidius* had written vnto him, how much *Herod* had aſſiſted him in his wars that he had with the Monarches of Syria. *Herod* ſeeing that he was thus entertained, and that contrary to his expectation, the kingdome was more ſurely confirmed vnto him, then beforetime, both by *Cæſars* bounty, and alſo by the decree of the Senate, which he had practiſed to obtaine for his greater aſſurance, accompanied *Cæſar* as far as Egypt, preſenting both himſelfe and his friends with many rich gifts, beyond the proportion of his eſtate: endeauouring by theſe meanes both to win their fauours, and to ſhew alſo the greatneſſe of his courage; requiring moreouer at *Cæſars* hands, that *Alexander*, who was one of *Anthonies* deareſt friends, might not bee ſought out to be puniſhed: yet notwithſtanding he could not obtaine the ſame, by reaſon of an oath that *Cæſar* had paſt before he ſollicited him. That done, he returned backe again into Iewry, with more greater honour and aſſurance, then before; wherby he ſtrooke them with wonderfull amazement, who expected his contrary ſucceſſe, as if by Gods eſpeciall prouidence he alwaies ouerwent his dangers, to his great honour. Incontinently therefore, he prepared himſelfe to entertaine *Cæſar*, who returned out of Syria to take his iourney into Egypt, and receiued him at Ptolemais, with all royall honour, and gaue his army preſents with all abundance of munition: ſo that he was accounted for one of *Cæſars* moſt affectionate friends, and rode about with him, at ſuch time as he tooke the view of his army: he entertained him alſo and his friends with one hundreth and fifty men, adorned with moſt rich and ſumptuous apparell. And for that they were to paſſe thorow a countrey, wherein there was great ſcarcity of water, he furniſhed them both with water and wine; ſo that they needed neither of them. He gaue *Cæſar* alſo eight hundreth talents, and ſo royally ſatisfied he all men, that they confeſſed themſelues to haue had farre greater entertainment, then the reuenues and profits of his kingdome could affoord them. By which meanes he gaue the more ample teſtimony of his forward friendſhip, and free affection to deſerue well: and making vſe of the opportunity of the time, he obtained the reputation of a Prince of an heroicke and noble ſpirit; ſo that he was held inferiour vnto no man, for the good entertainment that he gaue to the chiefeſt Romans in their returne out of Egypt.

Herod conducteth Cæſar toward Egypt, and preſenteth him with many ſumptuous gifts.

Herod entertaineth both Cæſar and his army very heroically.

Herod giueth Cæſar eight hundreth talents.

CHAP. IX.

HEROD *being incenſed by falſe accuſations, putteth his wife* MARIAMME *to death.*

Mariamme & Alexandra diſpleaſed with Herod.

BVT as ſoone as he returned into his kingdome, hee found all his houſhold troubled, and both his wife *Mariamme* and her mother *Alexandra* grieuouſly diſpleaſed with him. For they ſuppoſed (and not without cauſe) that they were not ſhutte vp in that Caſtle for their ſecurities ſake, but as it were in a priſon; ſo that, in as much as they neither might make vſe of other mens, nor enioy their own goods, they were highly diſcontented. *Mariamme* alſo ſuppoſed that her husband did but diſſemble his loue, rather for his owne profit and commodity, then for any intire affection he bare towards her. But nothing more grieued her, then that ſhe had not any hope to liue after him, if ſo be he ſhould happen to die, eſpecially for the order he had left concerning her: neither could ſhe euer forget what commandement before that time he had left with *Ioſeph*; ſo that by all meanes poſſible, ſhe laboured to winne the affections of thoſe that had the

the charge of her, & especially *Sohemus*, knowing very well that her safety depended wholly on his hands. Who in the beginning behaued himselfe very wisely and faithfully, containing himselfe very circumspectly within the bounds of his commission; but after these Ladies had with pretty presents and feminine flatteries mollified and wrought him by little and little, at last hee blabbed out all that which the King had commanded him; especially, for that he hoped not that he should returne with the same power and authority, which before he had: and for that cause he thought thus in himself, that without incurring any danger in regard of *Herod*, he might greatly gratifie the Ladies; who in all likelihood should not be depriued of that dignity wherin they were at that time; but would returne them the like kindnesse when *Mariamme* should bee Queene, or next vnto the King. Furthermore, he hoped that if *Herod* also should returne with all things answerable to his desires, that he would performe nothing without his wiues consent; or vpbraid him with the act, if she contradicted: for he knew too well that the King loued her in such sort, as it was impossible to equal or expresse his affections; and for these causes he disclosed the trust that was committed vnto him. But *Mariamme* was very sore displeased to heare that there was no end of her miseries, but they were altogether vnited and tied to the dangers of *Herod*; and shee oftentimes wished that hee might neuer more returne againe in safety, supposing that her life with him should be very intolerable: all which she afterwards dissembled not, but openly confessed that which afflicted her with discontent. For when as *Herod* beyond all expectation arriued in his countrey, being adorned with mighty fortune, he first of all, as it became him, certified his wife of his good tidings and happy successe, whom onely amongst all other his friends and wiues, he embraced and saluted, for the pleasing conuersation and affection that was in her. But she, whilest he repeated vnto her these fortunate euents of his affaires, rather entertained the same with a displeasant attention, then applauding ioy: and these affections of hers likewise she could not conceale. For at such time as he folded his armes about her necke, she vnfolded her sorrow in her sighes; so simple and vnfained were her affections; and seemed rather to be displeased then appeased by his narrations. Whereupon *Herod* was sore troubled, perceiuing these things not onely suspected, but also fully manifest: but aboue all things he was distracted, when he considered the incredible and apparent hatred that his wife had conceiued against him, which in such sort incensed him, that he could not resist the loue that had attainted him, so that he neither could continue in wrath, nor listen long to peace; and being vnresolued in himselfe, he now was attempted by this; straight distracted by a contrary affection: so much was his minde trauailed betweene loue and hatred, that when as oftentimes he desired to punish the womans pride, his heart by loues mediation failed him in the enterprize. For nothing did more torment him then this feare, lest executing his displeasure against her, hee should by this meanes more grieuously wound himselfe, through the desire he bare vnto his deceased delight. Whilest thus he was sweltered and deuoured in his passions, and conceiued sinister opinions against *Mariamme* his wife; *Salome* his sister, and his mother hauing an inkling of his discontents, thought that they had gotten a fit opportunity to expresse and execute their hatred towards *Mariamme*: for which cause they conferred with *Herod*, and whetted his spleene and displeasure with variety of slanders, sufficient at one assault to engender hatred, and kindle his iealousie against her. To these reproches of theirs, he lent no vnwilling eares; yet had he not the heart to attempt any thing against his wife, or to giue free credit to their report; notwithstanding his displeasure increased and was inflamed more and more against her, for that neither she could colour her cares and discontents, nor he contain himselfe from exchanging his loue into hatred: and perhaps at that time he had published some fatall doome against her, had not a happy messenger brought him word, that *Anthony* and *Cleopatra* being dead, *Cæsar* was become Lord of Ægypt: for which cause hasting forward to meet and entertaine him, hee left his family in that present estate. Vpon his departure he recommended *Mariamme* to *Sohemus*, giuing him great thanks for the care he had had of her, and granted him in way of gratuitie a part of Iewry to gouerne.

When *Herod* was arriued in Egypt, and had friendly and familiarly conferred with *Cæsar*, he was highly honoured by him: for *Cæsar* gaue him those foure hundreth Frenchmen that were of *Cleopatras* guard; and restored that part of his countrey vnto him againe, which was taken away and spoyled by her. He annexed also vnto his kingdome Gadara, Hippon, and Samaria, and on the sea coasts the Cities of Gaza, Anthedon, Ioppe, with the tower of Straton: which when hee had obtained, he grew more mighty then before: and after he had accompanied *Cæsar* as farre as Antioch, he returned into his owne countrey. Vpon his arriuall, he found that fortune which was fauourable vnto him abroad, too forward at home, especially in regard of his wife, in whose

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Sohemus discouereth the Kings secrets.

Herod but coldly entertained by his wife Mariamme.

Herods sorrowes to see his wiues affections distracted and changed.

Herods sister and his mother incense the King by slanderous reports against Mariamme.

Antony and Cleopatra slaine.

Cæsar Lord of Ægypt.

Sohemus honoured by Herod with dignities.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 9.

Cæsar enlargeth Herods dominions.

affection beforetime he ſeemed to be moſt happy. For he was as inwardly touched with the law- G
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full loue of *Mariamme*, as any other of whom the Hiſtories make report: and as touching her, ſhe was both chaſte and faithfull vnto him; yet had ſhe a certaine womanly imperfection and naturall frowardneſſe, which was the cauſe that ſhee preſumed too much vpon the intire affection wherewith her husband was intangled; ſo that without regard of his perſon, who had power and authority ouer others, ſhe entertained him oftentimes very outragiouſly: All which he endured patiently, without any ſhew of diſcontent. But *Mariamme* vpbraided and publikely approached both the Kings mother and ſiſter, telling them that they were but abiectly and baſely borne.

Mariamme a froward woman.

Whereupon there grew a great enmity and vnrecouerable hatred betweene the Ladies; and from thence alſo there aroſe an occaſion of greater accuſations and calumniation then before. H Theſe ſuſpicions were nouriſhed amongſt them, for the ſpace of one whole yeere after *Herods* returne from *Cæſar*; and finally this long contriued and fore-imagined hatred at laſt brake out violently vpon this occaſion that enſueth: When as about mid-day the King had withdrawne himſelfe into his chamber to take his reſt, he called *Mariamme* vnto him to ſport with her, being incited thereunto by the great affection that hee bare vnto her. Vpon this his command ſhee came in vnto him; yet would ſhe not lie with him, nor entertaine his courtings with friendly acceptance, but vpbraided him bitterly with her fathers and brothers death. The King tooke theſe reproachfull words in very euill part, and was almoſt ready to ſtrike her: but his ſiſter hearing a greater ſtir and noiſe within then was vſuall, ſent in the Butler, who long before that time was ſuborned by her, whom ſhe commanded to tell the King, that *Mariamme* had prepared a drinke I for him to incite and quicken him vnto loue; willing him that if the King ſhould be mooued thereat, and ſhould demand what he meant, he ſhould certifie him, that *Mariamme* hauing prepared a poyſon for his grace, had dealt with him to deliuer it to his Maieſtie. Charging him moreouer, that if the King in hearing him ſpeake of this potion, ſhould ſeeme to be mooued therewith, that then he ſhould proceed no further in his diſcourſe. Hee therefore (being in this manner before-hand inſtructed what he ought to doe) at that very inſtant was ſent to diſcouer his treachery vnto the King; for which cauſe with a ſober and ſtayed countenance he entred in vnto him, being ſeriouſly and well prepared to diſcourſe, and told him that *Mariamme* had bribed him to preſent his Maieſtie with an amorous cup of drinke. Now when he perceiued that the King was troubled with theſe words, he proſecuted his diſcourſe, alleadging that the potion K was a certaine medicine which *Mariamme* had giuen him, the vertue whereof he knew not, which he had receiued according as he had told him, knowing that it concerned both his owne ſecuritie, and the Kings ſafetie.

Herod, who before this was highly diſpleaſed, hearing theſe words, was ſo much the more incenſed: for which cauſe he preſently commanded *Mariammes* moſt faithfull ſeruant to be examined by torments, as concerning the poiſon, ſuppoſing that it was impoſſible for her to vndertake any thing whatſoeuer, without his priuity. He being tried and tormented after this cruell manner, confeſſed nothing of that for which he was tortured; but declared vnto the King, that the hatred which his wife had conceiued againſt him, proceeded from certaine words that *Sohemus* had told her. Scarcely had he finiſhed theſe words, but that the King cryed out with a loud L voice, ſaying, that *Sohemus*, who beforetime had beene moſt faithful both to him and his kingdome, would not haue declared theſe his priuy commands, except there had beene ſome more inward familiaritie and ſecrecy betwixt him and *Mariamme*: for which cauſe he preſently commanded his miniſters to lay hands on *Sohemus*, and to put him to death. As for his wife, he drew her to her triall, and to this effect he aſſembled his moſt familiar friends, before whom he began to accuſe her with great ſpight and ſpleene, as touching theſe potions and poyſons aforeſaid; wherein he vſed intemperate and vnſeemely ſpeeches, and ſuch as for their bitterneſſe did ill become him in cauſe of iuſtice; ſo that in the end, the aſſiſtants, ſeeing the butt and bent of his deſire, pronounced ſentence of death againſt her: which being paſt, both he, and all other the aſſiſtants were of this opinion, that ſhe ſhould not ſo ſpeedily be executed, but that ſhee ſhould be M kept cloſe priſoner in ſome ſure place of the Palace. But by *Salomes* ſollicitations *Herod* was incited to haſten her death, for that ſhe alleadged that the King ought to feare, leſt ſome ſedition ſhould be raiſed amongſt the people, if he ſhould keepe her aliue in priſon. And by this meanes *Mariamme* was led vnto her death.

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Sohemus ſuſpected by Herod, in Mariammes behalfe is put to death.

Mariamme is accuſed by Herod, and condemned, and impriſoned.

Mariamme by Salomes inſtigations is led to execution.

Alexandra her mother conſidering the eſtate of the time, and fearing no leſſe miſchiefe from *Herods* hands, then her daughter was aſſured of; ſhee vndecently changed her minde, and abiectedly laid aſide her former courage and magnanimitie. For intending to make it knowne, that ſhee

A She was neither partie nor priuy to those crimes, wherewith *Mariamme* was charged, shee went out to meete her daughter, and entertained her iniuriously, protesting publikely that shee was a wicked woman, and vngratefull towards her husband; and that shee well deserued the punishment that was adiudged her, for that she durst be so bold to attempt so hainous a fact, neglecting to requite her husbands entire loue, with her vnfained loyaltie. Whilest thus dishonestly shee counterfeited her displeasure, and was ready to pull *Mariamme* by the haire, the assistants according to her desert, condemned her generally for her shamefull hypocrisie: but shee that was led to be punished, conuicted her by her milde behauiour. For first of all, she gaue her no answer, neither was any waies altered by her reproaches; neither would so much as cast her eye vpon her; B making it appeare, that she discreetly concealed and couered her mothers imperfections, and was aggrieued that she had so openly shewed so great indignitie: expressing for her owne part a constant behauiour; and going to her death without change of colour, so that those that beheld her, perceiued in her a kinde of manifest courage and nobilitie, euen in her vtmost extremitie. Thus dyed *Mariamme*, hauing beene a woman that excelled both in continence and courage: notwithstanding that shee defaulted somewhat in affabilitie and impatience of nature: for the rest of her parts, shee was of an admirable and pleasing beautie, and of such a carriage in those companies wherein she was intertained, that it was impossible to expresse the same, in that shee surpassed all those of her time; which was the principall cause that shee liued not graciously and contentedly with the King. For being entertained by him, who intirely loued her, and from C whom she receiued nothing that might discontent her, she presumed vpon a great and intemperate libertie in her discourse. Shee digested also the losse of her friends very hardly, according as in open tearmes shee made it knowne vnto the King: whereby also it came to passe, that both *Herods* mother, and sister, and himselfe likewise grew at oddes with her, and in especiall her husband, from whom onely shee expected no hard measure.

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Alexandra vndecently striueth to acquite her selfe of Mariammes Treason.

After her death the King began more powerfully to be inflamed in his affections; who beforetimes, as we haue declared, was already miserably distracted. For neither did hee loue after the common manner of married folke: but whereas almost euen vnto madnes he nourished this his desire, he could not be induced by the too vnbridled manners of his wife, to alay the heat of his affection, but that daily more and more by doting on her, he increased the same. And all that D time especially he supposed that God was displeased with him, for the death of *Mariamme* his wife. Oftentimes did he inuocate her name, and more often vndecently lamented he her. And notwithstanding he deuised all kinde of delights and sports that might be imagined, by preparing banquets, and inuiting guests with princely hospitalitie, to passe away the time; yet all those profited him nothing. For which cause he gaue ouer the charge and administration of his kingdome. And in such sort was he ouerwhelmed with griefe, that oftentimes hee commanded his ministers to call his wife *Mariamme*, as if as yet she had beene aliue. Whilest thus he was affected; there befell a pestilence within the citie, that consumed a great sort of the people, and the better part of the nobilitie, and each man interpreted that this punishment was inflicted by God vpon men, for the vniust death of the Queene. Thus the Kings discontents being by this meanes E increased, he at last hid himselfe in a solitary wildernesse, vnder pretext of hunting; where afflicting himselfe incessantly, at last he fell into a most grieuous sickenesse. This disease of his was an inflammation or paine in the necke: he seemed also in some sort to raue and waxe mad; neither could any remedies relieue him of his agonie; but when as the sickenesse seemed rather to increase, all men at last grew almost desperate of his recouery. For which cause his Physician, partly in respect of the contumacie of his disease, partly, because in so great a danger there was not any free election of dyet, they gaue him leaue to taste whatsoeuer best pleased his appetite, committing the vncertaine euent of his health to the hands of fortune.

Herods miserable estate, and moane after the death of his wife.

A plague inuadeth Ierusalem.

Herod falleth grieuously sicke.

Whilest thus he soiourned in Samaria, which now is called Sebaste, *Alexandra* inhabiting at that time in Ierusalem, hauing notice of this his estate, sought to reduce all the strong for- F tresses that were within the Citie, vnder her subiection: the one of which abutted vpon the Temple; the other was situate within the Citie: for they that are Lords of these, keepe all the rest of the nation vnder their awe; because that without these, neither the vsuall and daily sacrifices may be performed, neither may the Iewes liue without such sacrifices and oblations, who had rather lose their liues then contemne their religion. Shee therefore laboured those that had the gouernment thereof, to surrender them vp to her and *Herods* children begotten of her daughter *Mariamme*, for feare lest he being dead, they should be seized by others: and if it should fortune him to recouer his health, in the meane while they might be kept and held by no man more

Alexandra in Herods absence, seeketh to get the possession of the Castles.

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Herods councellors certifie him of Alexandras intent.

Alexandra put to death.

Costabarus, whom Herod had matched with his sister Salome, vsurped in Idumæa.

securely, then such as were his domesticall friends. This suite and sollicitation of hers was but coldly conceited of: and the Captains who at other times shewed themselues alwaies faithfull, at that time were the rather farre more constant in their duty, both for that they hated *Alexandra*, as also for that they thought it a great offence to despaire of the health of their Prince. For these were the Kings old friends, and one of them was *Herods* owne nephew, whose name was *Achiabus*. For which cause they sent present messengers vnto him, to certifie him of *Alexandras* intent: who hauing heard these newes, presently commanded her to be slaine: and at length ouercommiug his sicknes, he grew so badly affected both in body and mind, that he waxed hatefull vnto all men; so that all those who offended him for how little cause soeuer, were readily sought for to be punished. In this his intēperance he imbrued his hands in the blood of diuers of his inward friends, as *Costabarus*, *Lysimachus*, *Antipater* surnamed *Gadias*, and *Dositheus*, for this occasion that ensueth. *Costabarus* was an Idumæan, and one of the greatest account amongst his countrymen, who was descended from the Priests of *Cozas*, whom the Idumæans esteeme for a god. Now after that *Hircanus* had drawne the policy of the Idumæans to the reformed customes of the Iewes, *Herod* was made King of the Iewes, and appointed *Costabarus* to be Gouernour in Idumæa and Gaza, giuing him *Salome* his sister to wife, after he had put *Ioseph* to death, to whom she had bin married beforetime, as we haue heretofore declared. *Costabarus* seeing himself in this estate beyond his expectation, grew more elate and proud then his good fortune required, and in a little time forgot himselfe so far, that he thought himselfe dishonoured, if he should performe that which *Herod* commanded him, and scorned that the Idumæans should be vnder the Iewes subiection, notwithstanding they had receiued their maner of gouernment from them. He therfore sent messengers vnto *Cleopatra*, giuing her to vnderstand, that Idumæa had alwaies beene vnder her ancestors subiection; and for that cause she ought vpon iust cause to demand and beg that country at *Antonius* hands, and that in respect of himselfe he was ready to become her seruant. All which he practised, not to gratifie *Cleopatra* in any sort whatsoeuer, but to the intent, that if *Herods* fortunes should be any waies weakned, he might more easily by this meanes both inlarge and obtaine the kingdome of Idumæa. And with these fooliſh hopes was he transported, in regard of his birth and riches, which he had heaped together by such dishoneſt meanes as he continually practised, as he that intended no small matters. But notwithstanding *Cleopatras* often and earnest petition to obtaine this soueraignty; yet could she not obtaine it at *Antonius* hands. When *Herod* had notice of these couert and cunning practices, he was ready to kill *Costabarus*. But vpon the earnest supplications of his sister and her mother, he dismissed and pardoned him; yet held him alwaies in suspicion, by reason of this his practice. Not long after it happned, that *Salome* fell at debate with *Costabarus*, for which cause shee sent a libell of diuorce to her husband, notwithstanding it were against the lawes and ordinary customes of the Iewes. For according to our ordinances, it is onely lawfull for the husband to do the same; and as touching the wife, notwithstanding she were separated, yet it is not lawfull for her to marry againe, except her husband first giue her licence. But *Salome* without respect of the lawes of the country, grounding her selfe too much vpon her owne authoritie, forsooke her husband, saying, that she separated her self from her husband, by reason of the great friendship which she bare vnto her brother, for that she had receiued some notice that *Costabarus* practised some innouation with *Antipater*, *Lysimachus* and *Dositheus*. And this accusation of hers confirmed she by *Babas* children, whom he had already kept with him in all securitie for the space of twelue yeeres. All which was true, and at that time beyond all mens expectation wonderfully troubled *Herod*, as soone as he heard it. For as touching *Babas* sonnes, he had heretofore resolued to cut them off, for that they had been alwaies badly affected towards him and all his enterprizes; but all that time he had let them passe, because by continuance they were growne out of his remembrance. Now the cause of this enmitie and hatred which he bare towards them, was gathered from this ground: At such time as *Antigonus* enioyed the soueraignty, and *Herod* besieged the citie of Ierusalem with an armie: now those incommodities and necessities that ordinarily happen vnto those that are besieged, were the cause that diuers acknowledged *Herod*, and fixed their hopes vpon him. But *Babas* sons being in authoritie, and besides that, attended by a great number of men, perseuered in their faithfull obseruation of *Antigonus*, and blamed *Herod* continually, encouraging the inhabitants to continue the kingdome in those to whom it appertained by descent: and they themselues followed that course, which in their opinion was most profitable for the Common-weale. But after that the citie was surprized by *Herod*, and he grew master of the estate, *Costabarus*, who was appointed to keepe the citie gates, and to lie in wait that none of those who were accused to haue

Costabarus preserued by his wiues intercession.

Costabarus, Lysimachus, Antipater and Dositheus accused before Herod.

Babas sonnes preserued by Costabarus.

forsaken

A forſaken the Kings ſide, ſhould eſcape, knowing that the ſonnes of *Babas* were greatly eſteemed and honoured among the people, and foreſeeing that their ſafety might be no ſmall furtherance to himſelfe, if at any time there might befortune any alteration; hee diſcharged, and hid them within his owne poſſeſſions: and notwithſtanding that at that time he had proteſted to *Herod* by an oath, that he knew not what was become of them; yet though ſuſpected of periury, he concealed them. And afterwards when the king had by proclamation promiſed a reward to him that ſhould diſcouer them, & ſought for them by all meanes, neither then alſo would he confeſſe the fact. For being affraid leſt he ſhould be puniſhed for his firſt deniall, he continued through concealement, being not onely now driuen thereunto by friendſhip, but alſo by neceſſitie.

The yeeres of the world, 3936. before Chriſts Natiuity, 28.

B Now when the King had notice hereof by his ſiſters report, hee ſent certaine meſſengers to the place where they were hidden, and ſlew them, and all thoſe that were partakers of the ſame crime: ſo that no one of *Hircanus* kinred was now left aliue; but all of them being ſlaine, who excelled in nobility and dignitie, hee did what himſelfe liſted without any contradiction or controulement: for which cauſe he by little & little forſooke the ceremonies and ordinances of his countrey, and corrupted the decrees and inſtitutions of their anceſtors, which he ought to haue kept inuiolable, by his new and ſtrange inuentions. In whoſe time there was a very great change and alteration of the ancient and good manner of liuing; for all fell from bad to worſe: and the politike order, whereby the people ought to be gouerned and kept within compaſſe of their duty, went to decay. For firſt of all, he ordained certaine wreſtlings from fiue yeeres to fiue yeeres, C in honour of *Cæſar*; and builded a Theater for that purpoſe within Ieruſalem. He erected alſo a moſt huge Amphitheater within the Plaine, which were two piles worthy the regard & beholding, by reaſon of the ſumptuouſnes therof; but wholly eſtranged from the faſhions of the Iewes. For neither the vſe, nor the preſentation of theſe ſpectacles, hath euer been practiſed or taught by our anceſtors: yet was it his pleaſure to ennoble this aſſembly, to the end it might be continued from fiue to fiue yeeres, and this proclaimed he publikely in the countries round about him, and to this ſpectacle aſſembled he all the Nations. The wraſtlers alſo, and all that which concerned their exerciſe, were ſought out from all corners of the world, vnder the hope to obtaine the propoſed palme and victorie; and all the moſt excellent in thoſe exerciſes that were to bee found, were inuited to that aſſembly. For he propoſed moſt huge rewards, not onely to thoſe that exD erciſed wraſtling, but alſo vnto thoſe who are called Muſicians, & to all ſorts of plaiers on inſtruments, labouring to his vtmoſt power, that all the moſt famous in thoſe profeſſions ſhould bee aſſiſtant in thoſe paſtimes. Hee appointed alſo a reward of great value for ſuch as ranne vpon chariots of three, foure or of one horſe; and all that which was both ſumptuous and magnificent to behold, for euery one was moſt carefully prouided, in that he ſtroue to haue the honour of a moſt magnificent preparation for his games. The Theater was hung all about with *Cæſars* titles, and the trophees of thoſe nations, which were ouercome by him, altogether ſet out and ſhining with gold and ſiluer. As for the inſtruments thereof, there wanted neither furniture, coſtly veſtments, or precious ſtones. Thither alſo were drawne certaine ſauage beaſts, as Lyons and other wilde beaſts, which were worthy to bee placed in this famous ſhew, being admirable E both for their force and rareneſſe of nature, who fought the one with the other, and againſt ſuch men likewiſe who were condemned to die: whereby the ſtrangers conceiued, together with the admiration of his expence, an vncomparable and vnaccuſtomed pleaſure. But his countrymen interpreted this thing for a manifeſt corruption of thoſe diſciplines and manners which beforetime they had entertained, and honoured amongſt them. For it was an act moſt manifeſtly impious, to hazzard men againſt wilde beaſts, to delight the eyes of other men: It was alſo a matter as impious, to change and prophane the ordinances of the country, for forraine exerciſes: But the moſt hated of all theſe, were the Trophees: for in that they were certaine Images attired in armour, the vſe and veneration whereof were forbidden by our lawes, this diſpleaſed and grieued them more then any thing whatſoeuer: neither was *Herod* ignorant of thoſe troubles, which they F procured. But hee thought it to bee a matter of danger to attempt the ſame for the preſent by force; and for that cauſe he familiarly debated the ſame with ſome few of them, and diſcourſed vnto them his occaſions, to the end to ridde them of their ſuperſtition, although herein he profited nothing. For all of them with one conſent, cried out againſt the indignitie which they ſaw him commit: telling him, that although all other things were to bee tolerated; yet the Trophees, which were images of men, were vnſupportable, becauſe they were vnuſuall in their countrey. *Herod* perceiuing that they were diſcontented, and that they would not eaſily bee wrought vpon, except they had ſome contentment, hee called the moſt worthieſt men amongſt

Babas ſonnes and others are accuſed before Herod and ſlaine. Hedio & Ruffinus, cha. 10.

Herod introduceth diuers forraine cuſtomes.

The yeere of the world, 3939. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 5.

The theater, & the wraſtling places.

Herod obtained no ſmall honour by theſe expences.

The Iewes ſuppoſe that the Trophees couered with armes were Images.

The yeere of the world, 3939. before Christs Natiuitie, 25.

them, and led them into the Theater, demanding of them what they thought these Trophees G were: & when they cried out that they were images of men: he incontinently caused all the ornaments to bee taken off from them, letting them see that they were nought els but naked stocks of wood; so that sodainly their displeasure was turned into a laughter, and their doubts were pleasantly discussed. Thus appeased he the people, and moderated the fury of their mislikes: so that diuers of them changed their opinions, & were no more displeased. Notwithstanding, there were some of these that persisted in the indignity they conceiued in those vnaccustomed exercises, supposing that the corruption of their ancient discipline was an inducemẽt to their grieuous calamities; & they imagined that it rather concerned them to vndertake all dangers, then to endure any alteration in their policy, by permitting that *Herod* should introduce new and extraordinary fashions, who onely in word was their King, but in effect an enemy of their whole na- H tion. For this cause there were ten men amongst them, who bound themselues by oath to hazard all extremities, and to this intent they hid certaine short swords vnder their garments: amongst these there was one that was blind, who vrged and egged on by the strangenesse of those things which he had heard, not for that he was of ability to execute any thing with his hand, but to testifie that he was ready to suffer with the rest, if any misfortune should befall them, by his example the rest of them were not a little confirmed. These hauing mutually vndertaken this their resolution, repaired to the Theater vnder hope that *Herod* should not escape them, for that they intended to assaile him vnawares: at leastwise if they failed of him, their hope was to fall foule on some of his fauourites and followers, accounting this to be some solace in their expected death, I if in regard of their violated religion, they might bring the King in hatred with the common people. And these intending to offer themselues as chiefetaines and leaders vnto the rest, resolued to execute these things. But one of those intelligencers that *Herod* had sent abroad to pry and search into such like actions, hauing discouered all this their conspiracy, signified the same vnto the King, at such time as he was ready to enter into the Theater. Hee knowing full well what hatred was continually hatched against him, betooke himselfe to his palace, and sent for the conspirators by their names: who being apprehended in the fact, and knowing that there was no way for them to escape, resolued to endure their present misfortunes with a valiant courage: for being no waies dismaide, with a constant countenance they drew out their weapons, protesting that their conspiracy was honest and holy, not attempted by them for priuate affection, or their owne profit sake, but in the behalfe of their publike discipline, which no good man would either see or K suffer to be violated, no though it cost him his life.

Ten men conspire against Herod.

Herod hath intelligence of the conspiracie.

Now when with great confidence they had alleadged these things for their iustification, they were led away by the Kings ministers to be slaughtered by diuers sorts of torments. Not long after this, that intelligencer who had betraied them, growing hatefull in all mens eies, was slaine by certaine men, and chopt in pieces with their swords, & afterwards cast vnto the dogs in sight and presence of many men. Yet did no man discouer this act, vntill after long and wearisome inquisitions made by *Herod*, it was wrought out of certaine poore women (who were priuy to the fact) with diuers torments. Then were all the actors of that murther punished, with their whole families: and notwithstanding all this, the common people was in no sort dismaid, but L were ready to defend their lawes, except they were restrained by some greater power. Which when the King perceiued, he resisted their indeuors with all diligence, lest happely through these alterations in affaires, the people should be drawne to an open rebellion. Whereas therefore he had two strong castles within the City, one wherein his palace was, another called Antonia, that adioyned neere vnto the temple, fortified by him; he thought good to strengthen a third called Samaria, the name whereof he changed, and called it Sebaste (which was distant from Ierusalem some daies iourney) to containe those of the common sort that were abroad, vnder his obedience, and very fit to bridle any vproares that might be raised in the City and fields. And for the whole nation he builded a fort, which in times past was called Straton, and afterwards he named it Cæsarea. He builded also a fort in Galilee, which was called Gabala, in a large Plaine, M where by course he kept his horsemen. Besides these, he builded the fort of Esthmonites in the countrey of Peræa on the other side Iordan.

The ten men are executed, and the intelligencer is cut in pieces.

Herod fortifieth two castles within Ierusalem. Antonia, Samaria or Sebaste.

Stratons tower or Cæsarea.

Gabala.

Herod planteth garrisons in the fortresses to withstãd conspiracies.

Now when he had fitly disposed all these Castles through his whole countrey, for the security and safety of his kingdome, the matter of rebellion was taken from the common people, who vpon euery light cause are subiect to commotions, in that hee had prepared a remedy against all priuy conspiracies, by planting such forces alwaies neere at hand, who might preuent and pacifie all alterations vpon their originall. After this, betaking himselfe to encompasse Samaria with a wall,

A wall, he brought to paſſe that diuers of thoſe, who had born armes with him againſt his enemies, and diuers of the people likewiſe that dwelt round about, came to inhabite it, both in regard of the Temple, which he intended to build in that place, as alſo for that he fortified the ſame for his owne ſecurity (although that beforetime it was not in the number of famous Cities.) He therefore changed the name thereof, and called it Sebaſte, and diſtributed the lands that confined the Citie among the inhabitants of the ſame (which was by nature a fruitfull and goodly countrey) to the intent that within a little ſpace they might inrich themſelues. He inuironed the Citie alſo with a ſtrong wall; being aſſiſted by the naturall ſtrength and ſteepineſſe of the place: & beſides the whole circuit, hee included ſo much ground, that it was no waies inferiour to any of the fa-
B mous Cities; for it contained the circuit of twenty furlongs or ſtadia. And in the midſt thereof there was a ſacred place, containing a furlong and a halfe, wonderfully adorned; in which there was a Temple builded, famous both for beauty and bigneſſe. And as for the other parts of the Citie, he decked them with all ſorts of ornaments. And ſeeing how neerely it concerned him to prouide for the ſecurity of his perſon in this walled Citie, hee erected a fortreſſe for himſelfe. And as touching the beauty thereof, his intent was that it ſhould remaine for a monument to poſterity, of his magnificence and liberalitie.

The yeere of the world, 3942. before Chriſts Natiuity, 22.

CHAP. XII.

A famine inuaded the land of Iudæa.

C THAT very yeere, which was the thirteenth yeere of *Herods* raigne, very great calamities hapned in that countrey (either through Gods diſpleaſure, or for that the reuolution of time would haue it ſo.) For firſt of all, there were ſuch continuall droughts, that by reaſon thereof the earth grew barren, & produced not thoſe fruits, which of it ſelfe it was accuſtomed to beare. And after this, the ordinarie courſe of mens diets beeing altered by reaſon of the want of corne, the want of ſuſtenance was accompanied with a bodily ſickneſſe (for that by cuſtome theſe two plagues doe ordinarily entertaine one another:) For this made the plague and ſickneſſe more vehement, for that the ſicke in this great penury, could neither haue care of themſelues as was expedient, nor get conuenient nouriſhment for preſeruation of life: And many died daily; and thoſe alſo that remained aliue were in deſpaire, becauſe they could not relieue their
D want and neceſſities, what diligence ſoeuer they vſed. For which cauſe, after the old fruits of that yeere were wholly conſumed, and all the reſt of their ſtore was vtterly ſpent, there appeared not any meanes whereupon they might hope, namely, for that the miſery increaſed more then was expected; yea and extended it ſelfe beyond that yeere: ſo that they had nothing remaining by them, & the ſeeds they ſowed at that time mouldred away, and the earth for all their labours afforded them no intereſt. The neceſſitie therefore being thus great, conſtrained men to ſearch out many new inuentions to maintaine their life: and the King likewiſe was in no leſſe perplexitie, in that he was depriued of thoſe ordinarie reuenues which he receiued by the fruits of the earth; & the rather, for that he had ſpent his mony in repairing his cities, according as before this we haue declared: & in ſuch ſort were all things waſted by diuers calamities, that a man could conceiue
E no hope of remedy. Beſides this, the people grew in hatred of their king, for that it is their cuſtom ordinarily to accuſe their gouernors, as if they were the authors of al their euils. Yet did the king bethink himſelfe how he might remedy theſe incõueniences, but hardly could he find the means, for that their neighbours had no meanes to ſel them victuals, becauſe they were no leſſe afflicted then themſelues: & although he might haue recouered ſome little meanes for a great ſumme of money, yet wanted he it alſo to defray the charges: notwithſtanding in that he knew, that it behooued him to imploy his vttermoſt indeauours in yeelding a generall remedy to ſuch and ſo violent an oppreſſion, he melted downe all thoſe moueables he had either of gold or ſiluer within his palace, and ſpared nothing either for the matter, the excellencie, or the faſhion; no not ſo much as the veſſels wherein hee was ordinarily ſerued. This money ſent he into Ægypt, where
F at that time vnder *Cæſar*, *Petronius* held the gouernment. This man being *Herods* friend, in that he deſired the ſafetie of his ſubiects, at ſuch time as diuers of them retired themſelues vnto him, by reaſon of that their neceſſitie, he permitted them to buy vp corne; and aſſiſted them in all things, both in their bargaines, & in their carriages; ſo that the greater or the whole ſumme of their ſuccours was attributed to him. But after their returne, *Herod* wrought ſo much, that the care that was taken by him, did not onely change the affections of thoſe, which beforetime were his enemies, but beſide all this, hee purchaſed great praiſe and commendation for his liberalitie and ſingular prouidence. For firſt of all hee diſtributed a certaine quantitie of corne to all thoſe, who were

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 11. al. 10.

A daily drought and ſterilitie in Iudæa.

The want of victuals breedeth the plague.

Herod maketh money of all his rich ornaments & houſhold ſtuffe of gold and ſiluer, and buieth corne.

Herod diſtributeth the corne he had bought among the people.

The yeere of the world, 3942. before Christs Natiuitie, 22.

were not able of themselues to supply their owne wants, vsing herein both great care and diligence. After this, for that there were a great number of such, who in regard of their age, or some other infirmitie, were vnable to prepare their victuals, he tooke order for their relieſe, & appointed them certaine bakers, who should furnish them with bread, both sufficient and meet for their sustenance. Hee gaue order also, that they should not passe the winter disfurnished of cloathing, but prouided for such as were naked sufficient raiment, considering that the sheepe were partly dead, and partly deuoured, & that there was no wooll to set them awork, or other stuffe to make garments of. Now after he had furnished his subiects with these things, he thought good also to shew kindnesse to the neighbouring cities, and stored the Syrians with seede-corne to sowe their lands; which yeelded him no little profit: for the earth incontinently gaue him a large & plenti- H full tribute for that she had receiued; so that all of them had aboundance of victuals: and as soone as the harueſt was ready, he sent fiftie thousand men into that countrey which hee had relieued: and by this meanes hee with all diligence restored his afflicted Kingdome, and comforted his neighbours, who were oppressed with the like calamity. For there was not any man in necessity, that according to his qualitie was not assisted and succoured.

The villages likewise and the cities, & those of the common sort who entertained great households, and were in want, hauing their recourse vnto him, receiued that which they had neede of; so that to reckon vp all the corne which he gaue vnto those, who were not his subiects, it appeareth that hee imployed ten thousand Cores of wheate: now the Core containeth ten Athenian bushels: and within the compasse of his Realme he imploied eighty thousand: which care of his, I and discreetly imployed fauour, wrought so much in the hearts of the Iewes, and was so highly renowned amongst other nations, that the ancient hatred which they had conceiued against him, for that he had altered certaine customes of their Kingdome, was wholly forgotten, and hee was supposed by them to haue made a sufficient recompence, by the diligence hee had shewed in assisting them in their necessities; and no lesse either grace or glory obtained he among strangers: so that by these miseries the Kings honour was not a little magnified, and whatsoeuer damage hee receiued at home, so much honour and reputation atchieued he abroad. For whereas in strangers necessities he had shewed himselfe so full of magnanimitie, each man did not respect what hee had beene before, but such as they lately found him to be.

The Iewes fauour Herod for his bounty

About the same time also he sent *Cæsar* certaine supplies, namely, fiue hundreth chosen men of K his guard, whom *Elius Gallus* led into the wars in Arabia, and had often vse of them in his most dangerous attempts. When as therefore his Kingdome was restored to his former felicitie, hee builded a roial palace in the higher part of the citie, furnished with many large buildings, & decked with gold and marble seates; so as they might receiue a great number of men: hee named also each room of the house according to their seuerall names, & called one the lodging of *Cæsar*, and another of *Agrippa*. After this, being intangled with loue, he married a wife, lest he should be distracted by vaine desires; and the cause of this his new mariage was this: There was amongst those that dwelt in Ierusalem, a certaine citizen called *Simon*, the son of *Bœthas* the Alexandrine, who was a Priest, and one of the chiefest in nobility amongst them: this man had a daughter, the faireſt and comliest creature of that age, whose beauty renowned by the common voice, it came L to passe, that with her fame *Herod* at one time entertained a good affection towards her, and afterwards obtaining the sight of her, he grew in loue with her; yet would not vse his authoritie, lest hee should seeme to behaue himselfe tyrannically, but chose rather to accept her for his betrothed wife. Whereas therefore *Simon* seemed vnworthy his affinitie, and yet too worthy to bee blasted by contempt, he made election of a conuenient meanes to obtaine the fulnesse of his desire, which was, to raise both *Simon* and his to higher dignities. For which cause he presently deposed the high Priest *Iesus* the sonne of *Phabetes*, and established *Simon* in his place; and that done, he contracted affinitie with him. After the marriage was consummate, he builded a new castle in that place wherein he had ouercome the Iewes, vpon the time and incontinently after the ouerthrow of *Antigonus*, and when he had taken vpon him the gouernment. M

Herod sendeth Cæsar fiue hundreth of his guard.

The Palace built in Ierusalem.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 12

Herod remoueth Iesus from his priesthood, & placeth Simon in his roome, and marrieth his daughter.

This place is distant from Ierusalem some sixtie furlongs or stades, strong by nature, and fit for defence and good fortification. For neere vnto the same there is a certen steepy hill made by art, after the manner of a round dugge, enuironed with round towers, with a steepy ascent of two hundreth steppes cut out of hewed stone. Within the same there are diuers places, builded with great & sumptuous workmanship, made both for defence & delight. At the foot of this hil there are two houses worthy the sight, for diuers their singularities, & namely, by reason of those conduits of water, which although they spring not in that place, yet notwithstāding are they brought from

A from farre with great coſt and expence. The Plaine that adioyneth vpon it, is all full of buildings after the manner of a city, and the top of the caſtle commandeth all the Plaine. As ſoone as therefore he had diſpoſed all his affaires, according to his hearts deſire, he poſſeſſed the kingdome in great quietnes, for that he made his ſubiects obedient vnto him, both by feare, in ſhewing himſelfe inexorable when it concerned him to puniſh; and by liberality, whereby he prouided for their publike neceſſities: he therefore tooke an eſpeciall care of himſelfe, as if the life and ſafetie of his perſon had beene the ſecuritie of his people. He behaued himſelfe officiouſly and fauourably towards all forraine cities: he entertained the Princes by preſents, which according to his occaſions he ſent vnto them, to inſinuate himſelfe into their fauours, being in his owne nature B magnificent and fit to gouerne: ſo that all his fortunes increaſed, and all things fell out happily according to his hearts deſire. True it is, that the care which he imployed in honouring *Cæſar*, and other mighty Magiſtrates of Rome, cauſed him to outſtrip his cuſtomes, and to falſifie diuers ordinances of his countrey, in building Cities, and erecting Temples in honour of them, although he builded them not in the land of Iury: for the Iewes would not haue endured it, becauſe we are forbidden to honour images and figures, formed according to the likeneſſe of a man, as the Greekes are accuſtomed to doe, but hee did this in the countrey and forraine cities, and excuſed himſelfe to the Iewes, ſaying, that hee did it not of his owne head, but performed that according to the charge and commandement which he had from others, who were greater then himſelfe: and in the meane-while gratified *Cæſar* and the Romanes, in that hee reſpected C their honour more then he did the ordinances of his countrey; although in all things he had reſpect to his particular aduantage, and determined with himſelfe to leaue behind him after his death, large and ample teſtimonies of his power and greatneſſe: which was the cauſe that hee builded cities with great charge and expence.

The yeere of the world, 3942. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 22.

Herod beſtowed great diligence and no leſſe coſts in his buildings.

CHAP. XIII.

The building of the Citie by CÆSAREA.

WHEN as therefore he had found out a fit and conuenient place vpon the Sea coaſt, to build a city on, which of long time had bin called the tower of Straton, he both magD nificently deſigned and ſet downe the module and forme thereof, and made many ſumptuons buildings, both of royall places, and of other priuate lodgings, not builded after a ſlight manner, or of weake and fading matter, but of marble ſtone. But the greateſt and buſieſt worke of all, was the hauen which he made exempt and free from ſtormes and tempeſts, that in greatneſſe reſembled that of *Piræus*, and was ſo ſpacious, that it was able to receiue many great ſhips into the road, and had diuers roomes & warehouſes to lay vp the merchandize therein. And the more admirable was this pile, becauſe the ſtuffe that was fit to finiſh this ſo great worke, was not gathered or gotten in that place, but muſt needly be brought from another place, vpon great charge & expence. This city is ſeated in Phœnicia vpon the coaſt, in the way to Egypt, betweene Ioppa and Dora, certaine villages ſituate vpon the ſea coaſts, vnfit either for landing or harbour, E by reaſon of the Affricke wind, that driuing the ſand of the Sea vpon the ſhore, giueth not any quiet road vnto the ſhips, but that the Merchants are enforced for a long time to ride at anchor. To correct this incommodity of the place, he made the circuit round about the port ſo ſpacious, that it was able to receiue a great Fleet: and he caſt downe to the bottome thereof, which was about ſome twenty fathoms deepe, certaine huge ſtones, that for the moſt part were fiftie foot long, eight foot broad, and nine foot high, ſome more and ſome leſſe. The pile that was erected vpon this to affront the Sea, was a pane of two hundreth foot, the halfe whereof was oppoſed againſt the waues to break the fury of the ſtreame, & for this cauſe was called in the Greek tongue *Procymation*, that is to ſay, Before floud: The other halfe ſerued as a foundation to beare vp a wall of ſtone fortified with diuers towers, the chiefeſt whereof was a faire pile or building, F which was called Druſus, in memory of *Druſus*, *Cæſars* ſonne in law, who died very yong: it had alſo diuers retreats or hoſtries in the ſame, into which the Mariners were receiued and lodged.

The tower of Straton otherwiſe called Cæſarea, builded by Herod. Piræus the port of Athens.

Dora and Ioppa ill harbors.

The port of Cæſarea.

The deſcent being hard by, incompaſſed all the port like a round platforme, that ſerued for a pleaſant walking place for whomſoeuer liſted. The entrance and mouth of the hauen was toward the north, which is a wind that of all other moſt purifieth & cleanſeth. The ſupporter & ſtrength of all the circuit on the left hand vpon the entrance to the port, was an ample and huge tower to faſten it the more ſtrongly; and on the right hand, were two huge pillars of ſtone, more higher then the Tower that ſtood oppoſite againſt them, erected and faſtned together. All round about the

The yeere of the world, 3942. before Christs Nativity, 22.

the hauen there were certaine buildings, abutting one vpon another of poliſhed marble, and in the midſt there was a little hillocke, on which there was a certaine monument placed in honour of *Cæſar*, which preſented it ſelfe to their ſight who ſailed to the port, in which there were the figures of the City of Rome and of *Cæſar*. This City alſo was called Cæſarea, as much to be wondred at for the matter whereof it was built, as for the art whereby it was erected: and no leſſe cunning was there ſhewed in the vaults and conduits vnder ground, then in thoſe buildings that were about them; ſome of them were conuaied toward the port, and diſcharged themſelues into the Sea by certaine compaſſed ſpaces: but there was one that went athwarts, that comprehended all the reſt, to the end that thereby the raine-water, and the cleanſings of the Citie might be conuayed into the Sea, and that when the Sea ſhould flow, it might waſh and cleanſe all the Citie.

The Theater and Amphitheater.

He erected alſo a Theater of ſtone, and behind the ſame to the Southward, an Amphitheater, that was able to receiue a great number of men; and ſo pleaſantly and fitly ſituated, that from the ſame a man might diſcouer the ſea. This City was finiſhed at the end of 12. yeeres, during which time, the King was neither wearied by intending the worke, nor negligent in furniſhing the neceſſary charges. After this, perceiuing that the Citie of Sebaſta was already inhabited alſo, he reſolued to ſend his two ſonnes *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* to Rome, to preſent them vnto the Emperour *Cæſar*; who no ſooner reſorted thither, but they were lodged in *Pollios* houſe, who amongſt all the reſt was an intire friend of *Herods*. They might haue lien alſo at *Cæſars* houſe, who entertained them with as great familiaritie and kindneſſe, as might be poſſible: and gaue *Herod* licence in like manner to confirme the kingdome in one of his children, which ſo euer beſt liked him, annexing to his gouernment, the countries of Trachona, Baranea, and Auranita for the occaſion which enſueth. A certaine man called *Zenodorus*, had hired *Lyſanias* demaines or Lordſhip: and not contenting himſelfe with thoſe reuenewes which he gathered, but deſirous to gather more, he liued vpon ſpoiles and robberies in Trachona, which is a countrey, the inhabitants whereof commonly liue by pillage and ſpoile, which they purchaſe from the Citizens and Merchants of Damaſco. And ſo farre was *Zenodorus* from prohibiting theſe robberies, that he himſelfe alſo was partaker of the booty; ſo that the nations neighbouring round about, ſeeing themſelues thus abuſed, ſought for remedy at *Varus* hands, who was their Gouernour, requiring him to certifie *Cæſar*, of *Zenodorus* wrongs and outrages. Which when he vnderſtood, he commanded that ſuch lawleſſe ryoters ſhould be puniſhed, and that the countrey ſhould be added vnto the iuriſdiction of *Herod*, to the intent, that by his vigilancy the inhabitants of Trachona ſhould no more moleſt their neighbours. For it was hard to reſtraine them, conſidering that they were accuſtomed and traded in ſuch theft, and could not liue otherwaies. For they neither had townes nor lands, neither heritages nor any poſſeſſions, but onely certaine retraits and caues vnder ground, and liued pell mell like beaſts: and hauing made abundant prouiſion of water and victuals, they might eaſily endure warre a long time, and maintaine themſelues in their caues, when their enemies aſſailed them without.

Cæſar giueth Herod the dominions of the Trachonites of Baranea and Auranita.

Zenodorus liueth by ſpoile.

The doores of theſe dennes were ſo narrow, that they could be entred but by one at once; but within it was incredible ſpacious and large: the vpper part thereof was not ſteepie, but plaine, and in forme of a ſmooth earth: for the whole place naturally conſiſteth of a ſharpe and ragged rock, with a hard and difficult paſſage thereon, vnleſſe a man be guided thorow the paths. For the way was not direct and ſtraight, but full of windles and many turnings. At ſuch time as they wanted opportunitie to ſpoile their neighbors, they robbed one another; and omitted no kind of wickedneſſe. *Herod* hauing receiued the gift of this countrey at *Cæſars* hands, reſorted thither vnder the conduct of certaine guides that knew the waies, and hauing brought their power and prolling to an end, he left the neighbour nations in aſſured peace. But *Zenodorus* being partly whetted on with enuy, partly incited by the griefe which he conceiued through the loſſe of his poſſeſſions, reſorted to Rome to accuſe *Herod*; yet could effect nothing of that which he intended.

Herod puniſheth the robbers. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 13.

Agrippa is ſent into Aſia.

When *Agrippa* was ſent into Aſia by *Cæſar* to gouerne the prouinces beyond the Seas, *Herod*, becauſe hee was his very friend and familiar, went to ſalute him at Mitylene where hee wintered, for that he was one of his inward friends, and afterwards returned into Iewry. But certaine Gadareans came vnto *Agrippa* with an intent to accuſe *Herod*: but he ſent them bound vnto the King, and vouchſafed them no audience. On the other ſide, the Auranites, who of long time hated *Herods* gouernment, ſtirred vp commotions, and laboured to draw the countrey into rebellion, and that vpon a iuſt ground, as it ſeemed, at that time: for *Zenodorus* deſpairing of his affaires, went and ſold them a certaine part of the Lordſhip in Auranita (which was comprehended within *Cæſars* donation to *Herod*) for the ſumme of fifty talents of yeerly reuenue, wherewith

Agrippa ſendeth the Gadareans bound vnto Herod, who came to accuſe him.

Zenodorus ſignory ſold to the Auranites, and beſtowed on Herod by Cæſar, is the cauſe of the warres.

A with they grew diſcontented, for that they were vniuſtly depriued of their eſtates: and hereupon they made often incurſions, indeuouring themſelues ſometimes to recouer the ſame by force; and otherwhile contending for the right of their poſſeſſion by courſe of iuſtice. They drew alſo vnto them certaine needy ſouldiers; who according to the cuſtome of wretched men, expected their better fortunes by change and innouation: which though *Herod* knew, and could haue prouidently preuented them, yet exhorted hee them to maintaine their titles rather by good meanes then open violence, being loth to giue any occaſion of new trouble or diſquiet. At length in the ſeuenteenth yeere of his raigne, *Cæſar* came into Syria: vpon whoſe arriuall diuers of the Gadareans began to exclaime againſt *Herod*, accuſing him of his ſeuerity and tyranny: which accu-

B ſation they the rather attempted, becauſe they were chiefely incited thereunto by the inſtigations and falſe ſuggeſtions of *Zenodorus*, who bound himſelfe by an oath, that he would neuer giue ouer, vntill that deliuering them from *Herods* tyranny, they were reduced vnder *Cæſars* protection. The Gadareans, perſwaded by theſe his proteſtations, began to continue their exclamations, and that ſomewhat the more audaciouſly, for that they perceiued that they liued as yet vnpuniſhed whom *Agrippa* had deliuered into *Herods* hands: for *Herod* had ſet them at liberty without any puniſhment, notwithſtanding that in regard of his owne ſubiects he was inexorable, as euer man was; and moſt patient in induring thoſe iniuries that were offered him by ſtrangers, whom he alwaies diſmiſſed without reuenge. When as therefore they accuſed him of violence and rapine, and for violating and razing downe their Temples, *Herod* being nothing diſmaid

C thereat, preſented himſelfe before the Emperour to iuſtifie his actions. But *Cæſar* entertained him very kindly, and diminiſhed nothing of the good affection which hee bare vnto him, notwithſtanding all the vprores and inſolent tumults of the people. Thus was the firſt day ſpent in audience of their complaints, and in thoſe daies that followed there were no further obiections to be heard of: for the Gadareans perceiuing both *Cæſars* diſpoſition and the inclination of his councell, and fearing (as it was moſt likely) to be deliuered into *Herods* hands, the next night after ſome of them ſlew themſelues; other ſome for feare of torments brake their owne necks; and ſome of them alſo drowned themſelues in the riuer. And thus whereas they ſeemed to foreiudge themſelues, *Cæſar* preſently abſolued *Herod*.

The yeere of the world, 3942. before Chriſts Natiuity, 22.

Cæſar commeth into Syria: before him the Gadareans accuſe Herod, and afterwards murther themſelues.

The yeere of the world, 3946. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 18.

And this felicitie of his, was ſeconded with another of ſmall conſequence. For *Zenodorus*

D hauing his bowels broken through an extreme fluxe of blood, finiſhed his life at Antioch in Syria. Whereupon *Cæſar* gaue *Herod* his countrey, which was a large and ample ſignory, and was ſituate betweene Trachonita and Galilee, containing Vlatha, Paneas, and the countries thereabouts. Hee made him one of the Gouernours of Syria alſo, commanding them to execute nothing without his aduice. At this time attained he to the height of all worldly felicity: For whereas within the huge and ample Romane Empire, all things were diſpoſed by *Cæſar*, and *Agrippa*, *Cæſar* honoured no man more then *Herod* next to *Agrippa*; and *Agrippa* reſpected him aboue all men next to *Cæſar*. Whereupon he grew to be ſo confident, that he begged a Tetrarchy at *Cæſars* hands, for his brother *Phæroras*: on whom hee beſtowed one hundreth talents of his reuenue out of his owne kingdome, to the intent that if he ſhould happen to die, *Phæroras* eſtate

E might be aſſured and left no waies ſubiect vnto his children.

Vlatha, Paneas, and other regions are giuen to Herod.

Herod highly eſteemed by Cæſar, and Cæſar maketh Phæroras a Tetrarch.

As ſoone as therefore he had conducted *Cæſar* as farre as the ſea, vpon his returne he builded a goodly Temple of white marble in honour of his name, in the country which belonged to *Zenodorus*, neere to a place which is called Panion, which is a goodly caue in the heart of a mountain, and a place of great pleaſure, vnder which there is a wide poole of immeaſurable depth, which is full of ſtanding water, and the vpper part of the mountaine is very high. From vnder this caue ſpring the fountaine heads of the floud Iordan. This place of it ſelfe ſo famous & delightfull, was choſen out by *Herod*, and adorned alſo with a Temple which he built in honour of *Cæſar*. At that time alſo he releaſed the third part of thoſe tributes which his ſubiects paid vnto him, to the end (as he ſaid) that he might relieue his ſubiects after the penury they had endured. But the truth of

F his intention was, that he did it to that end to win their fauours, who were ſiniſterly affected towards him. For they had conceiued an hatred againſt him, becauſe all piety was in a manner aboliſhed, & the ordinances of the country in a ſort diſanulled by the meanes of thoſe temples, which he had built, & each man priuily muttered with bitternes againſt him; ſo that welny they were addreſſed to mutiny. But *Herod* with great diſcretion preuented the ſame, & cut off all occaſions of inſurrection, commanding euery one to intend his labour; forbidding them to make any aſſemblies in the city, or to talk one with another vnder colour of walking abroad for pleaſure or feaſts ſake. Moreouer, hee had ſent out certaine Intelligencers to diſcouer all that which was done, appointing

Herod buildeth a Temple neere vnto Panion.

Herod remitteth the third part of his tribute.

The yeere of the world, 3946. before Christs Natiuitie, 18.

pointing grieuous punishments for those that misliked, or maligned his gouernment. For diuers of them were led vnto the Castle of Hircania, some openly, some priuately; where they were no sooner imprisoned, but they were put to death; and both in the citie and in the countrey; there were certaine men appointed to take note of all such that vsed any assemblies vpon any occasion whatsoeuer. And so inwardly was he tormented with their dislikes, that as it is reported of him, he tooke vpon him the habit of a priuate man, and thrust himselfe in the night time into the company of the people, to vnderstand and gather what they thought of his gouernment; and those whom he found to be vntractable and obstinate, and would not be conformed to his will, he dispatched them by one meanes or other, binding the rest of the people by an oath to serue him faithfully, and constrained them to keepe the oath they had sworne, and to acknowledge his soueraignetie: whereunto diuers through the feare they conceiued, easily condescended. But they who had a more greater courage, and were discontented to see themselues constrained, hee cut them short by all the meanes that he might. He required also an oath of diuers of those sectaries, who followed the Pharisees *Pollio* and *Sameas*: and notwithstanding they denied to take the oath, yet he did not punish them as he did the other for their refusall, in respect and reuerence of *Pollio* their master. From this rigour also were they exempt, who amongst vs are called Esseans, which is a sort of men that liue after that manner that *Pithagoras* did among the Græcians, of whom I haue more expressely discoursed in another place.

Herod bindeth the people by an oath.

Herod excuseth the Pharisees from swearing for Polias and Sameas sakes. The Esseans not much vnlike the Pythagoristes.

At this present I thinke it not a matter to be ouerslipt, neither estranged from the ayme of my history, to report for what cause the King had so religious an opinion of those men. There was a certaine Essean called *Manahem*, who in his sect was accounted an vpright and iust man, and one that had obtained from God the knowledge of things to come. He seeing *Herod* one day at such time as he was very young and went to schoole, saluted him and called him King of the Iewes. *Herod* supposing that *Manahem* knew him not, or that he mocked him, reproued him sharpely for that his speech, saying, that he acknowledged himselfe to be one of the common sort. *Manahem* smiling, hit him gently with his hand vpon the back, and said vnto him, Thou shalt be King, and shalt haue a happy raigne. For such is Gods pleasure; and at that time remember thy selfe of the words that *Manahem* spake vnto thee, which shall serue for a testimony to put thee in minde of thy mutable estate. For it becommeth thee nothing more, then by iustice, pietie, and equity, to winne the hearts of thy subiects: yet know I by reuelation from God, that thou wilt not follow these instructions; for thou shalt forget and neglect both diuine and humane lawes: though in other respects thou shalt be most fortunate and purchase eternall glory. Yet shalt thou not escape Gods hands: for he shall chastise thee in the latter time of thy life, with a grieuous punishment.

Manahem foretelleth Herods gouernment.

At that time *Herod* gaue small regard to those his words, in that he had no hope that any such thing should happen: but not long after, as soone as he had obtained the kingdome to the fulnesse of his felicitie, he in the greatnesse of his power sent for *Manahem*, and asked him how long hee should raigne. But he returned him a doubtfull answer. Which when *Herod* perceiued, hee asked him anew if he should raigne ten yeeres. Whereunto *Manahem* answered, and twentie, and thirtie, without setting him downe any prefixed terme. *Herod* contenting himselfe herewith, embraced *Manahem*, and gaue him licence to depart, and continued his affections towards the Esseans for his sake. I haue thought good to register these things, notwithstanding they may seeme vncredible, to declare that diuers of our nation haue had communication with God by reason of their holinesse.

Herod questioneth with Manahem about the continuance of his kingdome, and loueth the Esseans for his sake.

CHAP. XIIII.

HEROD *buildeth a new Temple in Ierusalem, after hee had pulled downe the old.*

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 14. al. 11.

IN the eighteenth yeere of his raigne, *Herod*, after he had finished these many and admirable actions, conceited in his minde no meane, but a mightie proiect, which was to reedifie Gods Temple of greater bignesse and answerable height, hoping that this worke which was the most admirable of all those he had vndertaken (as indeed it was) in being finished, would eternize his memory. But fearing lest the people, in regard of the greatnesse of the enterprize, would be hardly drawne thereunto, hee determined to sound their intents by his discourse, and for that cause assembling them together, he spake after this manner:

Herod intendeth to reedifie Gods temple.

Herod certifieth the people, that he will reedifie the Temple.

Men and brethren, I hold it to be a matter both vaine & superfluous, to recount vnto you what things I haue performed, during the time of my gouernment. For they haue beene of that nature, that

A that they haue returned me but little honour; and your ſelfe great profit and ſecurity. For you your ſelues know, that in thoſe aduerſities that haue befallen you, I haue bin no waies negligent in that which concerned your profit; and in thoſe buildings I haue erected by Gods aſſiſtance, I haue not ſo much regarded my ſelfe, as that which concerneth you all: and my hope is by the will of God, that I haue brought the eſtate of the Iewes to that degree of felicity, that they neuer had or expected before this time. As for that which I haue particularly exploited in the heart of the country, & in the cities which I haue augmented, as well with ornament & beauty, as with a number of inhabitants; ſince you your ſelues know, I think it a ridiculous matter to reduce them to your memory. But I muſt at this time aſſure you that the deſign which I will pre-
B ſently enterprize, is far more holy & more excellent, then may be performed by vs. For our predeceſſors, after they were returned from the captiuity of Babylon, builded a temple in honour of our great and mighty God, which in height wanted ſixty cubits of that which *Salomon* firſt built: yet ought we not to obiect as a blame, or aſcribe this action to any impiety in our anceſtors. For the temple was not at their diſpoſition, but the meaſure of their building was ſet them down by *Cyrus* and *Darius* the ſonne of *Hyſtaſpes*, to whom & their ſucceſſors they haue firſt of all been ſlaues, as after their time they haue been vnder the ſubiection of the Macedonians: ſo that they had not the meanes & opportunity to raiſe this religious monument, according to his firſt pattern, to that requiſite and conuenient height. But ſince at this preſent by Gods permiſ-
C ſion, I haue obtained the kingdom; and that for a long time hitherto we haue enioyed a happy peace; and that neither mony nor great reuenewes are wanting; and that which is our greateſt good, we are made happy by the fauor of the Romans, who in a ſort are the Lords of the whole world, & in effect are our entire friends: I will enforce my ſelfe to repaire that defect, which hapned in times paſt through the miſeries, and weak means of our noble predeceſſors, reſoluing with my ſelfe to perfect that which is requiſite for the ſeruice of God, in acknowledgement of the benefits which I haue receiued from him, by whoſe mercy and meanes I haue obtained my Kingdome.

The yeare of the world, 3947. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 17.

This ſudden and vnexpected ſpeech of *Herods*, filled all mens eares with wonder, and hearts with expectation, in that he ſeemed to promiſe ſuch a thing, as was beyond their hope, & as they thought far greater then his power: & that which moſt diſtracted them was, for that they had
D conceiued a feare, leſt after he had pulled down the old, he ſhould not bee of ability to erect a new. For which cauſe his counſell ſeemed to bee dangerous, and attempt ouer difficult. But the King perceiuing with what doubts they were detained, encouraged them, promiſing in no ſort to deface the old temple, before all that was prepared & poliſhed which was requiſite for the building of the new. And in this he kept his word. For hee appointed a thouſand chariots to draw ſtones vnto the place, & choſe out amongſt the reſt ten thouſand cunning & expert wotkmen. Hee apparelled alſo at his owne charge one thouſand Prieſts in their accuſtomed veſtments, whereof ſome gaue the maſons inſtructions how they ſhould worke, and the reſt aſſiſted the carpenters. This done, after he had fitly & readily performed & prepared all things requiſite, he cauſed them to fall to their building. As ſoon as therefore the former foundations were
E taken away, & other meer new were planted in their place, the temple was erected vpon them, in length one hundreth cubits, and twenty cubits in height, aboue thoſe hundreth cubits which the former contained, which twenty cubits were in ſome ſort ſcantled, after that by ſucceſſion of time the foundations began to bee ſettled, and during *Neroes* raigne our countrimen had thought to haue raiſed it to the firſt height. The building was of white & ſtrong marble ſtones, which were each of them twenty and fiue cubits long, eight cubits high, & about ſome twelue cubits broad. All the ſtructure of the ſame was made after the manner of a princely palace on all ſides, & the middle part thereof was higher then the reſt: ſo that it might eaſily be diſcouered by the inhabitants of the country many furlongs off; and eſpecially it was moſt apparant & ſubiect to their ſight, who dwelt oppoſite againſt it, or repaired vnto the citie. The doores there-
F of and their tranſomes were correſpondent to the reſt of the magnificence of the temple, garniſhed with diuers tapeſtries, and azured flowers, which inueſted & adorned the pillers: vnder whoſe chapters a golden vine ſpred it ſelfe on each ſide, repleniſhed with many goodly cluſters of grapes hanging down; which was an admirable work to behold, both in reſpect of the greatneſſe, as alſo for the workemanſhip and matter whereof it was made. Hee encompaſſed all the temple with moſt goodly galleries, & porches correſpondent to the magnificence of the ſame, and ſurpaſſing thoſe in times paſt for the coſt; ſo that neuer any man before him ſo magnificently adorned the temple. Two of which were vnder-propped with very ſtrong wals, whoſe

The Iewes fearing leſt Herod ſhould pul downe the old temple before he had prepared matter for the new, he promiſeth the contrary.

Conuenient ſtuffe is gathered for the building of the temple.

How the temple was builded by Herod.

The yeere of the world, 3947. before Christs Natiuity, 17.

workmanship was so exquisite, as it is incredible to be reported amongst men. There was a ston- G
ny rising or hillocke, and very streight & high, the top whereof towards the eastermost part of the city was somewhat smooth & vpright. The first that incompassed it with a wall, was *Salomon* our King, who by Gods fauour & the mediation and labour of diuers workmen, did first of all build the higher part: *Herod* also inuested the lower part therof with another wall; vnder which to the southward there lieth a most deep valley. This wall was made of huge stones, close fastned the one vnto the other with lead, shutting all within his enclosure, & extending it selfe very deep; so that the greatnes & height of this foure square building was an incredible thing to bee imagined. The greatnes of the stones appeared in the front, but on the inside they were fastned together with claspes of iron, which fortified & strengthned the building for euer against al iniuries of times. This worke hauing been thus continued to the top, and the void space between H
the wall and the rising hillocke filling vp the floore aboue, was made plaine & equall. The whole circuit of the tower contained about foure stades or furlongs, a stade or furlong in length to euery pane from angle to angle. On the inside and neer vnto the top there was another wall of stone extended along the easterne side; hauing a double porch of equall greatnes with that of the wall, and placed in the midst of the temple, and openeth right vpon the gates thereof, which the Kings beforetime had adorned. Round about the temple were planted those spoiles which were taken from the Barbarians, which King *Herod* had placed there, with al those spoiles which he had taken from the Arabians. In a corner on the north side there stood a very strong and de- I
fenced fortresse, builded by the Asmonians, who were *Herods* predecessors, and had been both Kings and high Priests, and had imposed a name on that tower which was Baris, in which they kept the priestly vesture, wherewith the high Priest was wont to bee adorned at that time onely when he was to offer sacrifice. King *Herod* kept the same in that place, & there remained it after his death, vntill the time of *Tiberius Cæsar*: vnder whom *Vitellius* gouernour of Syria came vnto Ierusalem; where he was entertained by all the people with as great magnificence as was possible: & being desirous to acknowledge the fauours that he had receiued at their hands, being requested by them that they might haue the keeping of the high Priests ornaments, he wrote vnto *Tiberius Cæsar* to grant them that fauor; & till the death of King *Agrippa* the Iewes had the same in their possession. But after that *Agrippa* was dead, *Cassius Longinus* that gouerned Syria, & K
Cuspius Fadus Lieutenant of Iudæa, commanded the Iewes to returne the same into the fortresse Antonia, saying that the Romans ought to be Lords thereof, as they had bin in times past. For which cause the Iewes sent Embassadors to *Claudius Cæsar*, to request his fauour therein, who arriuing at Rome, found the young King *Agrippa* there, who besought the Emperor that it might be lawfull for him to haue the keeping of the habit: who commanded *Vitellius* the gouernour of Syria, to deliuer it vnto his hands. Beforetime it was kept vnder the seale of the high Priest, and the custody of the Treasurers, and on the eeue of a certain solemne feast the Treasurers went vp to the captain, who kept the fortresse for the Romans, and after they had opened their seale, they took the habit: and after the feast was past, they returned it back againe vnto the same place, & shut it vp vnder the same seale in the presence of the captain. All which we haue thought good to lay open, to make the diuersity knowne that was vsed in that care. L

The place where the high Priests Stole was kept.

Vnder whose custody the Stole was.

The Tower of Antonia.

After that *Herod* had in this sort builded this strong tower for the security and guard of the temple, he called it Antonia, for the loue of *Antonius* his friend, and one of the chiefest men in Rome. In the westerne part of this porch, there were foure gates, whereof the one opened vpon the Kings palace, to which there was a direct way thorow the midst of the valley; the two others led vnto the suburbes: and the fourth opened vpon the rest of the city, and gaue open passage vnto the same, by the meanes of a number of staires, by which men might descend to the foot of the valley; and from thence there was an ascent by other staires to ascend vpwards. For the citie was situate neere vnto the temple, after the manner of a theater; and was bended to the southward by a deep valley. As touching the fourth side turned toward the south, it had likewise certaine gates in the midst thereof; and vpon the same there was a triple gallery very M
royall and princely, the length whereof extended from the orientall valley as farre as the westerne. For it was impossible to extend it any further. This worke was one of the most famous peeces that was euer seen vnder the sunne: For the depth of the valley was so great, that it was impossible for a man to see the bottom, if he looked downward from the higher part: and notwithstanding on the same he erected this porch of so great a height, that but to looke from the top therof, & to consider the depth as wel of the valley as the height of the porch, it would make a man giddy, & his eye could not pierce vnto the immeasurable bottome of the same. It had in length

The porch builded aloft aboue the valley.

A length foure ranks of pillars oppoſed the one right ouer againſt the other (for the fourth pane of the wall was fortified with a wall of hewne ſtone) the thickneſſe of the pillars was ſuch, that it was as much as three men could fadome holding one another by the hand, and the length was of twentie and ſeuen foot, with a double baſe at the bottome. The whole number of them was one hundreth, ſixtie and two, and they had Chapters engrauen and damaskt with Corinthian worke. All this building was ſo huge, that it mooued admiration in thoſe that beheld the ſame. Betwixt theſe foure ranks there were three porches, whereof two were on either ſide, containing in breadth each of them thirty foot, and in length a ſtade or furlong: and more then fiftie foot in height. That in the midſt was in bredth once and a halfe as much as theſe two; and in B height twice as much. For it ſurpaſſed the reſt by farre. The floore was made of goodly planks, engrauen with diuers figures; and the roofe thereof was farre higher then any of the reſt, in which certaine huge beames were morteiſed, on which there were certaine pillars builded, vnited and annexed ſo fitly together, that it is a matter incredible to thoſe that haue not ſeene the ſame, and admirable to him that beholdeth it. Such was the faſhion of the circuit of the firſt porch. In the midſt, and not farre off from the other, ſtood the ſecond; whereunto there was an aſcent made with few ſteps. It was incloſed with a ſeparation of ſtone, with an inſcription, forbidding any ſtranger to enter the ſame vpon paine of death. This inward porch both to the ſouthward and the northward had three gates, in ranke equidiſtant the one from the other; and toward the eaſtward had one great gate, by which thoſe men entred who were cleanſed with C their wiues. For beyond that place it was not lawfull for the women to haue acceſſe. But the third inward ſpace was only acceſſible by the Prieſts. In it was the Temple, and before the ſame the Altar; on which they were wont to offer burnt ſacrifices vnto God. But *Herod* durſt not enter the interiour ſanctuary, from whence profane men were excluded by the law: but by the mediation of the Prieſts he intended the ſtructure and building of the inward porch, and finiſhing in eight yeeres ſpace the reſt of the edifice, at length alſo he finiſhed the Temple it ſelfe by the endeuours of the ſame Prieſts, within the terme of one yeere and ſixe moneths. By which meanes the people were repleniſhed with the fulneſſe of ioy, and euery one gaue thankes vnto God for that the whole worke was finiſhed ſo ſpeedily, and wiſhed all happineſſe to the King for his coſt and diligence in the execution and finiſhing thereof: and they celebrated a great D feaſt in honour of the reſtauration of the Temple. Then did the King offer vp three hundreth oxen vnto God, and the reſt of them each one according to his abilitie offered ſo many ſacrifices, as that ſcarcely they may be comprehended in number, for that their multitude exceedeth their eſtimate.

The yeere of the world, 3955. before Chriſts Nativity, 9.

The inward court, into which and no further the Iewes might enter.

The dedication of the Temple.

About the very time of the celebration of this feaſt, in the honour of the reedification of the Temple, the Kings day of Coronation fell out, which he was wont to ſolemnize euery yeere with great ioy: and for this twofold occaſion the ſolemnitie and ioy was farre more ſumptuous and compleat. The King alſo cauſed a conduit of water to be made, and conuayed by pipes vnder ground, drawing it from the Caſtle Antonia vnto the Orientall gate of the Temple; neere to which hee builded another Tower alſo, to the end, that by the conduits hee might E aſcend priuily vnto the Temple, if haply the people ſhould practiſe any inſurrections againſt his royaltie. It is reported, that during the building of this Temple, it neuer rained by day time, but only by night, to the intent the worke might not be interrupted: and our predeceſſors haue teſtified no leſſe vnto vs. Neither is this thing vncredible, if we attentiuely conſider thoſe other effects of Gods prouidence. Hitherto concerning the reedification of the Temple.

A conduit vnder ground from the Caſtle Antonia. During the building of the Temple, it neuer rained by day.

THE SIXTEENTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES: WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the sixteenth Booke.

1 *How* Alexander *and* Aristobulus *returning vnto* Herod *their father, were calumniated by* Salomes *and* Pheroras *meanes.*
2 *How* Herod *gaue* Alexander *and* Aristobulus *wiues.*
3 *How* Herod *sayled vnto* Agrippa.
4 *The Iewes of Ionia accused the men of that countrey before* Agrippa, *for endeauouring to take away their priuiledges granted vnto them by the Romanes.*
5 *How* Herod *returned into Iudæa.*
6 *Of the discord in* Herods *house, betweene him and his sonnes.*
7 *How* Antipater *being at Rome,* Herod *brought* Alexander *and his brother, and accused them before* Cæsar.
8 *Of the defence of* Alexander, *and how he was reconciled vnto his father.*
9 *How* Herod *did celebrate euery fiue yeeres certaine sports, for hauing finished Cæsarea.*
10 *The Embassage of the Cyrenian and Asian Iewes vnto* Cæsar.
11 *How* Herod, *needing money, entred into* Dauids *Sepulchre.*
12 *How* Archelaus *King of Cappadocia did reconcile* Alexander *vnto his father.*
13 *How the Trachonites reuolted.*
14 *Of* Herods *expedition into Arabia.*
15 *How* Syllæus *accused* Herod *vnto* Cæsar.
16 *Of* Eurycles *his calumniations against* Herods *sonnes.*
17 *How* Herods *sonnes were condemned in a councell at Berytum.*

CHAP. I.

How Alexander *and* Aristobulus, *being returned vnto their father, were assailed and calumniated by* Salome *and* Pheroras.

The yeere of the world, 3955. before Christs Nativity, 9.

AMONGST the rest of the affaires of the Common-wealth, the King thought it behooued him to redresse and hinder priuate iniuries, both in the citie and countrey: for the which purpose he made a new law vnlike to the former, that it should be lawfull for such as were wall-breakers, to bee sold for slaues out of the limits of his kingdome: which law did not seeme so much to intend the punishment of malefactors, as the dissolution of his owne countrey customes. For to serue forraine nations, who liued not after the manner of the Iewes, and to do whatsoeuer they commanded them, was more preiudiciall vnto religion then vnto the parties conuicted of that fact. Wherefore it was sufficiently already in the old ancient lawes prouided for the punishment of such people, to wit, that a thiefe should restore foure times as much as he stole: which if hee was not able to doe, that then hee was to be sold; not vnto strangers, nor into perpetuall bondage, but only for seuen yeeres: at which time he should againe be set free. So that the common people did interpret this new law to set downe an vniust punishment, and rather to sauour of tyranny, then of princely dignitie, and to be enacted not without contempt of their ancient lawes: so that for this cause all men spake very ill of the King.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 1. Herod made a new law that wall-breakers should be sold into bondage out of the kingdome. The punishment of theft according to the law of Moses. *Exod.* 1. 22. *Deut.* 12. 15.

At the same time *Herod* sayled into Italy to salute *Cæsar*, and to see his children liuing at Rome. Where, *Cæsar* receiuing him very courteously, permitted him to take his sons home with him, as being now sufficiently instructed in the liberall arts. Who returning into their countrey, were ioyfully receiued of all their countreymen, both for that they were of comely stature, and

Herod sailed into Italy, and brought home his sons from Rome.

of

A of courteous conditions; and in their very behauiour did ſhew that they came of kingly linage. Which things mooued *Salome* and the reſt, by whoſe falſe accuſations their mother *Mariam* was oppreſſed, to enuy them; fearing their puiſſance, and verily perſwading themſelues that they would be reuengers of their mothers iniuries. So taking hereby occaſion, they began alſo falſely to accuſe them, as miſliking their father, who had cauſed their mother to be ſlaine; and as though they had an auerſion from him, whoſe hands were imbrued in their mothers blood. For they well perceiued that by ſuch calumniation they might draw them into hatred, and auert their fathers good will from them. Yet did they not carry theſe their inuentions to the Kings eares, but contented themſelues to bruit them abroad amongſt the common people; which ſo in the end B comming to his hearing, would cauſe in him ſuch enmity and hatred againſt his ſonnes, as that it would ouercome in him all naturall affection.

The yeere of the world, 3955. before Chriſts Natiuity, 9.

Salome and others falſely accuſed Herods ſonnes, and made their father hate them.

CHAP. II.

How Herod *gaue wiues vnto* Alexander *and* Ariſtobulus.

BVT the King as yet miſtruſting nothing, mooued with a fatherly care ouer them, had them in ſuch eſtimation as reaſon did require, and for that they were now come vnto mans eſtate, he married them both: and vnto *Ariſtobulus* hee gaue *Bernice* the daughter of *Salome*; and vnto *Alexander*, *Graphyra* the daughter of *Archelaus* King of Cappadocia. Which done, C vnderſtanding that *Marcus Agrippa* was returned out of Italy into Aſia, hee went vnto him thither, and inuited him into his kingdome, requeſting him to accept of his friends entertainment. Which *Agrippa* yeelding vnto, *Herod* omitted nothing that might delight him: for hee receiued him in his Cities newly built, ſhewing him the faire houſes and goodly edifices, entertaining him and the reſt of his friends and followers with all ſorts of delights, pompe and magnificence, as well at Sebaſte, as at the hauen of Cæſarea, and in the Caſtles he built, to wit, Alexandrium, Herodium, and Hircania. He alſo brought him to Ieruſalem, where all the people met him apparelled in ſuch goodly and braue attire, as they were accuſtomed to adorne themſelues withall, when as they celebrate their feſtiuals, and with many ioyfull acclamations receiued and ſaluted him. *Agrippa* offered a hundreth head of fat oxen to God, and feaſted all the people; and al- D though he would willingly haue made a longer abode there, yet winter drawing nigh, fearing tempeſtuous weather, hee was forced to ſaile away with all ſpeed into Ionia, both hee and his friends being honoured with very great preſents.

Herod married his ſonne Ariſtobulus to Bernice Salomes daughter, and Alexander to Graphyra the daughter of the King of Cappadocia. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 2.

Herod carried to Marcus Agrippa all about his kingdome.

Agrippa offered a hundreth beaſts at Ieruſalem.

CHAP. III.

How Herod *ſailed vnto* Agrippa.

HEROD hauing paſt the winter at home, and hearing that *Agrippa* was now with an armie minded to goe to Boſphorus, the ſpring time being now at hand, he ſailed vnto him againe, and taking his courſe by Rhodes and Cous, he came towards Lesbus, thinking E there to finde *Agrippa*: but by a contrary wind he was driuen from thence, and forced a while to ſtay at Chius; where many priuately comming to ſalute him, he rewarded them with princely rewards: and perceiuing that the Citie gate, deſtroyed in the warres againſt *Mithridates*, was not yet repaired, but lay ſtill ruinated for want of money to repaire it, he gaue them ſo much money as largely ſufficed to reſtore it to the former beautie and bigneſſe; exhorting them with all expedition to reedifie and adorne the Citie as it was in times paſt. At laſt the wind changing, he ſailed firſt to Mitylene, and then to Byzantium; and there vnderſtanding that *Agrippa* had already paſt the rocks of Cyanes, he followed him with all ſpeed, and ouertooke him at Synope a Citie of Pontus: who contrary to *Agrippas* expectation arriued there with his nauy: *Herods* comming was very gratefull vnto *Agrippa*, and with eſpeciall affection they embraced one another. It was an euident ſigne of friendſhip, that the King omitting his owne priuate buſines, would now come vnto him in ſo conuenient a time. Wherefore *Herod* ſtill abode with him in the army, alwaies preſent either to aſſiſt him with counſell, or to beare part of the labour with him. He was alſo preſent with him at ſuch times as he meant to be merry, being his only counſellor in difficult matters, for the beneuolence he bare vnto him, and alſo in all his mirth, as being one whom he honoured. *Agrippa* hauing diſpatcht the buſineſſe in Pontus for which he came, it pleaſed him not to returne by Sea, but to goe by Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, and the greater Phrygia, and ſo they came by land to Epheſus: and there taking ſhip they came to Samos. And in all that

Herod ſayled vnto Agrippa to Chius, and gaue a great ſumme of money to reedifie the porch.

Herod found Agrippa at Synope a citie of Pontus, and was by him honourably entertained.

Herod ſtill preſent with Agrippa in ſports & ſerious affaires.

Agrippa went by land to Epheſus.

The yeere of the world, 3956. before Christs Nativitie, 8.

whole iourney, almost in euery citie he gratified *Herod*, at his intreatie relieuing many of their necessities. And *Herod* did in the way helpe many with money that wanted, and spent much vpon his guests: and moreouer if any one had any suit vnto *Agrippa*, *Herod* was the onely man that might obtaine his suit for him. And although *Agrippa* also was both nobly minded and easily intreated to grant all such things as were not preiudiciall to any man; yet was it a matter of no small moment and importance in King *Herod*, to incite him to vse beneficence, being euen of his owne accord forward enough to put the same in practice. For first of all hee reconciled *Agrippa* being angry against the Ilienſians, and himselfe paid the money that the people of Chius were indebted vnto *Cæsars* receiuers, obtaining for them an immunitie: and he also assisted and pleasured others in whatsoeuer they needed.

Herod helped many in the way with money.

Herod was a mediator for many to Agrippa.

The citizēs of Ilia are reconciled to Agrippa, and they of Chius obtaine a priuiledge.

CHAP. IIII.

How the Iewes of Ionia accused those countreymen for offering to take from them their priuiledges, granted vnto them by the Romanes.

WHEN they came into Ionia, a great multitude of the Iewes inhabiting that countrey being gathered together, expected him to speake vnto him; and finding opportunitie, they complained vnto him of the wrongs that those countreymen offered them, not permitting them to liue according vnto their lawes; and that vpon festiuall daies they pulled and haled them before their tribunall: and that they would not permit them to send sacred money vnto Ierusalem, and that they compelled them to doe publike businesse, and to spend the holy money in those affaires, contrary to the priuiledges granted vnto them by the Romanes. *Herod* laboured to haue the Iewes complaints heard by *Agrippa*, & willed one of his friends and followers called *Nicholaus*, to plead the Iewes cause: who made a speech vnto *Agrippa*, sitting with the rest of the Romans nobilitie, and other Kings & Princes, in their behalfe after this manner: Most worthy *Agrippa*, true it is, that all men that suffer iniury, are constrained to flie for redresse to the higher powers, and we, ouer and aboue, hope to obtaine our suit. For we aske nothing but that which your beneficence hath already granted, and that which they endeauour to take from vs that are, as we also are, your subiects. And although that your benefit bestowed vpon vs was great, yet are we worthy still to enioy it, onely for that you your selfe iudged vs worthy thereof. And suppose it was a small matter, it is a discredit for you not to grant so small a trifle. Wherefore it is euident, that the iniury done vnto vs, doth also redound vnto you, whose decrees those that haue iniuried vs, feare not to contemne, and to disanull your beneficence towards vs. For if any one should aske any of them whether they had rather lose their liues, then be depriued of their country lawes, rites, sacrifices, & festiuities, wherwith they honor their gods; I know well they would rather endure any calamity, then to be forced to forsake their countrey customes. For many wars arise only for defence of religion: and the greatest reward and content that we reape by this happy peace, which through your means we enioy, is this, that we are euery one permitted to liue according to the custome of his country, and to continue in piety. Wherefore they endeuour to take from others that, which by no meanes they would permit to be taken from themselues; as who would say, it was not as great an offence to hinder other mens piety and deuotion, as neglect their own. Let vs consider whether there be any city or nation, that doth not account their felicity to be situate in your dominion, and the power of the Romanes? or is there any that desireth your honour & power to decay & be of no force? Truly none that is wise: for there is none, whom either publikely or priuately it cōcerneth not: but these people endeuouring to take from vs your liberty, do also as it were depriue themselues of all benefits which they haue receiued at your hands, which are infinite. For what a benefit is it, that whereas other nations liuing vnder the dominion of rigorous Kings cōstituted ouer thē; these do only obey the Romans, and liue in happy peace & tranquillity? But as for our affaires, were no man troublesome vnto vs, yet are they not such as deserue to be enuied. For enioying the common felicity, which others your subiects do, we desire nothing of high estimate or worth, but only request that we may liue according to the religion of our country, which of it selfe is not to be enuied at, but may be profitable for them that permit it. For God doth alwaies loue them, who honour him, & them who do not hinder his honor. What is there in our religion offensiue to any man? nay, what is there that is not according to all piety and iustice: whereby all things continue and are preserued? For neither doe we conceale what life we follow, nor the labours and exercise we vse, but resting the seuenth

The Iewes of Ionia complaine vnto Agrippa of the iniuries offered them by those countreymen.

Nicholaus did make a speech vnto Agrippa in the behalfe of the Iewes.

A seuenth day from all labors,we spend that day in learning our religion,and the lawes & customs thereof, esteeming this custome not to be of small force to correct and amend our manners. These our customes hauing in them nothing that any that searcheth them,can iustly reprehend, they are now also, though many are perswaded the contrary, consecrated & confirmed by their antiquity: So that we must needs make a conscience of it to forsake our lawes, that haue endured so many ages. These are the iniuries that these people by violence offer vs; they sacrilegiously take from vs the money dedicated to God:they impose tributes vpon vs,who are free:they vpon festiuall daies force vs to their tribunals,to law and other profane busines, without any necessity,but onely in contumely and disgrace of our religion,which they know well in the meane B while that they persecute with vniust and vnlawfull hatred.For your Empire,equally prouiding for the good of all your subiects, doth not onely nourish the mutuall concord of them all, but also resisteth hatred and malice. These are the iniuries, most worthy *Agrippa*, whereof we seeke redresse at thy hands, requesting thee that hereafter we may liue according to our religion as beforetimes,and that our aduersaries may haue no more authority ouer vs then we ouer them: which is not onely iustice and equity,but already also granted by your clemency. And there are yet extant to be seen in the Capitoll many decrees and ordinances of the Senate concerning this matter, engrauen in brasse, which are read vnto this day: doubtlesse for our truth and fidelitie so oftentimes tried: or at least, though we not deseruing it,yet holy and inuiolate. For you doe not onely not withdraw from vs and all other nations your former benefits granted vnto vs, but C you doe rather euery day beside all hope and expectation increase them: all which,time will not suffer me to recount. And that we may not seeme vainly to boast of our duties and officiousnesse towards you, and also omitting other things that are past; our King now sitting with you can sufficiently testifie it so to be.For what kind of loue and good will hath he omitted to shew vnto your nation? where was he not proued trusty? what hath he not deuised to honour you? where stood you in need,when he was not the first man to helpe you? Why therefore should not we receiue some fauour for his deserts? I will not omit to put you in minde of the fortitude of his father *Antipater*, who came with two thousand souldiers to assist *Cæsar* in the Egyptian warres, wherein he so valiantly behaued himselfe, that neither by sea nor land any one in those warres deserued more commendations then himselfe. I will not recount at this time how much good D he did *Cæsar* in those warres,and what and how great rewards he therefore receiued: but rather I should first of all put you in remembrance of the letters that the Emperour writ vnto the Senate concerning this matter, wherewith he obtained for *Antipater* the honours and priuiledges of the City. For this onely argument had beene sufficient to haue declared that we did not obtaine such fauour without desert,and request thee now to confirme the same,of whom we might iustly hope for new benefits, seeing such friendship and familiarity betweene thee and our King. For we haue vnderstood by our nation that dwell in Iudæa,how many offerings thou didst there sacrifice vnto our God, and with what vowes thou honouredst him: how thou feastedst the people,and wast delighted in that mutuall hospitality. All which are as it were an argument of the friendship confirmed betweene so great a Romane Prince, and the nation of the Iewes, euen in E *Herods* house. By all these,we humbly request in the presence of the King nothing but this only, that thou wouldest not permit vs deceitfully to bee defrauded of that, which you your selues haue already granted vnto the nation of the Iewes.

The yeres of the world, 3956. before Christs Natiuity, 8.

Now no one of the Greeks offred to oppose himselfe against that which *Nicholaus* did speake: for this was no contention to a Iudge concerning their right,but onely a deprication and supplication to auoid iniurie. Neither did they denie it: onely thus they excused themselues,that the Iewes dwelling amongst them,were troublesome vnto them. But the Iewes shewed themselues to be free citizens,and to liue according to their religion and lawes of their country,without any mans molestation or iniury. Wherefore *Agrippa* vnderstanding that they were wronged,answered thus; that he would not onely gratifie them for his friend *Herods* sake, but also for that they F seemed to him to demand a reasonable matter. Wherefore though they had demanded a greater thing of him, he would haue granted them whatsoeuer he might, without preiudicing the people of Rome. And now seeing they onely demand of him that which already the Romanes had granted vnto them,he would ratifie and confirme vnto them the benefit which they had already receiued at the Romanes hands, and prouide that henceforth no man should molest them for liuing according to the institution and ordinances of their countrey. Hauing thus spoken,he dismissed the assembly. Then *Herod* arising,thanked him in all their names. And then after mutuall embracing one another,they departed, taking their leaues from Lesbus.

Agrippa confirmeth the Iewes priuiledge.

Agrippa departed from Lesbus.

CHAP.

The yeere of the world, 3956. before Christs Natiuitie, 8.

CHAP. V.

How HEROD *returned into Iudæa.*

Herod returned to Ierusalem, and made a speech vnto the people, & let them vnderstand the cause of his iniury, and remitted the fourth part of his tribute.

THE King hauing a prosperous winde, within a few dayes after arriued at Cæsarea; and from thence he went to Ierusalem; and calling together all the people, as well the citizens as also the countrey people there present, there he told them the cause of his iourney, and how he had obtained immunities for the Iewes liuing in Asia, that they might conuerse there among the Gentiles, without molestation. Then he recounted vnto them, what felicitie they had receiued and enioyed by his raigne, seeing that his greatest care was so to prouide for his subiects, that they might want nothing. And to gratifie them the more, he told them, that he would freely remit the fourth part of the taxes and tribute they were to pay for the yeere past. The people greatly comforted as well with the Kings speech vnto them, as with his liberality, departed ioyfully, wishing the King all happinesse.

CHAP. VI.

Of the discord in HERODS *house, betweene him and his sonnes.*

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 3. al. 7. Salome persecuteth Mariammes children with naturall hatred.

IN the meane time, the discord of his house was daily increased; for *Salome* greatly maligned the two young men, as hauing an hereditary hatred rooted in her heart; and presumed by reason of her good successe in her exploit practised against their mother, to labour all waies possible not to leaue any aliue, that might reuenge her death, who died, not deseruing it. And she wanted no occasion, for that it seemed the young men were not very well affected toward their father, partly for the memory of their mothers death, and partly also for that they desired the Kingdome. So that they vpbraiding *Salome* and *Pheroras*, did renew their old hatred against them, who daily practised, by all meanes they could, to ouerthrow them: the young men also hated them, but not with like hatred that they were hated of them. For they for their ingenuous manners and noble race dissembled not their anger, but with lauish tongues declared their mindes. But *Salome* and *Pheroras* contrariwise enuiously and craftily prepared themselues a way by calumniations, alwaies prouoking the magnanimous spirits of these young men, whose fierceneſſe might soone bring them into suspicion with their father, to the intent that he might gather hereby, that they wanted not will to reuenge their mothers death, yea euen with their owne hands, forasmuch as they were not ashamed to be the children of such a mother, and would contend that she was vniustly put to death. And now all the whole city talked of them, euery one pittying the young mens simplicity: *Salome* not ceasing to gather by their owne speeches probable arguments of suspicion, that they did not onely take their mothers death impatiently, but also raging like young men, did both bewaile her death, and their owne case, who were cõpeld to liue with the murtherers of their vnfortunate mother, & as it were contaminate themselues with liuing amongst them. And the absence of the King greatly increased this their dissension; who being returned, and hauing made a speech vnto the people, he presently was admonished both by *Pheroras* and *Salome* his sister, that he was in great danger, by reason of the two yong men, who did openly boast that they would be reuenged of them that killed their mother: feining moreouer, that they were incouraged, for that they hoped that *Archelaus* King of Cappadocia would help them, to accuse their father vnto *Cæsar*. *Herod* hearing this, was greatly troubled; and so much the more, for that he heard the same also reported vnto him by others: And hereby he was put in memory of that which was past, how that for the dissension of his house, he could not long enioy his friends and deerest wife. And as it were foreseeing by that that was past what would ensue, and fearing some greater calamity would befall him, he was altogether amazed. And truly as abroad he was most fortunate aboue all hope; so at home he was most vnhappy and infortunate beyond mens opinion: So that one may well doubt whether his fortunate successe abroad did counteruaile his misfortunes at home; or whether it had beene more expedient for him to haue had neither the one nor the other, but to haue had onely a common and ordinary fauour at fortunes hands. Deliberating thus with himselfe, he thought it good to call vnto the Court another sonne of his, whom he begat when he was a priuate man, and to grace him with honours, and to oppose him against the other two brethren, to the end, to bring downe and represse their fierce and hauty minds: (this sonne of his was called *Antipater*) not minded (which after ouercome by affection hee did) to make him sole heire of all, but thinking

Alexander & Aristobulus being by Salome & Pheroras drawne into badde words, are by them accused to their father Herod.

Hedio & Ruf. finus, chap. 4. al. 8. Pheroras and Salome accuse Alexander & Aristobulus before Herod.

Herod was fortunate abroad, and vnfortunate at home.

Herod aduanceth Antipater, to bridle the arrogancy of his sonnes.

ing hereby to bridle *Mariammes* children, and to diminish their arrogancy by letting them see that it was not needfull to keepe the inheritance of so flourishing a kingdome onely for them: wherefore he introduced *Antipater*, one opposed against them, that therby the young men laying their pride aside, might shew themselues more tractable to their father: and so now he thought he had by this meanes prouided for the safetie of these young men. But it fell out far otherwise then he expected; for the young men esteemed this fact as an iniury done vnto them: And *Antipater* was of that nature, that hauing gotten promotion contrary to his expectation, he did endeauour all waies possible to be in greater account with his father then the two young men, who was now through false accusations alienated from them, and euery day (as he also desired) ready to beleeue any thing that might incense him against them.

The yeere of the world, 3956. before Christs Natiuitie, 8.

Antipater inciteth his father against his brothers.

Wherefore this was all his labour: yet had he an especiall care not to be thought an accuser of his brethren, but he vsed others of his accomplices, whom the King nothing suspected; who for the trust the King put in them, might also haue better credit giuen vnto their words. For now this man had many followers and fauourers, as it were gaping after preferment by his meanes, who with a kinde of counterfeit good will made a shew of loue and good will towards *Herod*. And being many in number and trusty one to another, the young men were euery day entrapped more and more: for many times they shed teares for very griefe of the contumelies and iniuries that they suffered; and many times they mentioned their mother, and complained vnto those whom they thought to be their friends, of their father, as one that dealt not wel with them: all which *Antipaters* partakers maliciously noting, and adding thereunto something of their own inuention, they did presently tell it vnto *Herod*; and so did nourish the dissension of his house. For the King being moued hereat, and purposing to humble *Mariammes* children, did daily encrease and augment *Antipaters* honors, and at his entreaties at last brought his mother into the Court; and many times writing secretly vnto *Cæsar* in fauour of *Antipater*, he especially commended him in particular vnto him: and being to saile to salute *Agrippa*, who was now to depart out of Asia, hauing gouerned that prouince ten yeers, he only tooke with him *Antipater* of all his sonnes, whom also he committed vnto *Agrippa* with many gifts, to goe with him to Rome, and to be brought into fauour with *Cæsar*; so that now all things seemed to be done, as it were by this mans becke, and the young men to be already disinherited.

Herod brought Antipaters mother into his Palace.

Herod deliuereth Antipater to Agrippa, to be carried to Rome.

CHAP. VII.

How ANTIPATER *liuing at Rome,* HEROD *brought* ALEXANDER *and his brothers thither, and accused them before* CÆSAR.

THis iourney did greatly aduantage *Antipater*, and increase his honour and preeminence aboue his brethren: for he became famous at Rome, being by his fathers letters commended vnto all his friends there: yet this was a great griefe vnto him, that hee could not daily calumniate his brethren; for he feared lest his fathers mind should change, and so hee should affect *Mariammes* children most. This was his daily cogitation: but though he were absent, yet he ceased not by letters to incite his father against them, as hauing care of his safety; but indeed for that he thereby through his bad practices hoped to obtaine the kingdom: so that hee so increased *Herods* wrath against them, that he now was become a deadly enemy vnto the young men. But indeuouring to resist this affection, and fearing rashly in his anger to commit any thing to preiudice them, he determined to saile againe to Rome, and there accuse his sonnes before *Cæsar*, lest he being led away through indignation and displeasure conceiued against the young men, should seeme to cast off all loue and fatherly affection towards them. And repairing to Rome, and not finding *Cæsar* there, he followed him vnto Aquileia: and comming to speech of him, and requesting him to take notice of his misfortunes, he presented his two sons, and accused them before *Cæsar* of insolency, and for hauing attempted to poyson him, complaining their hatred to be gone so farre, that now by any wicked and execrable way whatsoeuer they sought their fathers kingdome; notwithstanding that *Cæsar* had giuen him full power & liberty to leaue the kingdome to him, whom he found most dutifull and obedient vnto him. And that they, though therby they might not gaine the kingdom, yet they could be contented with their fathers death, and that they sought it with danger of their owne liues, and that this horrible and detestable hatred was now rooted in their hearts. And that he hauing long endured this calamity, was now forced to open it vnto *Cæsar*, and trouble his eares with these complaints. And spake after this manner: Haue I deserued this at their hands? what wrong haue I done them? or how

Antipater was honoured at Rome.

Antipater whē he was present incited his father against his brethren by lies, & being absent, he did the same by letters.

Herod sailed to Rome, and followed Cæsar to Aquileia.

Herod accused his sons before Cæsar.

The yeere of the world, 3956. before Christs Nativitie, 8.

how can they thinke it reason, that I who haue exposed my selfe to so many dangers, and vnder- G gone so difficult labours for a long time to obtaine the kingdome, should not peaceably enioy the same, and suffer me to be Lord of mine owne dominion, and permit me the libertie to leaue it vnto him who shall deserue such honour in the best performance of a son-like duty? So that the beholders hereof seeing pietie so rewarded, might hereby be the more incited thereunto, especially seeing that without violating the law of nature, it is not lawfull to thinke any such thought: for no man can affect his fathers kingdome, but he doth also desire his fathers death, seeing that it is not permitted men to succeed those in the kingdome who are yet aliue. Hee alleadged moreouer, that for his part he had had a care that they should want nothing conuenient for a kind father to prouide for princely children, neither ornaments, nor followers, nor delights: H that also he had prouided for them wiues of noble race, and had married one of them vnto his sisters daughter; and the other vnto *Archelaus* his daughter King of Cappadocia: and which was the greatest matter of all, he had not vsed the authoritie of a father against them after these their enterprizes, but brought them vnto *Cæsar* their common benefactor; and that forsaking his owne right of a father, who had beene iniured, or of a King, against whom treason had beene wrought, hee was now content to debate his matter with them before such a Iudge, as well knew how to decide the thing in question according to right and equitie: yet requested he him that the offence of theirs might not be left vnpunished, nor he forced to lead the rest of his life still in perpetuall feare: seeing that it was expedient that they should neuer see light againe after such haynous offences, and to escape vnpunished, after the violating of all lawes of God and na- I ture. *Herod* hauing with a vehement voyce obiected these accusations against his sonnes before *Cæsar*; the young men were not able to abstaine from teares whilest he was yet speaking, and hauing ended his speech, they wholly resolued into teares: not for that they were guiltie of those impieties laid vnto their charge, but for that they were accused by their father, against whom it was not decent to speake freely for themselues, nor expedient to refuse to defend their owne cause. Wherein they remained doubtfull what to doe, mooving the auditors to pitie them by their teares and lamentations, and carefull withall lest it should be thought that their guiltie conscience did so trouble them, that they were not able to speake in their owne defence, seeing that indeed it was their want of skill and tender yeeres, by reason whereof they were so amazed. Which also *Cæsar* well perceiued, and all that were present were so mooued to compassion, that K neither their father who was their accuser could long refraine from being mooued hereat to compassion.

Alias, chap. 9. Alexander & Aristobulus moue all that were present, euen their father and accuser to teares and compassion.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Alexanders *defence, and how the two brethren were reconciled vnto their father* Herod.

Alexander speaketh in his owne, and his brothers defence.

THEN the young men perceiuing both their father and *Cæsar* to relent, and the rest that were present partly to pitie them, partly to shead teares of compassion: the one of them named *Alexander*, who was the elder, framing his speech vnto his father, began thus to purge himselfe of the crimes obiected against them: My father, how well and friendly min- I ded thou art towards vs, this present iudgement declareth: for hadst thou determined any heauy sentence against vs, thou wouldst not haue brought vs before him, who is the preseruer of vs all: for thou mightest being a King, or for thy authority ouer vs as a father, haue punished vs for our offence according to thy power; but in that thou hast brought vs to Rome, and made *Cæsar* our Iudge, it is an argument that thou seekest to saue vs: for no man brings any one to the Temple whom he purposeth to destroy: which greatly aggrauateth our cause, who doe censure our selues vnworthy to liue, rather then to incurre an opinion of impiety committed against thee such a father. How farre more expedient is it to die guiltlesse, then to liue suspected of such offences? Wherefore, if truth be our patrone, we shall be happy either by thy owne iudgement, or for that we haue escaped danger: but if calumniations do preuaile against vs, it is superfluous M and to no purpose that we liue. For what good would it doe vs, if we liue in continuall suspicion? It is a probable accusation to accuse our yeeres, as hauing affected the kingdome; and our vnfortunate mothers calamity maketh it seeme more probable. But consider I beseech thee, if the same crime may not as well be framed against any one whomsoeuer, as against vs. For any King hauing children by a wife that is now dead, may if it please him suspect them, as practising treason against him their father. But suspicion is not sufficient to proue a man impious and guiltie: wherefore bring any one forth that can tell any argument of this crime by vs to haue beene attemp-

attempted, which may adde credit to this calumniation; Can any man shew that poison was prepared by vs for you; or that we conspired with any; or that we corrupted any seruants with mony and gifts; or that we writ any letters against thee? yet may calumniation faine euery one of these vpon no occasion. It is a grieuous matter for discord to be in a Princes court; & the hope of dominion, which your Maiesty affirmed to be the reward of piety, doth often impell mens minds vnto hainous offences. But although it bee most certaine that we cannot be conuicted of any crime; yet how can we cleare our selues from accusations forged against vs, before them that will not heare vs? But did we speak some insolent words; yet were they not against thee, O my father (for that had been impiety) but against them who tell all they heare. We bewayled our mothers misfortunes. It is true: but not because she is dead, but because after her death she is euill spoken of by those, who ought not to doe it. We affect the Kingdome of our father, he being yet aliue. Wherein? Is not that purpose of ours vaine and friuolous, we hauing alreadie beene graced with kingly honours? And suppose we were not; yet might we hope for them. But could we expect them by killing of thee, whom both earth and seas would disdaine after so execrable an offence? Or could we haue expected that the loyalty of thy subiects, and the lawes of our nation would haue permitted vs, hauing gotten the Kingdom by murthering our father, to haue enioyed the same, and entred into the holy temple, which thou didst repaire? Or suppose we despised them all; yet could any one that murthered thee escape, *Cæsar* being liuing? Thy children by thee begotten are not so impious nor foolish, though more infortunate then thy estate requireth. And seeing thou hast nothing to accuse vs of, or nothing to proue any accusation laid vnto our charge, how canst thou bee perswaded that wee are guilty of such inhumane acts? Is it because our mother was put to death? But her death ought rather to haue made vs more wary then insolent and rash. We could speake more in our owne defence, then this, but what need is it to excuse that which was neuer done? Wherfore we beseech *Cæsar* (who is Lord of all, and now our Iudge) only this, that if thou canst, O my father, put away out of thy mind all suspicion of vs, to suffer vs to liue hereafter, how vnhappy and vnfortunate soeuer: for what is more miserable than to be rashly accused without cause? But if thou canst not, we liuing, liue without feare of vs, let vs dye condemned by our owne censure. For our liues are not so deare vnto vs, that we desire to keepe them to his molestation that bestowed them vpon vs.

The yeeres of the world, 3956. before Christs Natiuity, 8.

Cæsar with these words, though before not greatly crediting such accusations and slanders laid against them, was now more moued to beleeue that they were guiltlesse; and the rather, for that fixing his eyes vpon *Herod*, he perceiued him also to be much moued, and all that were present were sorrowfull for the young men: so that all courtiers present thought hardly of the King, for the absurd and friuolous accusation framed against them; and the flower of their age, wherin they were now indangered, moued all mens minds what they could to assist them: And much more were they incited, after that *Alexander* had ingenuously refuted his fathers accusations, the accused remaining still in the same habit and place, and for griefe fixing their eyes vpon the ground. At last some hope appeared, so that the King himselfe seemed to need some excuse, for hauing so rashly accused his sonnes, without any certaine proofe of his accusations. At last, *Cæsar* hauing a while deliberated with himselfe, pronounced that the young men were innocent, and guiltlesse of the crimes laid vnto their charge: yet herein they were culpable, in that they had so behaued themselues, that they gaue their father occasion herein to suspect them. And as for *Herod*, he requested him to lay aside all suspicion, and to bee reconciled vnto his children. For it was vniustly done of him to beleeue such forged accusations against those whom he had begotten, and that one might recompence another in time to come for their former offences, and renew the good will betweene them in times past, if to abolish all suspicions, either did hereafter shew himselfe more friendly to other then before. *Cæsar* hauing thus admonished the young men, they prepared themselues to intreat their fathers wonted fauour: he not expecting so long, came and embraced each of them one after another, they weeping exceedingly; and all those that were present, both seruants and others did the like.

All men doe pity the young men.

Cæsar pronounceth the young men herin to haue offended, that they gaue occasion of suspicion, and he exhorteth the father to bee reconciled to his children.

Herod is reconciled to his children.

Then giuing humble thanks vnto *Cæsar*, they departed together; and *Antipater* with them, counterfaiting himselfe to congratulate their good hap, for that they were now reconciled vnto his father. Within a few daies after, *Herod* gaue *Cæsar* three hundred talents, who was now bestowing his gifts & presents at Rome, and exercising his liberality vpon the people. And *Cæsar* againe bestowed vpon him halfe of the reuenues out of the mines of the metall in Cyprus; and the other halfe vnto the ouerseer thereof; and gracing him otherwise also, he gaue him leaue to chuse which of his sonnes he pleased for to succeed him in his Kingdome; or if he had rather

Antipater friendly doth congratulate his brethren returned into his fathers fauour.

Herod did giue Cæsar 300. talents.

to

The yeere of the world, 3956. before Christs birth, 8.

to distribute it amongst them all: which *Herod* presently would haue done, but *Cæsar* would not permit him, affirming, that during his life he should keepe it all whole and vndiuided, and his sonnes should be subiect vnto him.

Cæsar gaue Herod halfe his reuennes out of the mines of Cyprus.

After this, *Herod* returned againe into Iudæa, in whose absence the Trachonites that were no small part of his Kingdome, were reuolted: yet by the industry of the captaines he left to ouersee all in his absence, they were conquered againe, and forced to do as they were commanded. As *Herod* and his sonnes were sailing towards home, arriuing at Eleusa a City of Cilicia, which is now called Sebaste, he found *Archelaus* there, who was King of Cappadocia. *Archelaus* did courteously entertain *Herod*, and was very ioyfull that his sonnes and he were made friends, and that *Alaxander* his son in law had so well cleered himselfe and his brother of the crimes laid vnto their charge. And so each one bestowing vpon the other princely gifts, they departed taking their leaue one of the other. After this, *Herod* being newly returned into Iudæa, and calling the people together into the temple, told them all that had past in his absence from them, and the courtesie of *Cæsar*: and told them also of other affaires that he thought meet for them to know; and turning the latter end of his speech vnto his sonnes, & exhorting the courtiers and common people to concord, he told them that his sonnes should raigne after him, and first of all *Antipater*: & after him his sonnes that he had by *Mariamme*, *Alexander* & *Aristobulus*; in the meane time euery one of them should honour him as King and Lord, notwithstanding his old age, which for long experience was the fitter to gouerne, seeing there was nothing in him wanting to keep both his subiects & children in their obedience; & that the souldiers also if they only respected him, should liue in all happinesse & felicitie without molestation. Hauing thus spoken, he dismissed the people; some thinking he had spoken according to equity; others thinking cleane contrary: For hauing now as it were caused an emulation amongst his children, there was as it were already a shew of some mutation.

The rebels are cõquered.

Chap. IX.

How Herod *hauing finished Cæsarea, for ioy thereof did celebrate euery first yeere certaine sports.*

The yeere of the world, 3957. before the birth of Christ, 7.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 5. al. 10.

Cæsarea is finished.

Quinquennale certamen.

ABOVT this time Cæsarea was finished, the tenth yeere after it was begun to be built, the 28. yeere of *Herods* raigne, in the 192. Olympiade. In the dedication heereof there was great pompe and sumptuous preparations: for all musicians were brought thither to striue one with another, who was most excellent in their art; and champions that wrastled being naked and anointed with oyle: there was also a great many that fought with swords, and a great numbet of sauage beasts; and all things else that at such times were vsed, and in accouut, either at Rome or in other countries. These sports were also consecrated vnto *Cæsar*, and were to be renewed euery fift yeere. All this prouision the King at his owne cost and charges prouided to be brought from any place whatsoeuer, to shew the gratnesse of his magnificence. *Iulia*, *Cæsars* wife also bestowed much of her owne to the furnishing hereof, and sent many precious things out of Italy; so that the worth of them all amounted vnto fiue hundred talents. And a great company being gathered together to behold these sports, he receiued all Embassadours sent vnto him from other nations, to thanke him for the benefits he had bestowed on them; and he lodged, feasted and sported them: and being all day long amongst the people to see those sports, at night hee receiued them with banquets, and shewing them his magnificence; and gained great praise and commendations for a worthy King. For, he in all things so prouided, that the last was more pleasing and gratefull then the first, and caused him to bee more admired. And it is reported, that *Cæsar* himselfe and *Agrippa* often did say, that *Herods* magnanimity was greater then his present reuenewes could beare, and that he well deserued an Empire, as big as all Syria and Egypt. These sports being ended, he builded another towne in a field, called Capharsaba, chusing for it a watery soyle fit for plants: the citie was compassed with a riuer; and hee also planted round about it a wood full of most goodly trees. This towne he called Antipatris, after his fathers name *Antipater*. After which he also builded a castle about Iericho, called after his mothers name, *Cypron*, which was very strongly defenced, and adorned within with rare and sumptuous edifices. And not forgetting his brothers, he dedicated vnto him most goodly buildings: for first he built a tower as bigge as *Pharo* in the city, in remembrance of his dead brother, and called it by his name *Phasaelus*, which also was the strongest hold and defence in all the city. After this, he builded a towne neere vnto the vally of Iericho, as one goes toward the north, wherby the fields that before almost lay desart, were now tilled

Cæsar & Agrippa commend Herods magnanimity.

Antipatris is built.

Cypron is built.

The tower & towne of Phasaelus is built.

tilled and inhabited by the towneſmen; ſo that of them it was named Phaſaelus field. It were hard to recount all his liberalitie in particular ſhewed both vnto the cities of Syria and Grecia, and all other places whereſoeuer he came: for he helped many either by building publike places; or if there were any new works begun, and not finiſhed for want of money, by giuing them money to finiſh them: the chiefeſt amongſt all which were, that he builded at his owne coſt and charge the temple of *Apollo* at Rhodes; and gaue them many talents of ſiluer to build their ſhips. He alſo builded the greateſt part of the publike houſes and places in the City by Actium, which *Cæſar* built for the Nicopolitanes there inhabiting, and that with his own proper coſts and charges. Hee alſo for the Antiochians inhabiting the greateſt Citie of Syria, builded porches on each ſide of the greater ſtreet, that goeth quite thorow the midſt of the Citie, and doth as it were part it into two: and the ſtreet it ſelfe that lay open, he paued with poliſhed ſtone: which worke was as great a commodity to the inhabitants, as a beauty vnto their Citie. He alſo helped to maintaine the ſports at Olympus with yeerely reuenewes, that now for want of maintenance began to decay: ſo that by his meanes there were more ſolemne ſacrifices, and all things more ſumptuous to pleaſe them that came to behold them: for which his liberalitie he was declared perpetuall maſter and maintainer of thoſe ſports. It is admirable to ſee in one man ſuch diuerſity of minds: for on the one ſide if we reſpect his liberalitie and beneficence towards all men, we muſt needs ſay, he was of a moſt free and bountifull nature; contrariwiſe, if we conſider the iniuries and crueltie he ſhewed againſt his ſubiects and deareſt friends, we muſt confeſſe him to haue beene a hard man, and intractable, and who paſſed all bounds of modeſty; ſo that we would thinke him to haue bin of two contrary diſpoſitions. But I am otherwiſe perſwaded, and thinke that both theſe did proceed from one matter: for becauſe he thirſted after glory and honour, and wholly applyed himſelfe thereunto, he became liberall whereſoeuer he was, in hope either to reape preſent thankes for his labour, or a future remembrance. Wherefore ſpending aboue his reuenewes for this matter, hee was forced to be chargeable vnto his ſubiects: for it was neceſſary that hee that ſo lauiſhly beſtowed ſuch huge ſummes of money vpon others, ſhould ſome where get it, though with euill meanes. Laſtly, ſeeing himſelfe for ſuch like iniuries hated of his ſubiects, he thought it a hard matter to get their good wils; which he could do no waies elſe, but by remitting the tribute they paid him. Wherefore he abuſed the hatred of his people for his owne commodity: for if any one of them did not tolerate that ſlauery wherein they liued, or did endeauour to ſhake off the yoke of his dominion, againſt ſuch he vſed a maruailous cruelty; and outraged them no leſſe, then as if they had beene his enemies, neither reſpecting friendſhip nor kinred; for that he deſired alone to be honoured of all men. And how greedy of honour he was, we may gueſſe by the honours he did vnto *Cæſar*, *Agrippa*, and others of their friends: for he deſired to be an example to his ſubiects, that as he himſelfe honoured men better then himſelfe; ſo they ſhould all honor him likewiſe: thereby declaring what thing he did naturally moſt deſire. But the Iewes religion doth not permit them licence to honour Potentates, who of neceſſity ought to haue greater care and reſpect of right and equity, then of ſuch officiouſneſſe towards ſuperiours: for it was diſprofit enough vnto the Iewes, that they could not with ſtatuaes and Temples obtaine the Kings fauour, and with ſuch like flatteries ſatisfie the fond appetites of a vaine-glorious man. And this ſeemeth to me to be the reaſon that *Herod* was vniuſt, and hard towards his friends, and to thoſe whom he made partakers of his counſels and enterprizes; and franke and bountifull towards ſtrangers.

The yeere of the world, 3957. before Chriſts Natiuity, 7.

Herod built the Temple of Pythius.

The ſports of Olympus.

Why Herod was liberall to ſtrangers, and cruell to his owne nation.

Herod greedy of honour.

CHAP. X.

Of the Embaſſage of the Cyrenian and Aſian Iewes vnto CÆSAR.

THE Aſian and Cyrenian Iewes were greatly afflicted by the citizens of thoſe countries, who hauing had the ſame priuiledges granted vnto them by the ancient Kings that the citizens had, were now greatly iniured by the Greeks: as though they carried money out of the countrey, and were preiudiciall vnto the reſt of the inhabitants. And the Greeks making no end of theſe their iniuries, they were conſtrained by Embaſſadors to complaine of them vnto *Cæſar*: who wrote vnto euery Prouince, that it was his pleaſure that the Iewes ſhould enioy like priuiledges with the other inhabitants of the countrey. The copy of which writing we haue here ſet downe, that it may the better appeare, how the Romane Emperours of ancient times were affected vnto our nation.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 10. The Iewes of Aſia and Cyrene being afflicted by the inhabitants there, ſend an Embaſſage to Cæſar, and do obtain of him immunity.

The yeere of the world, 3957. before Christs Nativitie, 7.

Cæſar Auguſtus Pont. Max. Trib. poteſtatis, thus decreeth. For as much as the Nation of the Iewes hath alwaies beene truſty vnto the Romans, not onely at this day, but alſo in all former ages, and eſpecially in the time of our father *Cæſar* the Emperor, vnder *Hircanus* their High Prieſt: I haue ordained, that according to the common ſentence of the Senate, they ſhall liue after their countrey lawes, vnder which they liued in the time of *Hircanus* the High Prieſt of God: and that their Temple ſhall retaine the right of a ſanctuary, and that it ſhall be lawfull for them to ſend votiue money vnto Ieruſalem by certaine perſons: and that they ſhall not be compelled to appeare before any Iudge vpon their Sabbath daies, or the day before their Sabbaths, after nine of the clocke vpon the preparation day. And if any one be knowne to ſteale the holy bookes, or holy money laid vp in their places appointed for religion, he ſhal be guilty of ſacriledge: and his goods ſhall be confiſcate vnto the treaſurie of the people of Rome. I alſo decree for the good will I beare vnto all men, that their memoriall or requeſt offred vnto me by *C. Marcus Cenſorinus*, ſhall together with this my edict be publiſhed in that famous place, which all Aſia hath dedicated vnto my name, to wit, *Argyra*. And if any ſhall be ſo hardie as to doe contrary to our decree; he ſhall be puniſhed extraordinarily. This was engrauen in a pillar in *Cæſars* Temple. *Cæſar* wiſheth health vnto *Norbanus Flaccus*: Let it be lawfull for all Iewes whereſoeuer liuing, to carrie their ſacred money vnto Ieruſalem, according to their ancient cuſtome, and that no man ſhould forbid them ſo to doe: and this did *Cæſar* write in fauour of the Iewes.

Agrippa writ vnto the Rulers of Epheſus, in the Iewes behalfe, and to Syllanus and the Magiſtrates of Cyrenia.

Agrippa alſo wrote in the Iewes behalfe, as followeth: *Agrippa* wiſheth health vnto the magiſtrates, Senate, and people of Epheſus: I will that the Iewes liuing in Aſia keepe their ſacred money, which according to the cuſtome of their countrey, they are wont to ſend vnto Ieruſalem: and if any one ſhall ſteale their holy money, that the ſame perſon, if he flie to a ſanctuary, ſhall be violently taken away from thence, as a ſacrilegious perſon, and deliuered vnto the Iewes to be puniſhed. He alſo wrote vnto *Syllanus* the Magiſtrate, that the Iewes might not bee conſtrained vpon their Sabbaths to appeare before a Iudge. *M. Agrippa* wiſheth health to the Cyrenian Magiſtrates and Senate. The Iewes inhabiting amongſt you, for whom *Auguſtus* hath already written vnto *Flauius* the Preſident of Libya, and vnto other Magiſtrates of that Prouince, are not to be hindred from ſending their holy money to Ieruſalem, as their cuſtome is: and they haue now complained vnto me, that they are moleſted by the falſe accuſations of ſome bad people, and forbidden to doe it vnder pretence of a certaine tribute, which notwithſtanding they are not to pay. Wherefore I command that they may be permitted to liue after their cuſtome, and free from all ſuch matters: and if in any of your Cities any ſacred money of theirs be intercepted, that by certaine perſons which you know to be fit for that purpoſe, yee make choice of them, to ſend it againe vnto the Iewes. Item C. *Norbanus Flaccus* proconſull: Health vnto the Magiſtrates of Sardinia: *Cæſar* hath written vnto me, commanding that no man hinder the Iewes, according to their cuſtome, to ſend ſacred money vnto Ieruſalem: wherefore I alſo write vnto you of the ſame, that you may not be ignorant both of my will and *Cæſars* alſo. Moreouer, *Iulius Antonius* proconſull did alſo write to this effect; Health vnto the Magiſtrates, Senate and people of Epheſus. The Iewes of Aſia in the Ides of February, I ſitting in the iudiciall ſeat at Epheſus, ſignified vnto me that *Cæſar Auguſtus* and *Agrippa* haue permitted them to vſe their countrey cuſtomes; and euery one, according as he thinketh good, to contribute his firſt fruits for religion ſake, to be carried without let or hinderance vnto the Temple of the moſt mighty God: and they deſired me to ratifie by my conſent, that which they had already granted them by the abouenamed Emperours. Wherefore I would haue you to know, that I alſo, according vnto *Cæſars* and *Agrippas* decrees and ordinances, doe permit and grant them alſo to doe all things they pleaſe, according vnto their countrey cuſtomes, forbidding any man to hinder them therein.

Caius Norbanus Flaccus writeth in the Iewes behalfe. Iulius Antonius proconſul.

I haue thought good to annexe theſe decrees, for that I know that theſe my writings will come vnto the Grecians hands, that I may ſhew them, that in former ages we were ſo eſteemed of the publike Magiſtrates, that none were permitted to hinder vs from vſing our countrey rites and ceremonies, and that by their conſent we worſhipped God in our owne religion: which I doe inculcate the oftner, that I may mooue ſtrange and forrain nations, and take away their hatred conceiued againſt vs, which is without all reaſonable cauſe. For no nation doth alwaies vſe the ſame cuſtoms, but almoſt whole townes amongſt them do ſometimes alter and differ from the reſt; yet is iuſtice equally to be diſtributed vnto all men: which is moſt profitable, as well to the Greeks as to other barbarous nations, which is greatly obſerued in our lawes; which if we follow and violate not, are able to make all narions loue vs. Wherfore we requeſt all men not to deſpiſe vs, for

that

that we differ from them in religion, but fauour vs in that we follow vertue. For this is common to all nations: and without this, mans life cannot ſtand. But I will now returne vnto my hiſtory.

The yeere of the world, 3957. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 7.

CHAP. XI.

How HEROD, *hauing need of money, opened* DAVIDS *Sepulchre.*

HEROD ſpending lauiſhly much and many ſummes of money, both at home and abroad, hearing that *Hircanus* who raigned before him, opened *Dauids* Sepulchre, and tooke out of it three thouſand talents of ſiluer, and that there was left yet farre more, able to defray any great charges whatſoeuer, he long time purpoſed to doe the like. And at this time in the night ſeaſon accompanied onely with his moſt truſty friends, being very wary that none of the people ſhould know of it, he entred into the Sepulchre: but he found no money there, as *Hircanus* did; but he tooke from thence a great company of precious attires and ornaments of gold; whereby he was enticed to make a more diligent ſearch: and he ſent two of his company for the nonce into the inner part of the Sepulcher, where the bodies of *Salomon* and *Dauid* were intombed; who were there loſt, and as it is reported, fire came out of thoſe ſecret places and conſumed them. Whereat *Herod* being terrified, departed out of it; and mooued with religion to make ſatisfaction, he builded a moſt ſumptuous monument of white marble, at the entrance into the Sepulchre: of which building *Nicholaus* alſo a writer of that time, maketh mention; but he ſpeaketh not how they went into the Sepulchre of *Dauid*, thinking that therein he ſhould not keepe *decorum*, if he ſhould make mention thereof. Wherein he followed this accuſtomed order: for his writings were to come to the eares of the King yet liuing, wherein he did onely curry fauor, mentioning onely that, that might redound vnto the Kings credit: ſo that many of his open and wicked pranks, he doth either colour vnder ſome other pretence, or elſe all waies poſſible he endeoureth to hide them. For he doth as it were tell a tale of *Herods* cruelty againſt *Mariamme* and his ſonnes; as though he did thereby deſerue credit and praiſe, accuſing her of adultery, and them as Traitors vnto their father: and this he doth cleane through his works, too much extolling the Kings good deeds, and too diligently excuſing his bad deeds and iniquities. But as I haue ſaid, we muſt pardon him, who did not ſo much write to leaue a memory of things done vnto after-ages, as to gratifie and pleaſe his King. But I, who come of the linage of the Aſamonian Kings, and execute the office of a Prieſt, account it a ſhame to lye: and doe intend truely to recount the hiſtory of all things that were acted and done, yet with a reuerence of the poſterity of that King, who doe alſo now beare ſway and rule; yet with their pardon and leaue, hauing a greater care to the verity of our hiſtory, then to them.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 7. al. 7. 12. The deſire of gold.

Herod loſt two of his men in Dauids Sepulchre.

Nicholaus the hiſtoriographer reproued

Ioſeph came of the Prieſtly line of the Aſamonians.

A diſcord in Herods houſe.

After the Sepulchre was thus violated, *Herods* houſe began to decay, whether reuenge lighting vpon that part which was already ſcarce ſound, or whether by meere chance ſuch calamity at that time befell him, as might iuſtly be thought the reward of impiety. For there was a diſcord in the court not vnlike vnto ciuill warres, euery one ſtriuing againſt other with hatred and forged accuſations: but eſpecially *Antipaters* politicke practice againſt his brethren was to be noted, who intangling them by other mens forged accuſations, himſelfe oftentimes ſeemed to take vpon him their defence, that making a ſhew of good will vnto them, he might ſecretly oppreſſe them the ſooner; and he did ſo craftily circumuent his father, that his father deemed him to be his onely conſeruer. Wherefore the King commended *Ptolomeus* his procurator vnto *Antipater* his ſonne, and did communicate all his ſecrets vnto his mother, ſo that all things were done according as they pleaſed, and they made him diſpleaſed with thoſe, againſt whom they knew the Kings diſpleaſure might redound vnto their profit.

Antipaters crafty plotting againſt his brethren.

But *Mariammes* children did euery day ſtomacke the matter more and more, diſdaining to giue place vnto their inferiour: and for their nobility not enduring to be remooued from their places, and not to keepe their dignity alſo, their wiues did the like, and *Alexanders* wife *Glaphyra*, who was the daughter of *Archelaus* King of Cappadocia, did greatly enuy and diſdaine *Salome*; and ſhe alſo her againe, both for the loue that ſhe bare vnto her husband, and for that ſhe diſdained (as women are wont) that her daughter married vnto *Ariſtobulus*, ſhould be in equall honour with her. *Pheroras* alſo the Kings brother had a hand in this other contention about a priuate cauſe of ſuſpicion and hatred. For he fell ſo farre in loue with one of his maids, that he refuſed the Kings daughter offered vnto him, rather making choice of his maide. *Herod* tooke this in very ill part, ſeeing his brother (who had receiued ſo many benefits at his hands, and

The women at diſcord and variance.

Pheroras refuſed the Kings daughter offered him to wife.

The yeere of the world, 3937. before Christs Nativity, 7.

was almost his fellow in his kingdome by his means)not to shew the like brotherly affection to G him againe as he then ought, and himselfe to be an vnhappy brother. And seeing he could not disswade him from that madnesse,hee married his daughter vnto *Phasaelus* his sonne: and afterward thinking that now his brothers minde towards his maid was satisfied, he complaining of his iniurious dealing,in repulsing his daughter, offered vnto him to wife, he now offered him another of his daughters named *Cypros*. Then *Ptolomeus* aduised *Pheroras* not still to contemne his brothers offer, and persist in such folly; telling him it was meere folly therefore to incurre the Kings displeasure and hatred, and losse of tranquillity. *Pheroras* vnderstanding this counsell profitable for him,hauing bin once before iniuriously accused,and obtained pardon at the Kings hands,sent away his maid, by whom he now had a son,and promised the King to marry this his other daughter, and appointed the thirtieth day after to celebrate his marriage;making a solemn oath vnto the King, neuer after that time to vse the company of that woman whom he had put away. The time appointed being expired,he fell so farre in loue with the former woman, that he would not stand to his promise, but againe companied with his maid.

Then *Herod*,not able any longer to contain himselfe,vsed many speeches,whereby he euidently shewed his mind to be alienated from his brother. And there were many who taking hereat opportunity,did by forged calumniations encrease his alienation: so that now there was no day nor houre past, wherein he did not still heare some new alterations and stirs amongst his dearest friends;whom nature willed to combine themselues to maintain concord and amity. For *Salome* being now offended at *Mariammes* children,did not permit her daughter married vnto *Aristobulus*,one of the yong men,to enioy mutuall loue and comfort of her husband, enticing her to bewray her husbands secret talke: and if she heard any small occasions of offence (as often it falleth out) she should the more aggrauate them with suspicions,whereby she also learned all their secrets,and made the young woman hate her husband. And she to please her mother,recounted how that often when her husband and *Alexander* were alone, that then they were wont to talke of *Mariamme* their mother,and vse reprochfull words against their father;and threatning,that if they euer did obtaine the kingdome,they would make the sonnes of the King,whom he had by other wiues,notaries and towne clerkes: and so they might reape profit of their learning which they now studied for:and whensoeuer they saw any of the Kings wiues weare any of *Mariammes* apparell, that then they vowed in stead of that attire, to cloath them with sackcloth, and shut them vp where they should neuer see sun. *Salome* presently told all this to the King: who though he were much grieued hereat,yet he chose rather to seeke to amend it, then to punish them: for he was greatly incited against them by suspicion,and euery day waxing worse and worse, at last he beleeued all the reports of any whomsoeuer. But he then contented onely sharpely to chide his sonnes, and pacified with their excuses and answers, he for that time was quiet.

Salome intised her daughter to bewray her husbands secrets.

But presently the mischiefe was againe set on foot: for *Pheroras* the Kings brother, meeting *Alexander*, who (as we haue said) was *Glaphyra* her husband,who was daughter to *Archelaus*: he told him that he heard by *Salome*, that *Herod* was far in loue with *Glaphyra*: so that he could not shake off this affection. The young man hearing this,became iealous,and was in a great rage: and now what honour soeuer or gifts *Herod* for the loue of his son gaue her, *Alexander* did interpret it in the worst sense, being now made iealous by that which he had heard of *Pheroras*; and not able to put vp such iniuries,as he thought;he went vnto his father,& with teares recounted vnto him what *Pheroras* had told him. But *Herod* was hereat the more enflamed, not enduring himselfe falsly to be accused of so shamefull a fact,inueighing against the great malice of his friends, who for his great good turnes he did them, so rewarded him. And presently sending for *Pheroras*,very sharply he began to chide him, saying: O most impious that liueth amongst men! art thou become so vngratefull,either to speake or thinke such a matter of vs? Thinkest thou that I doe not perceiue thy drift; that thou spakest not these words vnto my sonne to discredit mee, but also to the intent by this means thou mightest worke some treason against me, and cause me to be poisoned? For who but a good sonne,as this is,would suffer his father, suspected for such a matter,to liue,and not to be reuenged of him for such offence? Whether dost thou thinke that thou didst put these speeches into his minde, or by them a sword into his hand to kill his father withall? or what was thy intent,seeing thou hatest both him and his brother;and onely counterfeiting good will towards me,to belie me,and to report that of me,that without impiety could not be thought: get thee hence, thou wretched imp, seeing thou hast thus abused thy brother, who hath well deserued at thy hands;and do as thou wilt all thy life time,my selfe wil endeuour to be better vnto my children,then I haue beene; and neither will I punish them as they deserue, but

Herod greatly mouedagainst Pheroras,for affirming that he was in loue with Glaphyra

A but I will honor them aboue their merits. The King hauing diſcharged his choler againſt his brother *Pheroras*; and hee being taken in a manifeſt fault, anſwered, that that report was firſt deuiſed by *Salome*, of whom he heard it: which ſhe (being then preſent) hearing, began to exclaim, ſaying, it was not her deuice, & that they all laboured to make the King hate her, and put her to death, being one who did eſpecially wiſh him well; and what in her lay, ſeeking his ſafety, & that now he was in danger of more treaſon then euer before: for (ſaid ſhe) I was the only cauſe that you did put away the woman, whom you ſo doated after, perſwading you to marry the Kings daughter: and this is the cauſe that you hate me. With theſe ſpeeches tearing her haire, and ſtriking her breſt, ſhe made a ſhew of innocency: but this her geſture was a colour to hide her B bad intent. So *Pheroras* was left in great perplexity, not knowing what to ſay or do; and finding no pretence to excuſe his fact: for on the one ſide he confeſſed, that he told it vnto *Alexander*, & on the other, he could not make *Herod* beleeue, that he heard it of *Salome*. This contention endured a good while: at laſt the King being wearied, ſent away his brother and his ſiſter: and greatly commending his ſons moderate mind, and that he had giuen him intelligence of thoſe ſpeeches, very late in the night, he went to ſupper.

The yeere of the world, 3957. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 7.

Salome excuſeth her ſelfe.

After this contention, *Salome* was hardly thought of, becauſe ſhe was iudged to be the author of this ill report, & the Kings wiues wiſhed euil vnto her, becauſe they knew her to be of ſtrange qualities & hard to pleaſe, and ſo variable, that according to the time, one while ſhe would profeſſe friendſhip, and preſently after hatred. Wherfore they ſtill had ſomthing to informe *Herod* C of againſt her, taking occaſion hapning by chance, which was this: There was a King of the Arabians, named *Obodas*, a ſlothfull man, and one giuen to idleneſſe: and there was one *Syllæus* that did gouern all his affaires; this man was a crafty fellow, & in the prime of his youth, and very beautifull. This *Syllæus* comming vnto *Herod* about ſome buſineſſe, & viewing *Salome*, who then ſate at ſupper with him, began to ſet his mind vpon her: & finding ſhe was a widow, he entred into talke with her: and ſhe finding her brother now not ſo friendly vnto her as before he had been, and alſo entangled with the beauty of this young man, did not greatly deny to marry him; and many feaſts being made at that time, they ſhewed euident ſignes of their mutuall conſent, and loue one vnto another. The Kings wiues told the King of this in ſcoffing ſort. *Herod* herewith not contented, demanded of *Pheroras* how the matter ſtood, & willed him at ſupper time D to note if he could eſpy any tokens of familiarity betwixt them: And *Pheroras* told him that by ſignes and mutuall viewing one another, they ſufficiently ſhewed their intents. After this the Arabian being ſuſpected, departed into his own countrey. But two or three moneths after he came againe into Iudæa, only for this purpoſe, & talked with *Herod* touching this matter, requeſting him to let *Salome* be his wife: affirming that that affinity would be profitable vnto him for the traffick between his people & the Arabians, whoſe Prince he was to bee, and did already enioy a great part of the dominion. *Herod* told all this vnto his ſiſter, and asked her if ſhee would marry him; and ſhee anſwered, ſhe would. Then they requeſted that *Syllæus* ſhould become a Iew in a religion, or elſe it was not lawful for him to marry her. He would not condeſcend hereE unto, affirming that he ſhould bee ſtoned to death by his people, if he did it; and ſo he departed without obtaining his purpoſe. From that time forth, *Pheroras*, and eſpecially the Kings wiues accuſed *Salome* of intemperancy, affirming that ſhe had had the company of the Arabian. Now *Herod* determined to marry his daughter vnto *Salomes* ſon, whom *Pheroras* refuſed for the loue of his maid, which ſon of *Salomes* was her eldeſt that ſhe had by *Coſtabarus*; and that to ſhew his good will toward *Salome* his ſiſter. But he was diſſwaded by *Pheroras*, who told him that the yong man would neuer loue ſuch a father in law, becauſe of his fathers death, perſwading him rather to marry her to his eldeſt ſon, who was to ſucceed him in his Tetrarchy: which he eaſily perſwaded the King vnto, & ſo obtained pardon for his former offence. Wherefore the ſpouſals being changed, the maid was married vnto the yong man, who had an hundred talents in dowry with her, more then otherwiſe ſhould haue been giuen with her.

The effect of calumniation.

Syllæus the Arabian deſiring Salome to wife, was denied.

Herod married his daughter to Pheroras ſonne.

But all this while the diſſenſion of *Herods* houſe did not ceaſe, but rather increaſed, he hauing a ſhamefull beginning, and comming to a ſorrowfull end. *Herod* had three Eunuches, whom he greatly eſteemed for their beauty: one of them was his butler; the other his cook; and the third his chamberlaine; whom alſo he was wont to employ in ſerious affaires of his Kingdome. Some one or other informed the King, that theſe three Eunuches were corrupted by his ſon *Alexander* with great ſummes of money, and being vpon tortures examined if they had accompanied with him, they confeſſed all: yet they affirmed that they knew no practice of his attempted againſt his father. But their torments being increaſed by *Antipaters* fauourites, they were forced to

The ſons hatred towards their father is bewraied.

confeſſe that *Alexander* ſecretly hated his father, and hee exhorted them to forſake *Herod*, who G
The yeere of the world, 3957. before Chriſts birth, was now good for nothing; who diſſembled his age by painting his face to make himſelfe ſeem younger then he was, and colouring his head & beard black, which were already growne very white through age: but rather ſet their mindes vpon him, who would in deſpite of his father enioy his Kingdome due vnto him, and that then he would aduance them to the higheſt honours of the Kingdome: for he had not only title vnto it by his birth, but alſo was now prepared likewiſe to inuade it; and that he had many of the captaines, of the ſouldiers, and many of the Kings friends on his ſide, who were prepared to do or endure any thing for his ſake.

Herod hearing this, feare and anger did inuade him, by reaſon that his ſonnes words ſeemed both contumelious & threatning: & being for both theſe cauſes in a rage, he feared ſome greater matter to bee put in practice againſt him, which he could not ſuddenly, and hauing ſo little warning, auoid; and not daring to make open inquiry, he ſet ſecret ſpies awork, to tell him how all matters ſtood, himſelfe now muſtruſting all men, and accounting it his ſecurity to miſtruſt all, euen them that deſerued it not: and not moderating his ſuſpicious mind, now whoſoeuer was the neereſt vnto him, was the more ſuſpected, as of moſt power to iniure him. As for others that were but only named by his ſpies, he preſently eſteemed it his ſafety to put them to death.

Herod crediteth all tales, and ſo putteth many to death vniuſtly.

Then they of his houſehold, euery one being carefull to ſaue himſelfe, were one turned againſt another, euery one deeming it his owne ſafety to preuent others, by accuſing them vnto *Herod*: which done, preſently they incited other mens enuy againſt them, and euery one of them to deſire ſuch meaſure as they had meaſured vnto others: and thus they alſo reuenged their priuate quarrels; and preſently after, they themſelues were taken, and did by other mens meanes ſuffer the like, being entrapped in the ſame trappe they ſet for their enemies. For the King did quickly repent himſelfe, becauſe he had put very many to death, who were not conuicted: yet for all that, hee was not hereby admoniſhed to beware of the like hereafter; but on his repentance for their death, raged ſo farre, as to cauſe him to inflict the ſame puniſhment vpon their accuſers, which he had done vpon them. So great trouble and feare then fell vpon all the whole Court. Hee then commanded many of his deareſt friends, and them eſpecially whoſe fidelity he had beforetimes experienced, not to come in his ſight, nor within his court gates. For hee did now ſhake off the friendſhip between *Andromachus* and *Gemellus* and himſelfe, who were his ancient friends, and oftentimes had gone Embaſſadours for him, & alwaies been of his counſell, and had been tutors vnto his children, in whom he had alwaies repoſed more truſt then in any others: the one of them, for that his ſon *Demetrius* was familiar with *Alexander*; and *Gemellus*, for that he knew him to wiſh well vnto *Alexander*: for he was one of them who had brought him vp, and had aboad with him at his being at Rome. And no doubt but he had cenſured them with ſome more heauy ſentence, had it not been that they were ſo eminent perſons. Wherfore at that time he was contented to haue baniſhed them, and depriued them of all their authority, to the end, that hauing now diſgraced theſe good men, he might the more freely play the Tyrant. *Antipater* was the cauſe of all this miſchiefe, who from the firſt time that he perceiued his father to be fearefull and ſuſpicious, ſtill after that ioyned with him as counſellor, & as it were increaſed his rage and cruelty; and then he gallantly played his part, endeuouring, that whoſoeuer would reſiſt him, ſhould be made away. Wherefore *Andromachus* & the reſt of his friends being now baniſhed the court; the King preſently tortured all that he imagined any way to fauour *Alexander*, to ſee if they were guilty; or if they knew of any treaſon to be practiſed againſt him: but they knowing nothing to inform him of, died amidſt their torments. Where he ſo much more tortured others, for that contrary to his opinion, he found not ſo much as an euill thought againſt him; *Antipater* craftily interpreting it, that they had rather in torments conceale the truth, then to ſhew themſelues not truſty to their maſters and friends: wherefore many being taken, he cauſed them to be tortured to get ſome thing out of ſome of them. At laſt one amongſt the reſt, not able to indure thoſe torments impoſed vpon him, ſaid; that he had often heard *Alexander* ſay, ſo often as any one commended his goodly ſtature, or skilfull ſhooting, & the reſt of his vertues, that theſe qualities nature beſtowed vpon him rather then other benefits; for his father for enuy hereat was offended: ſo that when he talked with him, he did vpon purpoſe draw his body together, leſt his father ſhould perceiue the taleneſſe of his ſtature; and that when he went a hunting with him, he vpon purpoſe did miſſe the mark he could haue hit, becauſe he knew his father could not endure that he ſhould be cõmended. And whilſt theſe his words were conſidered, & pondred, and his torments intermitted; he again accuſed *Alexander* to haue conſpired with his brother *Ariſtobulus*, to kil his father when he was hunting, & then to flie with ſpeed vnto Rome,

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 8.

Herod denieth to bee familiar with Andromachus & Gemellus.

Antipater the cauſe of all miſchiefe.

Many were tortured and examined for Alexanders cauſe.

A Rome, and beg the Kingdome of *Cæsar*. There were also found some of this young mans letters written vnto his brother, complaining of the iniurious dealing of his father, who had giuen certaine grounds vnto *Antipater*, the yeerly reuenues wherof amounted vnto two hundreth talents. Then *Herod* thinking himselfe to haue probability enough, his former suspicion was now confirmed, & so he tooke *Alexander* and cast him in prison: and againe he began to rage; notwithstanding that himselfe did scarcely beleeue the informations against him: neither could he himselfe deuise any cause wherefore they should seek to worke treason against him. And those complaints seemed childish: neither was it probable that hauing openly killed his father, he would afterwards haue gone to Rome. Wherefore endeuouring to finde some stronger argument of
B his sonnes impiety, and because he would not bee thought rashly to haue committed his son to prison, he caused the most noble and eminent of all *Alexanders* well-willers to be tortured, and they confessing no such matter as he expected, he put them to death.

The yeere of the world, 3957. before Christs Nativitie, 7.

Alexander being in prison, his friends were tortured.

Whilest thus all the Court did resound with feare, torments, and contentions, a certaine man accused *Alexander* to haue sent letters to his friends at Rome, to entreat them to cause him to be sent for by *Cæsar* thither, that he might accuse his father of certaine conspiracies against *Cæsar*, and how he more esteemed the friendship of *Mithridates* King of the Parthians, then the friendship of the Romans: affirming also, that he had poison ready prepared at Ascalon. *Herod* hearing this, was comforted by the parasites about him, as hauing not done any thing rashly; and so he gaue now full credit vnto all: yet the poyson was diligently sought for, but could not be found.

One accused Alexander to haue sent letters to Rome against his father.

C *Alexander* being now oppressed with this calamity, he yet took courage, and because he would more incite his fathers displeasure against him, he did not deny it: perhaps meaning to make his father ashamed of himselfe, for giuing credit so easily vnto forged tales; or at least, if he could not effect that, entangle all the court and him too in calamity and misery: Which that he might the better do, he writ foure little bookes, and sent them vnto his father, telling him that it was needlesse to vse any more torments, for indeed treason was intended against him, and that *Pheroras* and his most trusty friends were herein conspirators: And that in the night time *Salome* came secretly vnto him, and as it were forced him to lie with her; and that all of them aymed at this mark, to haue him made away, that so they might enioy their wished liberty. He also accused *Ptolomeus* & *Sapinnius* of this conspiracy, who were more faithfull vnto their King, then all
D others: so that now these men, who before were most friendly one to another, began like mad men to rage one against another: and punishment so hastily pursued euery one, that they had no leasure giuen them to speake in their owne defence: neither was their punishment deferred till their cause was tryed, and the truth know, that some were bound and imprisoned, other some presently put to death, other laughed in their sleeues to see that day, yet discontented for that any delay was vsed for their punishment: so that the Kings Court was now greatly defaced with sorrow, and heauinesse, wherewith the wonted felicity thereof was destroyed. *Herod* himselfe amidst these calamites, could not but be weary of his life, who not daring trust himselfe in any bodies hand, he was tormented with a daily and hourely feare of some vntimely death, that would befall him: and many times perswaded himselfe, that he did see his sons before him with
E a drawne sword, ready to kill him; and this was his cogitation night and day, so that herewith he almost ran mad.

Alexander confesseth the treason, and who had a hand in it.

Herod was so troubled with the cõtention in his house, that hee was weary of his life.

CHAP. XII.

How Archelaus *King of Cappadocia reconciled* Alexander *vnto his father.*

WHilest *Herod* was thus troubled in his mind, *Archelaus* King of Cappadocia carefull for his daughter, and the young man his sonne in lawe, and pitying his friend *Herod* entangled in such calamities; hee thought it his duty to make a iourney vnto him. And
F finding him so affected as it was reported vnto him before his comming, he thought it an vnfit way to argue him of too much credulity and rashnesse; perceiuing that thereby he would be rather exasperated, so much the more labouring to excuse himselfe. Wherefore *Archelaus* deuised another way to appease these troubles. Wherefore hee counterfeited indignation against the young man, approuing all the Kings actions for good; affirming that he would breake the band of wedlock between his daughter and *Alexander*, and that if she knew of the conspiracy, and did not informe the King thereof, himselfe would punish her. Then *Herod*, contrary to his expectation, seeing *Archelaus* so angry for the offence committed against him, began to remit his anger:

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 9. al. 13.

Archelaus the King of Cappadocia faineth displeasure against Alexander his son in law, and so reconciled Herod vnto him.

The yeere of the world, 3957. before Christs birth, 7.

anger: and now with iuſt conſideration waighing what he had done, by little & little, he began to haue a fatherly affection, & to be hereby moued to compaſſion; yet ſo oft as any one ſought to excuſe the young man, he grew to be very angry thereat: but when *Archelaus* alſo began to accuſe him, then *Herods* heart relented, and he with tearts beſought *Archelaus* not to yeeld too much to anger, nor for the yong mans offence breake off the marriage. Then *Archelaus* perceiuing him to relent, began to turn the matter againſt *Herods* friends, as the cauſers of all this miſchiefe, who had corrupted the yong man, who of himſelfe was void of malice; and eſpecially he aggrauated the matter againſt *Pheroras* the Kings brother. *Pheroras* hauing now incurd the Kings diſpleaſure, perceiued that none could ſo ſoon reconcile him vnto the King, as *Archelaus*; wherefore cloathed in black, and making other ſignes as though he deſpaired of his life, he went vnto him; who did not deny to help him what he could: yet he told him that it was no eaſie matter for him to pacifie the King ſo highly offended, perſwading him rather himſelfe to go vnto the King his brother, and craue pardon of him; confeſſing himſelfe to haue beene cauſe of all this miſchief; by which confeſſion of his the Kings wrath would be greatly appeaſed, & ſo he alſo ſhould haue better occaſion to entreat for him. *Pheroras* followed his counſell, which fell out happily for them both: for the young man, contrary to any ones expectation, was freed from all his troubles; & *Archelaus* made *Pheroras* & *Herod* friends; & he himſelf hauing now gotten great friendſhip of the King in thoſe his aduerſe and troublous times of his, he returned ioyfully into Cappadocia, being rewarded with rich gifts, and being accounted of as *Herods* chiefeſt friend. They alſo agreed amongſt themſelues, that *Herod* ſhould goe to Rome, becauſe he had already written vnto *Cæſar*, concerning this matter: & they both went together vnto Antiochia, & there *Herod* reconciled *Titus* the Preſident of Syria vnto *Archelaus*, and ſo he returned into Iudæa.

Archelaus laieth the fault of Alexanders offence vpon others, and eſpecially vpon Pheroras.

Pheroras confeſſed himſelfe to be author of all miſchiefe, and obtaineth pardon of his brother.

Herod accompanied Archelaus vnto Antioch.

CHAP. XIII.

How the Trachonites reuolted.

The yeere of the world, 3958. before the birth of Chriſt, 6.

WHileſt *Herod* going to Rome was abſent from his Kingdome, the Arabian warres began, hereby taking an occaſion: The inhabitants of Trachon, whoſe country *Cæſar* taking from *Zenodorus*, gaue it vnto *Herod*, being forbidden & hindred from ſtealing, were now forced to frame themſelues to liue like husbandmen in more ciuility then before: but this kind of life pleaſed them not; neither did their country yeeld fruits worth their labours; yet at firſt *Herod* compelling them thereunto, they abſtained from iniuring the inhabitants bordring vpon them, which did greatly redound vnto *Herods* credit, by whoſe diligence they were brought vnto it. But when *Herod* was ſayled into Italy to accuſe *Alexander*, and to commend *Antipater* vnto *Cæſar*, the Trachonites hearing a bruit of his death, reuolted and turned to their accuſtomed robberies: Yet were they at that time again ſubdued in the Kings abſence by the captains that he left at home; and forty of the chiefeſt of the theeues amongſt them being taken, the reſt terrified by their example left their own country, and fled into Arabia, where *Syllæus* receiued them, in reuenge that he could not obtaine *Salome* for his wife; and receiuing of him a ſtrong hold to dwell in, they did not only make incurſions, and rob & ſpoile the borders of Iudæa, but alſo of Cœloſyria, and draue away the preyes they got, into the place allotted them, *Syllæus* protecting them and their villanies. *Herod* returning from Rome, found that his people were greatly endamaged by theſe theeues: and ſeeing he could not ſubdue them, by reaſon the Arabians did protect them, not enduring that iniury, and entring into Trachon, hee killed all their families: whereby they were ſo much the more enraged againſt his country, for they had a law amongſt them, whereby they were commanded to reuenge the death of their families, and ſo contemning all dangers, they came and waſted all *Herods* country with continuall incurſions. Then the King complained hereof vnto *Saturninus* and *Volumnius* then Preſidents ſent thither by *Cæſar*, requeſting that he might haue the theeues to puniſh them. They hearing this newes, with as much ſpeede as they might, gathered their forces together, and making themſelues ſtronger then they were before, with ſudden incurſions waſted all where they came, deſtroying both the fields and villages, & killing all they could finde; ſo that now this reſembled a war, rather then a robbery: for now they were a thouſand in number. Wherefore *Herod* required theſe theeues and robbers to bee deliuered vnto him, and required the debt that *Obodas* ought him, for *Herod* had lent *Obodas* threeſcore talents, and ſent them vnto him by *Syllæus*, and now the time was expired wherein the money was to bee repayed. But *Syllæus*, who had taken all the rule from *Obodas*, and himſelfe now gouerned all, denyed that thoſe theeues were in Arabia,

The cauſe of the Arabian warre.

Cæſar gaue Trachonitis to Herod. Alias, cha. 14.

Herods captaines ſubdue the rebels in Arabia.

The theeues taken and puniſhed.

Alias, cha. 15.

Herod demanded the theeues to bee deliuered vnto him, and the mony he had lent to be repaied.

A Arabia, and deferred the payment of the money: ſo that now this matter was debated on before *Saturninus* and *Volumnius* then Preſidents of Syria. At laſt it was by them determined, that within thirtie daies, the money due to *Herod* ſhould be repayed, and the runawaies of both countries deliuered each to other. But there was no one Arabian that either had fled vnto *Herod* for any offence committed nor for any other cauſe: but the Arabians were conuicted to receiue the theeues that fled from *Herod*.

The yeere of the world, 3958. before Chriſts Natiuity, 6.

Saturninus & Volumnius, the Rulers of Syria, doe reconcile Herod and the Arabians.

CHAP. XIIII.

How HEROD *went into Arabia with an army.*

B WHEN the day was come that was appointed, *Syllæus* not minded to ſtand vnto the agreement made, went in the meane time to Rome: But *Herod* exacted his money, & the theeues to be reſtored vnto him, *Saturnius* & *Volumnius* permitting him with force of armes to perſecute thoſe obſtinate people: ſo he leuying an armie, went into Arabia, in three daies ſpace going as farre as ordinarily men are wont to march in ſeuen, and comming vnto the caſtle wherein the theeues kept, at the firſt onſet he tooke it and deſtroyed it, being called Repta, and did no other harme vnto the inhabitants. And a Captaine of the Arabians, named *Nacebus*, came to ſuccour the theeues, and ſo fought with *Herods* armie, in which battell a few of *Herods* men were ſlaine, but of the Arabians were ſlaine fiue and twentie, with their Generall, and the C reſt were put to flight. Being thus reuenged vpon the theeues, hee led 3000. Idumæans into Trachon to keepe the inhabitants from robbing, and ſent Letters vnto the Romane Gouernours, who aboad in Phœnicia, that he had only vſed the authoritie which they gaue him againſt the rebellious Arabians that reſiſted him, and nothing elſe: which afterward alſo, they making inquiry, they found true.

Herod by the permiſſion of Saturninus & Volumnius, entred into Arabia with an army, and deſtroyed the Caſtle called Repta.

Nacebus with 25. Arabians ſlaine.

Herod carried 3000. Idumæans into Trachon.

CHAP. XV.

How SYLLÆVS *accuſed* HEROD *vnto* CÆSAR.

D BVt then were meſſengers haſtily ſent vnto *Syllæus* at Rome, and informed him otherwiſe, aggrauating euery thing according to their faſhion. *Syllæus* being new before inſinuated into *Cæſars* acquaintance, by chance was then alſo about the Palace; and hearing theſe newes, he preſently changed his apparell, and cloathing himſelfe in black, he went in this manner vnto *Cæſar*, informing him how Arabia was afflicted with wars, and that the whole kingdome was waſted by *Herod*, who had entred into the countrey with an army, and with teares complained that 2000 and 500 of the Arabian nobility were ſlaine, and amongſt them his friend & kinſman *Nacebus*, and great riches were taken away, which were laid vp at Repta, and that all this was done in contempt of *Obodes* who had no army ready, nor a fit Captaine for his forces, he being not there. *Syllæus* hauing thus ſpoken, adding moreouer, that he would not haue come to Rome, but that he was perſwaded that *Cæſar* would haue had a care of the common peace, and tranquil- E lity of his ſubiects, and that had he bin at home, *Herod* to his coſt ſhould haue violated that peace: *Cæſar* hereat was greatly mooued, and inquired of ſome of *Herods* friends, who were then preſent, and of certaine men that were lately come out of Syria alſo, whither *Herod* had led an army out of the limits of his owne kingdome. Which they not denying, and *Cæſar* not vouchſafing to heare the cauſe why, his diſpleaſure againſt *Herod* was greatly increaſed, ſo that he writ threatning Letters vnto him; telling him that hitherto he had vſed him as a friend, but hereafter hee would vſe him as a ſubiect; which alſo *Syllæus* ſignified vnto the Arabians. By which letters of his they were made proud, and would neither render vnto him the theeues that were eſcaped, nor reſtore the money he lent their King; nor pay him rent for the paſture ground that they hired of him; boulſtering themſelues herewith, that the King had offended *Cæſar*. Moreouer, the F Trachonites hearing this, rebelled againſt the garriſon of the Idumæans; and ioyning with the Arabian theeues, who waſted their countrey, not ſo much reſpecting their owne gaine as their reuenge and particular profit, they did many miſchiefs, and exerciſed great crueltie againſt them. *Herod* did put vp all iniuries, and durſt not once mutter, *Cæſar* being offended at him; for the which cauſe he was not ſo couragious nor valiant as before: For firſt of all, *Cæſar* would not admit his Embaſſadours, whom he ſent to plead his cauſe before *Cæſar*; and *Herod* againe ſending other Embaſſadours, *Cæſar* ſent them backe againe, their buſineſſe vndone.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 10. al. 16.

Syllæus accuſed Herod vnto Cæſar.

The Arabians and Trachonites, vnderſtanding that Cæſar was offended with Herod, reioyce thereat.

Wherefore *Herod* being in this perplexitie, greatly feared *Syllæus*, who being now at Rome, did

The yeere of the world, 3960. before Christs Nativity, 4.

Cæsar offended with Herod.

Obodas dying, Æneas succeeded him in the Arabian kingdome.

Cæsar would not giue audience to the Arabian Embassadors.

did easily perswade *Cæsar* any thing; for that *Cæsar* was now very credulous; and *Syllæus* aymed at some greater matter. For *Obodas* dying, *Æneas* succeeded him in the kingdome of Arabia, who changing his name, called himselfe *Aretas*: whom *Syllæus* by forged calumniations did seeke to depose from the crowne, and vsurpe the kingdome vnto himselfe; giuing great summes of money vnto the courtiers, and promising great summes vnto *Cæsar*; whom he now perceiued to be angry against *Aretas*, for that without his consent he presumed to take vpon him the gouernment of the kingdome. But at last he also sent letters & gifts vnto *Cæsar*, and amongst the rest a crowne of gold worth many talents, and in those letters he accused *Syllæus*, who as an impious and disloyall seruant, had poysoned his King *Obodas*; in whose life-time hee had also inuaded the gouernment of the kingdome, committing adultery with the Arabians wiues, getting together other mens money, thereby to obtaine the kingdome. *Cæsar* would not permit these Embassadors to haue audience; but refusing their gifts, suffered them to depart without obtaining that they came for. In the meane time the affaires of Iudæa and Arabia euery day became worse and worse, euery one seeking to trouble the estate of both kingdomes, and no man endeuouring to quiet them. For the King of Arabia was not yet established in his kingdome, and therefore could not controule his subiects. And *Herod* feared that if he did defend himselfe, he should so much the more incite *Cæsar* against him; and so was forced to put vp all iniuries that were done vnto him: and finding no end of his miseries, he finally determined to send againe to Rome Embassadors, to see if by the helpe of his friends, *Cæsar* might be perswaded to thinke better of him, and so committed that Embassage vnto *Nicholaus* of Damasco, and sent him to Rome.

Herod sent Nicholaus Damascene to Cæsar.

CHAP. XVI.

Of EVRYCLES *his calumniations against* HERODS *sonnes.*

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 11. al. 17.

Eurycles a Lacedemonian insinuateth himselfe into Herods familiaritie.

Eurycles insinuated himselfe into Alexanders friendship.

AT this time the dissension of *Herods* house was much increased; and although at all other times his Court was neuer voide of suspicion, which is a pernicious euill to Kings and Princes, yet at that time especially this mischiefe was in his principall vigor & force. For one *Eurycles* a Lacedemonian and a noble man of his country, but hauing a turbulent wit giuen ouer to flattery and pleasure, yet cunningly dissembling both vices, comming vnto *Herod* and giuing him gifts, and receiuing greater gifts at his hands, was by him courteously entertained; and familiarly conuersing with him, brought it so to passe that he was receiued amongst his especiall friends. This *Eurycles* lodged at *Antipaters* house, being also familiar with *Alexander* for their often meeting one another: for he said that *Archelaus* King of Cappadocia and himselfe were great friends, & therefore he counterfeited himselfe to reuerence *Glaphyra* very much; and all men iudging him indifferent vnto all parties, he diligently noted whatsoeuer past, and euery word that was spoken, seeking by all meanes he could, matter to gratifie others by carrying of tales; and with such flattering faire speeches he insinuated himselfe into euery mans friendship, that he seemed as *Alexanders* sole trusty friend, and to vse other men as it behooued a friend. And by this his deceit, he so insinuated himselfe into *Alexanders* fauour, that the young man thought him to be his only friend, vnto whom he might impart his secrets; so that *Alexander* opened vnto him his griefe, for that his father was something alienated from him, and recounted vnto him his mothers misfortune, and that *Antipater* had now gotten all authoritie and dignitie from him and his brother, and was the onely man that could doe all; and that these iniuries were no longer tolerable, their father being now so incited against them, that now hee would neither admit them vnto his counsels, nor banquets. And he committed his griefes (as he then thought) into his friends bosome. But *Eurycles* told *Antipater* all, affirming that though it nothing concerned him, yet he could not but speake of it for the greatnesse of the danger then imminent, willing him to beware of *Alexander*, who did not sticke openly to shew what minde he bare, but did as it were manifestly shew that he desired to make away his father. Which done, he receiued of *Antipater* most rich gifts, as pledges of his good will towards him; and finally he was by him perswaded to relate his newes himselfe vnto *Herod*. The King lent a greedy eare whilest he recounted *Alexanders* malice; and was so mooued with the circumstances of his speeches, that he conceiued a deadly hatred against his son, which also without further delay he did make manifest: for he rewarded *Eurycles* for his paines with 50. talents. Which he hauing receiued, went vnto *Archelaus*, and talking and speaking well of *Alexander*, recounted vnto him in what stead he had stood him in reconciling him vnto his father: and receiuing of him also a summe of money, he departed before his malice was discouered; and returned into his countrey, and vsing the

Eurycles obseruing all Alexanders words & actions, related them to Antipater and Herod.

Eurycles by craft got money of Archelaus.

A the like ſhifts there alſo, he was finally by his countreymen baniſhed from Lacedemonia. Furthermore, *Herod* not content now, as before he was, to heare onely that which was told him of *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, did now himſelfe alſo conceiue a proper hatred againſt them, himſelfe obſeruing all things, and making diligent inquiry though no man accuſed them, and permitting all men to ſpeake what they liſt againſt them. And amongſt the reſt, *Euaratus* of Cous had conſpired with *Alexander*, and he ſeemed now to heare no talke more willingly then this, and ſuch like. But then greater misfortunes then all the reſt befell the yong men; falſe accuſations neuer ceaſing to be forged againſt them, and euery one as it were, ſtriuing to accuſe them of ſome crime or other vnto the King; pretending the care they bare of his ſafetie. *Herod* had two Champions, B *Iucundus* and *Tyrannus*; both acceptable and gratefull vnto him, for their ſtrength and tall ſtature and bigneſſe of body: theſe two for ſome offence were baniſhed the Court, and receiued into *Alexanders* ſeruice, and placed amongſt his ſtipendary horſmen, and for that they were very actiue, he beſtowed many gifts and much money vpon them. Whereat the King preſently conceiuing ſuſpicion, began to torture them, and after many torments they confeſſed that *Alexander* had hired them to kill *Herod* as he was a hunting wilde beaſts: for ſo it might eaſily be bruited abroad, that he falling off his horſe, fell vpon his owne lance, and ſo was ſlaine: which once before had almoſt hapned vnto him. They alſo declared vnto him, that certaine gold was hidden and buried in the ſtable: and they alſo accuſed *Herods* chiefe Huntſman, that at *Alexanders* command he had giuen *Alexanders* ſeruants the Kings launces and his armour. After them the Prefect of C the Caſtle of Alexandrium, was taken and examined vpon tortures, and it was obiected againſt him, that he promiſed to receiue them into the Caſtle, and to deliuer vnto them the Kings treaſure there. But hee denying it, his owne ſonne affirmed all to bee true, and brought forth Letters to teſtifie the ſame, reſembling *Alexanders* hand, written to this effect: So ſoone as by Gods aſſiſtance we haue done that which we intend to doe, we will preſently come vnto you: be carefull therefore, that according to your promiſe you doe receiue vs into your Caſtle. *Herod* hauing had a view of theſe Letters, did now without any heſitation beleeue, that indeed ſome treacherous practice was plotted againſt him by his ſonnes. But *Alexander* affirmed, that *Diophantus* the ſcribe had counterfeited his hand, and that the Letter was *Antipaters* deuice. For *Diophantus* was accounted cunning in ſuch matters, and afterward being taken with the like, he was D therefore put to death. And the King produced them that had beene tortured at Iericho before the people to accuſe his ſonnes, where they were ſtoned to death, and the people hereat mooued, would alſo haue killed *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* with the ſame death. But *Herod*, by the meanes of *Ptolomeus* and *Pheroras* did reſtraine them, and commanded the young men to be caſt into priſon, and there to be kept ſo ſtreight that no man was admitted vnto them; but many ſpies were ſet, who ſhould narrowly marke all their actions and words: and now they were accounted as condemned men, both by other mens opinions, and alſo by their owne. One of them, to wit, *Ariſtobulus*, for griefe inuiting his aunt, and mother in law to compaſſionate his preſent calamitie, and to hate him that was the author hereof, affirmed that ſhee alſo was in great danger, being accuſed, in hope to marry with *Syllæus*, to haue ſignified vnto him by Letters all that E paſt in *Herods* Court. Which words the woman preſently came and recounted vnto her brother *Herod*. The King no longer able to bridle his fury, commanded them both to be bound and kept in ſeuerall places one from another, & each of them to write what they had plotted againſt their father: and being thus cõmanded, they wrote that they neither prepared treaſon, nor yet thought of any treaſon againſt him, only they purpoſed to flye, becauſe they perceiued that they could no longer liue here, becauſe they were ſo ſuſpected and in continuall care. At that time a Prince of Cappadocia came Embaſſador from *Archelaus*, named *Mela*, who was one of the greateſt Lords of the country: and *Herod* willing to ſhew his ſons malice, he ſent for *Alexander* out of priſon, commanding him to recount how & after what order, or whither they meant to flie: he anſwered vnto *Archelaus*, who had alſo promiſed them to ſend them to Rome; but that they had no further F intent or purpoſe to effect any vnlawfull practice againſt their father, and that all other accuſations were falſe. And that he requeſted that *Tyrannus* and the reſt might haue beene better examined; But *Antipater* preuented that, who by his owne forged rumors ſpred amongſt the people, did cauſe them to haſten their deaths. Which being ſaid, *Herod* commanded both him and *Mela* to be led vnto *Glaphyra*, that ſhee might be asked whether ſhee were any way priuy to the conſpiracie againſt *Herod*: and comming vnto her, the woman ſeeing her husband bound, preſently tore her haire, and beeing amazed, with great compaſſion, cryed out amaine. The young mans cheekes were alſo bedewed with teares; ſo that a long time after, thoſe that were preſent amazed

The yeere of the world, 3960. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 4.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 10.

Herod doth giue eare vnto the accuſers of Alexander and Ariſtobulus.

Iucundus and Tyrannus confeſſe that Alexander did ſollicite them to kill Herod as he was a hunting.

How Alexander writ vnto the Captaine of Alexandrium to receiue him.

Dyophantus the ſcribe doth counterfeit other mens hands.

Alexander & Ariſtobulus are impriſoned: and Ariſtobulus warneth his mother in law.

Alexander confeſſeth to Herod, that he purpoſed to flie to Archelaus.

Mela Embaſſadour of Archelaus, King of Cappadocia.

Glaphyra Alexanders wife is demanded if ſhe knew of any treaſon againſt Herod.

The yeere of the world, 3960. before Christs Natiuity, 4.

amazed and mooued to compaſſion at this miſerable ſight, could neither ſpeake nor do the Kings command. At laſt *Ptolomeus*, to whoſe charge *Alexander* was committed, willing him to ſpeake whether his wife was priuy to his intent: he anſwered, How could it be otherwiſe, who is dearer vnto me then mine owne life, being mother of her and my children? then ſhe anſwered, crying out aloud, that ſhe was priuy to nothing that was any harme; yet (quoth ſhe) if it will auaile you any thing, or helpe to ſaue your life, I am ready to tell any lye whatſoeuer ſeeing I muſt dye, and will deny nothing you would haue mee to ſay. *Alexander* anſwered, Neither did I purpoſe any impietie againſt my father, as ſome ſuppoſe, who ought not to thinke ſo: neither doeſt thou know of any one: this thou knoweſt, that thou and I purpoſed to flie vnto *Archelaus* thy father, and that he promiſed to conuay vs to Rome; which ſhe alſo affirmed.

Archelaus excuſeth himſelf to Herod. Cæſar and Herod made friends.

Herod now thinking that *Archelaus* was conuicted of euill will towards him, deliuered letters vnto *Olympus* and *Volumnius*, commanding them in the way as they went, to paſſe by Eleuſa a towne of Cilicia, and deliuer certaine letters vnto *Archelaus* himſelfe to the ſame effect: and that from thence they ſhould goe to Rome; and if ſo be when they came there they found that *Cæſar* had bin reconciled vnto him by *Nicholaus* his meanes, that then they ſhould alſo deliuer certaine letters vnto him, declaring all that was paſt betweene him and his ſonnes, and the proofes alleaged to conuince the young men. *Archelaus* writ againe vnto *Herod*, that indeed he would haue entertained the young men, for feare that any greater miſchance ſhould befall them or their father, by reaſon of the ſuſpicion againſt them; yet was he not minded to ſend them to *Cæſar*, nor to haue confirmed them in any malicious courſe. The meſſengers comming to Rome, found *Cæſar* reconciled to *Herod*, and deliuered the letters vnto him. For *Nicholaus* his embaſſage was to this effect: So ſoone as he came vnto Rome and had entred the Palace, beſide the charge hee had giuen him, he did alſo vndertake to accuſe *Syllæus*. For he perceiued the Arabians at variance amongſt themſelues, and that ſome of them had declared all *Syllæus* his bad practices, and that by his meanes and procurement many of *Obodas* kinſmen were murthered, as his aduerſaries manifeſtly prooued, by certaine of his letters which they intercepted.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 12. al. 18. Nicholaus accuſeth Syllæus, and excuſeth Herod.

Now *Nicholaus* deſirous to reconcile *Herod* vnto *Cæſar*, omitted not this occaſion by chance offered him; for he well knew that if he began with the Kings defence, he ſhould then find a hard and heauy Iudge againſt him; but if he began to accuſe *Syllæus*, he ſhould find alſo fit occaſion to plead his Kings cauſe. Wherefore *Nicholaus* taking vpon him to prooue the accuſation againſt him at the day appointed, he accompanied with the King *Aretas* Embaſſadors, accuſed *Syllæus* as a murtherer of his Lord and King, and many other Arabians; and that he had borrowed much money to trouble the peace of the Common-wealth; and that he had corrupted many women, and honeſt matrons both at Rome and in Arabia. Hee added hereunto a moſt grieuous crime, to wit, that he by his lies and falſe reports had deceiued *Cæſar*, whom in all things he had miſinformed concerning that which *Herod* had done. Which when hee once mentioned, *Cæſar* commanded him to omit the reſt; and only to recount the matter concerning *Herod*, whether *Herod* did not enter into Arabia with an army, and did ſlay two thouſand and fiue hundreth men, and carry away captiues and robbe and ſpoile the countrey? *Nicholaus* anſwered, that to theſe demands himſelfe was able to anſwer, that *Herod* did none of theſe, or at leaſt very little hereof, which hee did recount; and that hee did not deſerue any diſpleaſure. *Cæſar*, contrary to his expectation, hearing this, began to giue diligent eare to what *Nicholaus* ſaid: and hereupon *Nicholaus* recounted vnto *Cæſar*, how *Herod* had lent 500. talents, and that hee had a writing in pawne, wherein he was permitted after the day appointed, if then it were not repayed him againe, to prey vpon all the whole countrey, and ſatisfie himſelfe: and that this was no hoſtile inuaſion, but according to law & equity, a requiring of his right and debt due vnto him. And that this was not raſhly done, though by the writing he was ſo permitted to doe, but by the conſent of *Saturninus* and *Volumnius* Preſidents of Syria, in whoſe preſence *Syllæus* ſwore by *Cæſars* good fortune at Berytum, that within 30. daies after both the debt & alſo certaine fugitiues from the King, ſhould be reſtored vnto him, and that *Syllæus* performed none of theſe: and ſo *Herod* went againe vnto the Preſidents, and they permitted him to go and take pledges for his mony; and that ſo by their permiſſion he went into Arabia. And this (quoth he) is the warre that his aduerſaries haue ſo tragically exaggerated, and yet (quoth he) how can it be called a war? ſeeing that it was done by the conſent of the Preſidents, and that by couenant after periury, wherewith both other gods and alſo *Cæſars* name was violated. It now (quoth he) remaineth that I ſpeake ſomething concerning the captiues. There were fortie theeues of Trachon, and afterward more that fled from *Herod* for feare of puniſhment, and fled vnto Arabia, whom *Syllæus* protected and ſuccoured

A narration of the Arabian warres, and the borrowed money.

The theeues of Trachon.

to

A to the iniury of all men, and gaue them ground to inhabit; and was partaker of their preyes; notwithstanding that by his foresaid oath, he was bound to restore them together with the borrowed money; neither can he name any man beside them taken in Arabia, and carried away captiue, and some of them also escaped. This his forged tale concerning the captiues being thus refuted, heare, O Soueraigne *Cæsar*, the lying inuention, which to prouoke thee to wrath, himselfe deuised. For I am well able to affirme this, that when the Arabian army assaulted vs, and one or two of our men were slaine; then at last *Herod* forced to make resistance, hee slew *Nacebus* and with him fiue and twentie, and no more: for euery one of which *Syllæus* falsely recounted vnto *Cæsar* a hundreth, and so told him that two thousand and fiue hundred were slaine. *Cæsar* hereat B greatly mooued, with an angry countenance looking vpon *Syllæus*, he asked him how many Arabians were slaine in the fight? He amazed and knowing not what to reply, answered, that he erred in the number. Presently *Cæsar* commanded the writings to be read, containing the conditions betweene them, and the writings of the Presidents, and the letters of the Cities containing the complaints of the robberies. And so the matter was brought to passe, that *Cæsar* was reconciled vnto *Herod*, and condemned *Syllæus* to dye; and repenting himselfe to haue written so threatning letters vnto *Herod*, he obiected that also vnto *Syllæus*, affirming, that by his false informations he had caused him to passe the limits of friendship, in vsing his friend so hardly. And so he sent *Syllæus* into his countrey, that after he had satisfied his creditors, he might be punished according to C the sentence. But he still continued angry with *Aretas*, for that without his authoritie he had vsurped the crowne and kingdome, and he was minded also to bestow Arabia vpon *Herod*: but the letters which *Herod* sent him changed his minde. For *Olympus* and *Volumnius*, so soone as they vnderstood that *Cæsars* wrath towards *Herod* was pacified, presently they deliuered vnto him the letters as they were commanded: wherein were contained the arguments whereby his sonnes were conuicted of treason against him. Which *Cæsar* hauing read, he thought it not conuenient to trouble the old man (infortunate with his sonnes) with another kingdome; and so hee admitted *Aretas* Embassadours: and chiding them that their King had rashly vsurped the kingdome without his authoritie and knowledge, not expecting his pleasure: he receiued their gifts, and confirmed him in the kingdome by his authoritie. This done, being now reconciled vnto D *Herod*, he writ vnto him that he was sorrowfull for him, that had such children; and that hee should, if they had attempted any treason against him, punish them as men that sought to murther their father: for he gaue him free and full authoritie; but if they onely attempted to flye, he should also be sufficed with a lesse punishment. Wherefore he counselled him to call a Consistory at Berytum; and together with the Romane Presidents, and *Archelaus* King of Cappadocia, and the rest of his friends, and the nobilitie thereabout, according as they should aduise him, so to doe. And this was the effect of *Cæsars* letters.

The yeere of the world, 3960. before Christs Natiuitie, 4.

Syllæus condemned to dye.

Cæsar was purposed to giue the kingdome of Arabia to Herod, and was altered by Herods letters.

The yeere of the world, 3961. before Christs Natiuitie, 3.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 13.

Aretas Embassadors vnto Cæsar.

Cæsar allowed Herod to punish malefactors.

CHAP. XVII.

How HERODS *sonnes were condemned in the councell at Berytum.*

E HEROD receiuing this letter, reioyced aboue measure, both for that he had againe obtained *Cæsars* fauour; and also for that *Cæsar* had giuen him full authoritie to doe what he pleased vnto his sonnes. And yet I know not how it came to passe, that he who in his prosperitie was a hard father, did yet shew himselfe not rash in putting his sonnes to death: and now his estate being better then it was, and he recouering his wonted assurance; he now began a new hatred. Wherefore by letters he called together all those whom *Cæsar* appointed, only *Archelaus* excepted, either for that he hated the man, or else for that he feared he would haue withstood that his purpose: and when they were all come together, as well the Presidents as the rest who were called out of diuers Cities, he would not bring his sonnes into the councell, but kept them in a village of the Sidonians, named Platan, not farre distant from the Citie, to the intent, F that if they were called for, he might bring them forth. Then *Herod* himselfe alone entring into the councell before an hundreth and fiftie men there assembled for that purpose, began to accuse his sonnes before them, and vsed a speech not only pitifull for his own calamities, but also little becomming a father. For he was very vehement and vnheedy in inueying against their offence; neither did he sufficiently expresse his minde, shewing many signes of fury, and anger; neither did he deliuer in writing any proofes of the accusations vnto the Iudges: but vndecently himselfe alledged there the father against the sonne, himselfe also reading before them certaine letters written by them, wherein was contained no impietie nor treason, but onely a consultation

Herod assembleth all that Cæsar willed, except Archelaus.

Herod accuseth his sons.

The yeere of the world, 3961. before Christs Nativity, 3.

to flie away,& certaine hard ſpeeches whereby they ſhewed themſelues offended. Which when he came vnto,he exclaimed as though hereby they confeſſed their treacherous practices,greatly exaggerating the matter,and proteſting that he had rather die then heare ſuch ſpeeches. Laſtly, affirming that both nature and *Cæſar* permitted him authoritie againſt them; and his countrey lawes ſo commanded,that if any one being accuſed,his father or mother ſhould lay their hands vpon his head,and the ſtanders by muſt preſently ſtone him to death:which though he might eaſily do in his owne country & kingdome;yet he thought good alſo to expect their cenſures.Yet hee came vnto them, not for that they were to iudge his ſonnes, who were taken in a manifeſt crime,but that by this occaſion they might adde their ſuffrages to the iuſt indignation of a father offended,and that they might leaue an example vnto al poſteritie,that ſuch treaſons ought not to be left vnpuniſhed.The king hauing thus ſpoken,& not permitting the young men to be brought vnto their anſwer,all ſeeing what the king intended,and that there was now no hope to reconcile the young men vnto their father,or ſaue their liues,they all confirmed his authority. And firſt of all *Saturninus*,one that had bin Conſull, and had bin graced with many honours,pronounced an indifferent ſentence, limited with circumſtances,to wit, that he condemned *Herods* ſons, yet not to die: for (quoth he) my ſelfe haue ſons, and I would not adde this calamitie to *Herods* misfortune paſt. After him alſo his three ſonnes, who were their fathers Legats,pronounced the ſame ſentence. But *Volumnius* pronounced, that they had deſerued death, who were ſo impious towards their father;whoſe ſentence after him the moſt part followed: ſo that it ſeemed that they were now ordained to be put to death.Preſently *Herod* carried them with him to Tyre,where he met *Nicholaus*, who was now there arriued, returning from Rome:vnto whom the king firſt recounting what was done at Berytum, he asked of him,what his friends at Rome thought of his ſonnes.He anſwered that they iudged the young mens intents impious,and that they alſo iudged that they ought to be bound & impriſoned; & then after due conſideration,if it were ſo thought expedient, to be put to death,leſt the king might be thought rather to haue giuen place vnto his choler then vnto reaſon: yet if it might ſo pleaſe him, they thought it beſt to acquit them,leſt otherwiſe he do that which hereafter he may repent when it is too late. And this was the opinion of moſt of his friends at Rome.Then the king a long time pondred theſe his words,and made no reply, but commanded him to ſaile along in his company. At his arriuall at Cæſarea all men were carefull what ſhould become of his ſons,expecting an end of that tragedy,for they greatly feared that by reaſon of the old diſcord he would now cut them off; yet notwithſtanding they were ſorrowfull for them:yet it was dangerous either to ſpeake raſhly,or to heare any thing ſpoken freely cõcerning them,but in their hearts cõpaſſionating them, they concealed their griefes. Only one amongſt all the reſt, an ancient ſouldier of the Kings named *Tyro*, others diſſembling their griefe,ſpake freely what he thought: this *Tyro* had a ſon of *Alexanders* age, and beloued of him, whom *Alexander* much accounted of. This fellow many times amidſt the multitudes exclaimed,that truth and equitie was now baniſhed from out of the world, and that in their ſtead, malice & vntruth raigned: whereby there was ſuch a miſt & a fog cauſed ouer the whole world, that no man could ſee his owne errors. This his free ſpeech though it was not without danger, yet all men hereat were moued,for that he had ſome reaſon to ſhew his fortitude in ſo dangerous a time,& euery one was willing to heare his ſpeech: and though themſelues for feare were ſilent, yet did they not reprehend him for ſpeaking freely. For the expectation of the euent of ſo great miſchiefe was able to haue wreſted from euery one of them words of commiſeration. *Tyro* with great audacity alſo came vnto the king, and beſought him that he might talke with him alone: which the king granting, hee vſed theſe words with great lamentation: I can no longer, O my king, ſuppreſſe this my griefe, which cauſeth me ſo boldly to ſpeake,though with my owne perill; yet if it pleaſe thee my king, that which I intend to ſpeake ſhall be for thine aduantage.

Saturninus doth pronounce an indifferent ſentence.

Volumnius & other of Herods friends pronounce Herods ſons to be beheaded.

Herod asked of Nicholaus what his friends at Rome thought of his ſonnes.

Tyro ſpeaketh to Herod, and not obſeruing modeſtie, he and the Captaines were impriſoned.

Where now my Lord are thy wits? where is that thy couragious minde euer hitherto able to match all difficult buſineſſes whatſoeuer? how hapneth it that thou haſt ſo few friends & kinred? for I account not them kinſmen or friends, that permit ſuch wickednes and hatred in thy Court, which earſt was moſt happy & fortunate.And what art thou vnto thy ſelfe? wilt thou not looke & ſee what is done? wilt thou put to death the two yong men born vnto thee by the Queene thy wife,who abound in all vertue;and commit thy ſelfe now in thy old age vnto one only ſon,who nouriſheth impious hopes & deſſeignes? and to thy kindred, who by thy own cenſure haue often deſerued death? Doeſt thou not perceiue,that the people keeping themſelues quiet and ſtill, doe both condemne the errour of thy friends, and alſo pitie and compaſſionate the two young men? Moreouer,all thy ſouldiers & the Captaines themſelues haue compaſſion on them, and curſe the

authors

authors of this infortunate calamity. The King at firſt tooke theſe words of *Tyro* in good part, as being admoniſhed of the perfidious dealing of them about him, and his owne calamitie. But *Tyro* immodeſtly & ſouldier-like vrging the King, & for his owne ſimplicity not able to diſcerne what fitted that time, the King at laſt thought this rather a turbulent vpbraiding him, then a friendly admonition: and asking who thoſe Captaines & ſoldiers were, he commanded them all and *Tyro* alſo to be bound & kept in priſon. Then one *Tripho* the Kings Barber, taking hereat occaſion, told the king that *Tyro* had often ſollicited him, as he ſhaued the king, to cut his throat with his razor, promiſing him for a recompence great rewards, and that he ſhould be one of *Alexanders* chiefe friends. Hauing ſpoken theſe words, the king cõmanded him to be apprehended, & the Barber, and *Tyro* & his ſon to be tortured. *Tyro* his ſon ſeeing his father in moſt miſerable torments, and that he ſtill perſiſted in them (and by the kings diſpleaſure, coniecturing that there was no hope of life) told them that tortured his father, that he would confeſſe all the truth, conditionally that his father & himſelfe might be no more tormented: and hauing his requeſt granted, he told them that it was agreed, that *Tyro* with his owne hand ſhould haue killed the king: for he could get opportunity to come vnto the king when no man elſe was with him, & ſo he would kill him, & for *Alexanders* ſake endure any torments whatſoeuer. This ſpoken, he deliuered himſelfe and his father from further tortures: but it is incertaine whether the tale he told was true, or whether he deuiſed it to free them both from torments. Then *Herod* now laying all doubt aſide (if before he were in any) thought what death his ſons ſhould die, & leauing no place to repentance & mercy, he haſtned to execute his purpoſe: and producing 300. captains, & *Tyro* & his ſon, and the Barber his accuſer, he accuſed them all before the people, and the people throwing any thing that came to their hands at them, they ſlew them euery one. And *Alexander* & *Ariſtobulus* were carried vnto *Sebaſte*, and there by their fathers command were ſtrangled: and their bodies carried by night into the caſtle Alexandrium, where their grandfather by their mothers ſide, and many of their progenitors lay buried. But perhaps ſome will nothing maruell, that a hatred ſo long a breeding ſhould in the end ſo preuaile, that it ouercame naturall affection. But one may iuſtly doubt whether the fault were in the young men, who exaſperated by a hard father ſo long time, fell into ſuch hatred of him: or whether it is to be imputed vnto his vnkindnes and immoderate deſire of honor and rule, who could not abide any to be his equall, but rather chuſing to do all at his own pleaſure: Or rather vnto fortune, whoſe power the wiſeſt liuing is not able to reſiſt. Wherefore I am perſwaded, Fortune hath predeſtinated all humane actions ſo, that they muſt haue a neceſſary euent. And this ineuitable force we call fate or fatall deſtiny, for that there is nothing which it effecteth not. But it ſufficeth briefely to haue touched this high matter, which is of it ſelfe very difficult, which attributeth ſomething vnto our actions, & examineth the cauſes of the variety of our actions, which ſpeculation is already cõprized in the two volumes of our law. Furthermore, touching the yong mens fault, we may accuſe their youthfull arrogancy, and their free king-like pride, who did giue too great eare to their fathers accuſers, & for that they were vniuſt ſearchers into his life and actions, and that they maliciouſly ſuſpected him, & could not rule their tongues: but hereby gaue double occaſion vnto their aduerſaries, and matter vnto thoſe tale-bearers that ſought to get the kings fauour. But their fathers ſhamefull fault cannot be excuſed, who ſuffered himſelfe ſo to be ouer-ruled with paſſion, that he put them to death that were begotten of his owne body, without any proofe or argument of the crimes laid vnto their charge: yea two yong men of excellent feature of body, not onely beloued of their owne nation, but alſo of ſtrangers, not ſlothfull in hunting, & commendable in military affaires, & eloquent in ciuill diſcourſes. For in all theſe things they were excellent, and eſpecially *Alexander* the eldeſt of them. It had beene enough for him, ſuppoſe he had condemned them, either to haue kept them in perpetuall priſon, or baniſhed them into ſome far country; ſeeing that he was aſſured of the Romane power, vnder whoſe protection he neither needed to haue feared inuaſion; nor ſecret treaſon againſt him. For ſo ſoone to put them to death, only to ſatisfie his own furious will, what elſe doth it betoken, but only an impious liberty caſting off all fatherly humanity and kindneſſe? eſpecially, ſeeing that he was aged, whoſe yeeres could neither plead ignorance, nor that he was deceiued. For neither was he the more excuſed by the delay he vſed: nay, it had bin leſſe offence, if amazed with ſome ſudden newes, he had bin incited to ſo hainous an offence; but after ſo long delay and deliberation at laſt to effect ſuch a matter, betokens a bloody mind and obdurate in wickedneſſe, as he well ſhewed himſelfe afterward to haue, not ſparing the reſt, whom before he held moſt deare: who though they were leſſe to be pitied in that they iuſtly ſuffered, yet was it an argument of his like cruelty, in that he abſtained not from their deaths alſo: but we will ſpeake hereof hereafter.

The yeere of the world, 3961. before Chriſts Natiuity, 3.

Tyro is by his ſon and a Barber accuſed to haue practiſed treaſon againſt the King.

Tyro with 300. Captains are accuſed before the people and ſlaine.

Alexander & Ariſtobulus ſtrangled at Sebaſte, and buried in Alexandrium.

The cauſe of theſe calamities was deſtinie and Gods prouidence.

Wherein Alexander and Ariſtobulus offended.

Herods than dull errour not to be excuſed.

THE SEVENTEENTH BOOK OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the ſeuenteenth Booke.

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11 *How the people began a ſedition againſt* Archelaus.
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13 *How* Cæſar *ratified* Herods *teſtament.*
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15 *How* Archelaus *being againe accuſed, was baniſhed vnto Vienna.*

CHAP. I.

Of ANTIPATERS *malice, who was* Herods *ſonne.*

The yeere of the world, 3961. before chriſts Natiuitie, 3.

AFTER that *Antipater* had made away his brothers through the extreme impietie and vnbridled fury, wherewith *Herod* their father was incenſed and whetted againſt them; yet incontinently obtained he not that which vndoubtedly he hoped for. For being deliuered and diſcharged of that feare he conceiued, leſt his brethren ſhould be partakers with him in the kingdome, he found a difficult and dangerous matter for himſelfe to finde the meanes how hee might obtaine the kingdome: ſo ſtrange and haynous a hatred had all the nation conceiued againſt him. On the other ſide, in ſhewing himſelfe proud and loftie, he more and more whetted and increaſed that hatred which the ſouldiers had foreconceiued againſt him, in whom notwithſtanding, the ſecuritie of the kingdome conſiſted, if it ſhould fortune ſo to fall out that the people ſhould attempt any alteration. All which miſchiefes were begotten by his owne ſinnes, and the vnnaturall murther of his brothers. Nathelеſſe he gouerned the kingdome with his father, liuing in no leſſe authoritie then himſelfe: *Herod* alſo repoſed more confidence in him euen in thoſe things, for which hee was worthy to loſe his head. For the King conceiued that in confirmation of his good affection towards him, *Antipater* had accuſed his brethren, as vnder reſolution to continue his father in ſecuritie, and not for any hatred he bore as well vnto them, as to his father; though indeed he hated them for his fathers ſake, being tranſported with fury. But all theſe were but as ſo many ſubtill ſtratagemes to inſinuate himſelfe into *Herods* counſels & fauours: and theſe did he craftily make vſe of, to cut off the occaſion leſt any ſhould preuent or accuſe him of that which he pretended to doe, and that *Herod* might be depriued of all meanes and manner of reliefe, if ſo be *Antipater* ſhould bend his forces againſt him. For the treaſon he complotted againſt his brothers, proceeded from the hatred he bare vnto his father: but at that time he was the more egged on to proſecute his intended purpoſes, without any delay or procraſtination. For if *Herod* ſhould happen to die, it was a matter moſt aſſured that the kingdome ſhould be his; and ſhould his life continue any longer time,

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 1. Antipater, after he had made away his brothers, grew hatefull both to the ſouldiers and the people. Antipater gouerned the kingdome with his father.

Antipater witheth his fathers death.

time, and the practice *Antipater* went about ſhould be diſcouered, ſeeing himſelfe inuironed with theſe dangers, he ſhould be inforced to make his father his enemy. For which cauſe he vſed very great bounty & liberality to all thoſe that were about his father: and through the great largeſſe he beſtowed vpon them, hee ſtrangled and extinguiſhed that hatred which all of them bare vnto him: and aboue all things he continued himſelfe in credit with thoſe friends, which *Herod* had at Rome, by ſending them diuers preſents, and namely to *Saturninus*, who was gouernor of Syria. He hoped alſo by bribes and rewards to draw his fathers brother into his faction, and to corrupt the Kings ſiſter alſo, who was married to one of the kings moſt eſteem'd friends in court. Furthermore, he was a ſubtill and politike man in entertaining thoſe men with colourable and cloaking ſhew of friendſhip, with whom he conuerſed, and to draw himſelfe into credit with them: contrariwiſe, he was ſufficiently practiſed to diſſemble his malice and diſcontents, which he had conceiued againſt any man. Notwithſtanding all this, he could not deceiue *Salome* his aunt, who of long time before had ſounded his inclination, and who was not ſo ſimple as to ſuffer her ſelfe to be deceiued; but had already by all cunning means that might be, preuented his malice, although ſhe had a daughter married vnto his vncle, by the mothers ſide. This daughter was firſt of all wedded to *Ariſtobulus*, and afterwards by *Antipaters* means eſpouſed to his vncle. For *Callæas* her husbands ſon had married the other. But neither could this affinity colour the matter ſo much, but that his malice was diſcouered; neither could that former conſanguinitie extinguiſh the deſerued hatred conceiued againſt him. *Herod* conſtrained *Salome* (who through amorous paſſion had thought to haue married her ſelfe to *Syllæus* the Arabian) to marrie with *Alexas*, and that by the mediation and perſwaſion of *Iulia Cæſars* wife, who aduiſed *Salome* not to refuſe that marriage, for feare leſt he ſhould proue her vtter enemy; for that *Herod* had made an oath, that if *Salome* condeſcended not to marry *Alexas*, hee would neuer make account of her: For which cauſe ſhe followed *Iulias* aduice, who was *Cæſars* wife, and counſelled her alſo to her profit and preferment.

The yeere of the world, 3961. before Chriſts birth, 33.

Antipater ſpared no coſt to winne his fathers friends.

Antipater could not deceiue his aunt.

Herod compelleth Salome to marry Alexas.

At the ſame time *Herod* ſent his daughter to King *Archelaus*, who had beene married to *Alexander*, preſenting him a dowrie out of his owne treaſury, leſt there ſhould any difference ariſe betweene them, and he himſelfe moſt carefully brought vp his ſonnes children. For *Alexander* had two ſonnes by *Glaphyra*; and *Ariſtobulus* begat on *Bernice*, *Salomes* daughter, three ſonnes and two daughters. Theſe ſometimes would he preſent and commend vnto his friends, and bewailing the misfortune of his ſons, would beſeech God that no ſuch ill fortune might befall their children, but rather that they might encreaſe in vertue, and acknowledge their education and bringing vp, with all dutifull reſpects vnto their parents. He prouided them alſo each of them with a wife, at ſuch time as they were ready for marriage, namely, the daughter of *Pheroras* for the eldeſt of *Alexanders* ſonnes; and the daughter of *Antipater* for *Ariſtobulus* eldeſt ſon: and one of *Ariſtobulus* daughters was married to *Antipaters* ſonne; and the other he eſpouſed to *Herod* his owne ſonne, whom he had begotten of the daughter of the High Prieſt. For it is lawfull in our countrey, and according to our cuſtome, to haue diuers wiues at one time. The King procured theſe marriages through the compaſſion hee had of thoſe Orphelins, thinking by theſe mutuall alliances to cauſe *Antipater* to be their friend. But *Antipater* conceiued no leſſe hatred toward the children, then he had done malice towards their father. For the care that *Herod* had of them, increaſed his hatred, in that he pretended to be the greateſt among the brethren; and he eſpecially feared leſt when they ſhould grow to mans eſtate, they would reſiſt his power, being aſſiſted by King *Archelaus*, as his ſons in law; and *Pheroras* who was a Tetrarch ſhould do the like, for that he had married his ſonne to *Alexanders* daughter. And ſo much the more was hee incited, becauſe all the people had compaſſion of theſe Orphanes, and had conceiued a hatred againſt him, who neuer ceaſed to expreſſe his malice againſt his brethren. He therefore deuiſed all the meanes that were poſſible to diſannull the decrees which his father had reſolued vpon to this effect, being very loth that they ſhould euer liue to be partners with him in the kingdome. So that at laſt *Herod* condeſcended to *Antipaters* demand, which was, that he might marry *Ariſtobulus* daughter, and his ſonne he eſpouſed to *Pheroras* daughter: and thus were the promiſed and forementioned marriages wholly cut off; yea euen againſt *Herods* former decree. At that time *Herod* had nine wiues, namely *Antipaters* mother, the High Prieſts daughter, by whom he had a ſonne that bare his name, and a daughter of his brothers, and a couſin of his owne, by whom he had no children. He had another wife alſo, that by nation was a Samaritane, by whom he had two ſonnes, *Antipas*, and *Archelaus*, and a daughter called *Olimpias*, who was afterwards married to *Ioſeph* the Kings couſin. As for *Archelaus* and *Antipas*, they were brought vp at Rome, with a

Glaphyra ſometimes Alexanders wife is ſent backe to Archelaus King of Cappadocia. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 1.

Herod bringeth vp his ſons children.

Antipater hateth his brothers children

Antipater laboureth his father to breake off the marriages he intended.

Herods nine wiues.

The yeere of the world, 3961. before Chriſts birth, 3.

certaine priuate friend of his. Moreouer, he eſpouſed one that was called *Cleopatra*, that was borne in Ieruſalem, by whom he had *Herod* and *Philip*, which *Philip* was brought vp at Rome. By *Pallas* he had *Phaſaelus:* by *Phedra* and *Helpia* he had two daughters, *Roxana* and *Salome*. As touching his eldeſt daughters, *Alexanders* ſiſters by the mothers ſide, whom *Pheroras* had refuſed to take in marriage, he matcht the one with *Antipater* his ſiſters ſonne, and the other he wedded to *Phaſaelus* his brothers ſonne, and this was *Herods* progeny.

CHAP. II.

Of ZAMARIS *the Babylonian Iew.*

Herod buildeth a Caſtle in the region of the Trachonites, and maketh Zamaris the Iew that came frō Babylon Gouernor therin.

AFTER this, intending to aſſure his eſtate in the countrey of Trachonite, hee reſolued to build a borough of the bigneſſe of a City in the midſt of the country, as well to warrantize his country, as to be in better readineſſe to repulſe his enemies, and to repulſe them with more expedition. And hauing intelligence that a certaine Iew was come from Babylon with 500. Archers on horſebacke, and about one hundreth of his kinſmen, and had aduentured to paſſe Euphrates, and was in the countrey adioyning to Antioch neere vnto Daphne in Syria, where *Saturnine* Generall of the Romane army had giuen him a Caſtle, called Valatha to inhabit, he ſent for him and his followers, promiſing to giue him both lands and Lordſhips in the ſigniory of Batanea, which confineth on Trachonite, intending that he ſhould make head againſt thoſe that would aſſaile him, and promiſing him that both his land and his ſouldiers ſhould be exempt from all tributes, and paiments of cuſtomes. This Babylonian Iew was induced by theſe offers of his to come, and take poſſeſſion of the place, where he builded a borough, called Bathyra. This man oppoſing himſelfe againſt the Trachonites, defended them of the countrey, and thoſe Iewes that came from Babylon to Ieruſalem to offer ſacrifice, from all incurſions and robberies of the Trachonites: and diuers that obſerued the religion of the Iewes, reſorted vnto him from all places, ſo that this countrey was very well peopled, by reaſon of the enfranchiſement of the Tribute, which continued during *Herods* life time.

But *Philip*, who ſucceeded him, exacted afterward ſome ſmall tribute of them, and that but for a little while. But *Agrippa* the great, and his ſon of the ſame name, vexed them very grieuouſly with taxations; yet permitted them to enioy their liberty, whoſe ſucceſſors the Romans impoſed many grieuous tributes vpon them, yet continued their freedome, of whom hereafter wee will more particularly and largely diſcourſe in due place, and in proceſſe of my hiſtory. Now this Iew *Zamaris*, to whom *Herod* had giuen the poſſeſſion of his countrey, died, after he had liued vertuouſly, and left a vertuous off-ſpring behind him, amongſt whom was *Iacim* renowned for his dexterity on horſebacke, who with his troupe of horſe was of the King of Babylons guard. This *Iacim* died when he was very old, and left his ſon *Philip* to ſucceede him, a man valiant in armes, and addicted to all ſorts of vertue, as much as any one that hath bin renowned in writing: for which cauſe King *Agrippa* loued him and put his truſt in him, and committed the truſt and trayning of his ſouldiers vnto him, who led them alſo foorth if any occaſion of ſeruice was proffered.

Iacim and Philip, the ſons of Zamaris.

CHAP. III.

ANTIPATER *conſpireth againſt* HEROD.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 3.

WHil'ſt the eſtate and affaires of *Herod* were thus diſpoſed, all mens eies were fixed vpon *Antipater*, after that *Herod* had permitted him to intend his particular profit. This permiſſion was granted him vnder the hope that his father had, that he would behaue himſelfe faithfully, and affectionately towards him: but he abuſed his authority more audaciouſly then could be expected; for he traiterouſly coloured his conceiued malice, and eaſily drew his father to beleeue him in whatſoeuer he ſaid. He was feared by all men, not onely for his force and authority, but for his ſubtilties and policies. But aboue all the reſt, *Pheroras* reſpected him moſt, and was in like manner as greatly eſteemed by him. For *Antipater* had circumuented him by the meanes of certaine women, who fauoured his faction: for *Pheroras* was commanded by his wife, his mother and ſiſter in law, notwithſtanding that he hated them, by reaſon of the outrage they had offered to his daughters who were Virgins; natheleſſe hee was enforced to diſſemble all things, becauſe he could doe nothing but that they were alwaies round about him, and had ſuch maſtery of his affaires, that they wrought him to performe whatſoeuer they pleaſed. To theſe likewiſe was *Antipater* neerely tied, both of himſelfe and by his mother: for

Pheroras deceiued by women.

A for theſe foure women were of one mind and affection in all things, and ſpak as it were by one mouth: yet was *Pheroras* at ods with *Antipater* vpon ſome ſlight miſlikes, and ſhe that wrought this debate betwixt them, was the King ſiſter, who had of long time eſpied all their drifts, know- ing well, that their mutuall friendſhip tended to the ouerthrow of *Herod*: neither refuſed ſhe to expreſſe what her opinion was therein. And they knowing well that the King diſliked this their inward familiarity, and that he was priuy to that which they pretended, which was his vtter ru- ine, reſolued between themſelues to refraine their publike familiarity, and to make a ſhew that they were at ods one with another: to which intent they reproched one another, eſpecially at ſuch time as they were either in *Herods* preſence, or there was any one with them, who (as they B thought) would certify him therof. But in ſecret they intermitted not their accuſtomed friend- ſhip, and continued their intercourſes with more priuy affability; and ſuch was their ordinary de- meanor and behauiour: yet was not *Salome* ignorant hereof, neither when they firſt deuiſed this drift, neither afterwards when they put it in execution: for ſhe diligently noted all things, and aggrauated the ſame in their reports to her brother, whō ſhe informed of their ſecret aſſemblies and banquetting, vrging their ſecret conſultations, which (as we ſaid) had no other iſſue but his ruine, except vpon their diſcouery he ſought to repreſſe them in time. Further, that for the pre- ſent they behaued themſelues like enemies in outward ſhew, and all their ſpeeches tended to diſ- grace one another; but that in ſecret they were friends, and that in priuate they entertained their amity, and promiſed each other their mutuall aſſiſtance to ſtrength themſelues againſt thoſe to C whom they were loth their friendſhip ſhould be diſcouered. Theſe things obſerued, ſhe with all diligence ſignified the ſame vnto her brother, who of himſelfe had already many probabilities thereof. But he durſt not make ſhew thereof, becauſe hee knew that his ſiſter was a woman too much addicted to reproachfull accuſation. There was amongſt the Iewes a ſect of people that were called Phariſes, who were too much addicted to ſelfe opinion, and boaſted themſelues to be the exacteſt obſeruers of the law in all the countrey, to whom theſe women were very much addicted, as to thoſe who were much beloued of God, as in outward appearance they made ſhew for. Theſe were ſuch as durſt oppoſe themſelues againſt Kings, full of fraud, arrogancy, and rebellion, preſuming to raiſe war vpon their motions, and to rebell and offend their princes at their pleaſures: whereas therfore all the nation of the Iewes had ſworne to be faithfull to *Cæſar*, D and to the eſtate of the King; theſe onely refuſed to take oath, and of this ſect there were to the number of ſix thouſand. For which cauſe the King hauing impoſed an amercement vpon them, *Pheroras* wife paid it for them; for which cauſe they pretending to gratifie her, and being eſteemed for ſuch as were skilfull in forelling ſuch things as were to come, by reaſon of their often communication with God, foretold her that God had decreed to bring the Kingdome of *Herod* and his poſteritie to an end, and would bring to paſſe that the crowne ſhould deſcend to *Pheroras* and his ſonnes. *Salome*, had got an inkling hereof, and had told *Herod* no leſſe: and how they likewiſe corrupted euery one of his Courtiers; for which cauſe he put thoſe to death amongſt the Phariſes, who were the principall authors of this aduice, and with them alſo the E Eunuch *Bagoas*, and *Carus* who was his darling, and one of the goodlieſt men of that time. He af- terwards cut off all thoſe amongſt his houſhold ſeruants, who were of the Phariſees faction: For *Bagoas* was bewitched with that hope by them, that he ſuffered himſelfe to be called the father and benefactor of the King, who ſhould be eſtabliſhed according to their prediction, and haue the gouernment of all things, and ſhould be ſtrengthned by marriages, and deſcent of his lawful and naturall children.

The yeere of the world, 3961. before Chriſts birth, 3

Salome diſco- uereth to He- rod the con- ſpiracies of the Ladies and others.

The Phariſes ſubtill and arrogant.

The Phariſes would not ſweare obedi- ence, but were fined.

Pheroras wife payeth their fine, for which benefit they promiſe her the Kingdom.

Bagoas Carus and others are put to death by Herod.

But after that *Herod* had puniſhed thoſe amongſt the Phariſes, who were conuicted to haue beene of the conſpiracie, hee aſſembled a councell of his friends, before whom he accuſed *Phe- roras* wife, & ripped vp the outrage that was done vnto his daughters, as it hath beene declared, aſcribing the ſame to the pride of this woman, obiecting it for a crime againſt her, for thereby ſhe had iniuried his honour. Beſides this, he accuſed her that ſhe had of ſet purpoſe ſtird vp mu- F tinies, and by all meanes poſſible both in word and in effect, contrarie to all law of nature, ſhee ſtirred vp debate betwixt him and his brother; & that the fine that he had impoſed vpon his ad- uerſaries, was ſatisfied at her charge: ſo that no iot of that conſpiracie was contriued without her priuitie and conſent. For which cauſes (ſaid hee) brother *Pheroras*, it ſhall not bee amiſſe for you of your owne accord to driue ſuch a wretched woman from you, before you be requeſted, and the ſentence be pronounced againſt her, otherwiſe we will be the cauſe to kindle a warre be- twixt you and me. For if at this preſent you will continue the friendſhip and brotherhood be- twixt you and me, ſeparate your ſelfe from her: inſo doing I will account you for my brother,

Hedio & Ruf- finus, chap. 4.

Herod accu- ſeth Pheroras wife, and com- mandeth him to put her away.

ſhee

and

The yeere of the world, 3961. before Christs birth, 3

and you shall lose nothing by the affection which I bea re vnto you. For the bond of brotherly loue cannot continue safe and vnuiolate, vnlesse you put her away. Now although *Pheroras* was moued with the importance & waight of this discourse; yet said he, that for the loue he bare vnto his wife, he would forget nothing of that dutie which consanguinitie required at his hands in regard of his brother: but that he had rather die then liue without her company, whom he loued more dearly then his life. *Herod*, although he tooke this answer of his brothers for a most grieuous iniurie, yet forbare he to discouer his displeasure towards him: hee onely forbad *Antipater* and his mother, and in like manner *Pheroras*, to frequent the one with the other any more. Hee commanded the women likewise that they should giue ouer their familiar entertainements the one with the other, which all of them promised to performe. Yet this notwithstanding vpon fit opportunities and occasions, they visited one another, and *Antipater* and *Pheroras* feasted one another by night. The report also went that *Antipater* had the company of *Pheroras* wife, and that his mother was the meanes and minister of their priuie meetings.

Pheroras refuseth to put away his wife.

Herod interdicteth Pheroras and Antipater their priuie meetings, and forbiddeth the Ladies no lesse.

Chap. IIII.

Herod *sendeth* Antipater *vnto* Cæsar.

Antipater suspecting his fathers dislikes, and fearing lest his hatred should by increase bring him into hazard, hee wrote vnto his frends in Rome, requiring them to write their letters vnto *Herod*, requesting him to send *Antipater* vnto *Cæsar*, with all expedition as was possible. Which beeing brought to passe, *Herod* sent him thither with diuers royall presents, and gaue him his testament & will with him; wherein he had bequeathed the Kingdome to *Antipater*. And if it should happen that *Antipater* should die before him, then bequeathed he the same to his sonne *Herod*, whom he had by the high Priests daughter. About the same time *Syllæus* the Arabian repaired to Rome, notwithstanding hee had neglected those things that *Cæsar* had giuen him in charge. Him did *Antipater* accuse before *Cæsar*, for the same defaults wherewith he was charged by *Nicholaus*. *Syllæus* also was accused by *Aretas*, for murthering diuers of the best account in the citie of Petra, contrarie to his mind: amongst the which was *Sohemus* (a man of much vertue and honour) and *Phabatus*, *Cæsars* seruant, of which crimes *Syllæus* was accused vpon that occasion which ensueth: There was a certaine man of Corinthus, who was one of the Kings guard, and such a one as he put very great trust in: him did *Syllæus* perswade by store of money and bribes, to kill *Herod*; which hee promised to performe. *Phabatus* made priuie to *Syllæus* mind, he presently told it to the King, who caused him to be apprehended and tortured; who confessed the whole matter. He laid hands also on two Arabians, perswaded by this Corinthians confession; one of which was a man of command in his countrey, and the other was *Syllæus* chiefest friend. They being examined, confessed that they came thither to sollicite and egge forward with many exhortations the Corinthian to execute the murther, and to assist him if he stood in need of them. Which being fully approued by *Herod* before *Saturnine*, he sent them to Rome, there more amply to be proceeded against, and so to be punished.

Herod sendeth Antipater to Cæsar.

Antipater accuseth Syllæus, at Rome before Cæsar.

Aretas accuseth Syllæus, for killing Probatus and others.

A traitor that sought the kings death, is apprehended.

Chap. V.

Pheroras *death.*

Herod perceiuing that his brother *Pheroras* did constantly continue his affection towards his wife, hee commaunded him to retire himselfe into his owne dominion: whereupon he willingly departed to his Tetrarchy, protesting by many solemne othes, that he would neuer more returne into the Citie, vnlesse hee were assured that *Herod* was dead. Not long after it hapned, that the King falling sick, hee was sent for to receiue certaine secret instructions, as from the mouth of a dying man; but *Pheroras* would not obey him in regard of his oath. This notwithstanding, *Herod* dealt more kindly with him, and continued his loue and affection towards him: for hee came vnto *Pheroras* as soone as hee heard of his first sickness, and beeing vnsent for also; and after hee was deceased, hee sent his body to Ierusalem, and honourably entombed him in that place, and grieuously lamented his death. This was the beginning of *Antipaters* mis-haps, who at that time was departed to Rome. For it was Gods pleasure that at last hee should bee punished for the murther of his brethren. This matter will I discourse of at large, that it may serue for an example vnto many Kings, how they ought to practise and follow vertue in all their actions.

An oath solemny obserued.

Pheroras in his sickness is visited by Herod, & beeing dead, is honorably buried by him.

Chap.

CHAP. VI.

Pheroras *wife is accuſed, and* Herod *is aduertiſed of* Antipaters *conſpiracies.*

The yeere of the world, 3961. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 3.

AFTER *Pheroras* death, two of his freemen, who were Taphnites by birth, and ſuch as *Pheroras* in his lifetime both inly truſted, and dearely loued, came vnto *Herod*, requiring him not to ſuffer his brothers death to paſſe vnpuniſhed, but to make diligent enquiry of that vnfortunate and vnexpected miſaduenture. *Herod* lent a willing eare to their ſuite, perceiuing that the matters they importuned him in, were likely & very credible. Whereupon they told him, that *Pheroras*, the day before his vnexpected ſicknes, had ſupt with his wife, and that hauing receiued an vnaccuſtomed poyſon with his meat, he was dead. That this poiſon had been brought thither by a woman of Arabia, who in her ſpeech proteſted that it was ſome potion to increaſe loue, but in effect it was to bring *Pheroras* to his end. For the women of Arabia amongſt all others are skilfull in poiſons, & are great ſorcerers, and ſhe that was charged with this fact, was eſteemed a great friend and fauourer of *Syllæus* beſt beloued. That *Pheroras* mother & his wiues ſiſter went into thoſe quarters vpon purpoſe to buy that poyſon, and returned backe, and brought this woman with them the day before the ſupper. The King moued by theſe words of theirs, tortured both thoſe maid ſeruants of theirs, who were their bondwomen; as alſo certaine other of their free ſeruants. Now when the fact could not be extorted, by reaſon that none of them confeſſed the ſame; at length, ſhe that was laſt of all put to her tryall, ouercome by the paines ſhe endured, ſaid nought elſe, but that ſhe prayed God that *Antipaters* mother might feele the like torments, ſith ſhee was the cauſe of all thoſe miſchiefes which they endured.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 5. Pheroras freemen accuſe his wife for poyſoning him.

Herod torturreth the Ladies bondwomen, & ſoundeth out Antipaters and their ſecrets.

Theſe words of hers made *Herod* the more eager & inquiſitiue, ſo that by force of tortures he wrought out all the ſecrets of theſe women, their banquets, their ſecret aſſemblies, & thoſe very words that *Herod* had ſpoken apart betwixt his ſon and himſelfe, which had been reported vnto the women that *Pheroras* entertained: namely, that hee would giue him one hundreth talents, prouided he would vſe no conference with *Pheroras*. Moreouer, they reckoned vp the hatred that *Antipater* bare vnto his father, the complaints that he made vnto his mother, of the too long life and continuance of his father: for that in regard of himſelfe hee was already waxen old; ſo that although the Kingdome ſhould fall into his hands preſently, yet could he receiue but very little contentment thereby. Moreouer he alleadged, that diuers brothers and brothers children were brought vp together with him, ſo that he might not ſecurely hope for any thing, for that already if he ſhould fortune to die, the Kingdome was to deſcend not to his ſon, but to his brother: beſides this, he was accuſtomed to accuſe the King of diuers cruelties committed by him, and of that murther which he executed vpon the perſons of his children. That for feare leſt hee ſhould practiſe his tyranny againſt thoſe that remained, *Antipater* had found out the deuice to be ſummoned to Rome, and *Pheroras* withdrew himſelfe into his Tetrarchy.

Herod thruſteth Doris Antipaters mother out of his palace.

Theſe words, which as he knew had reference to that which his ſiſter had often informed him of, were not by him held incredible; ſo that being preſſed with the malice of *Antipater*, he ſequeſtred *Doris* his mother from his preſence, ſpoiling her before her departure of all her iewels, which were valued at many talents: and from that time forward he ſhewed himſelfe more fauorable towards thoſe women of *Pheroras* houſhold. But nothing did more whet *Herods* diſpleaſure againſt *Antipater*, then did a certain Samaritane, who was alſo called *Antipater*, who had the ordering of the affaires of *Antipater* the Kings ſon. For he being brought in queſtion and tortured, declared amongſt other things, that *Antipater* had mixed a mortall poyſon, and deliuered the ſame to *Pheroras* his vncle, commanding him to practiſe the Kings death in his abſence, and by that meanes leaſt ſuſpected. That this poyſon was brought out of Egypt by one called *Antiphilus*, *Antipaters* friend. That it was ſent to *Pheroras* by one called *Theudion*, *Antipaters* mothers brother. That this poyſon was kept by *Pheroras* wife, & was committed by her husband to her cuſtody. She being examined by the King hereupon, confeſſed no leſſe, and haſtning forth as if ſhe intended to fetch the ſame, ſhe caſt her ſelfe down headlong from the top of the houſe: yet did ſhe not murther her ſelfe, becauſe ſhe fel vpon her feet. Now after ſhee was recouered out of her ſwoune, and the King had promiſed all ſecurity both to her ſelf & her family, if ſo be ſhe would diſcouer the truth; & contrariwiſe threatned her with extreme torments, if ſhe obſtinately continued in concealing theſe treaſons, ſhe ſware ſhe would diſcouer all things according as they

Antipater the Samaritane, declareth how Antipater the Kings ſonne had prouided poiſon for his father.

were

were acted, and as many men thought at that time, she told nothing but the truth. That poyson (said she) was brought by *Antiphilus* out of Egypt, and bought there by the meanes of a brother of his, who was a Physician. After this, *Theudion* brought it to our house: and I hauing receiued it from *Pheroras* hands, kept the same, but bought by your son *Antipater* to poyson you that are his father. Now therefore after that my husband fell sicke, and you in kindnesse came to visit and comfort him, he being moued with compassion, and conquered by your brotherly kindnesse, by your good affection and louing care in giuing order for his health, called me vnto him, and said; O wife, *Antipater* hath circumuented me, whil'st by his pestilent counsels and poysoning practices he desireth to cut off his father, and depriue me of a kinde brother. Now therefore, sith as I perceiue there is no part of my brothers louing and naturall affection diminished towards me, wherwith he was wont to entertaine me, and that my latest houre of life approacheth, » God forbid, that being ready to sleep with my forefathers, I should present them with a ghost » soiled and sweltred in my brothers blood: Dispatch therefore, and burne this poison before » mine eies. Hereupon said she, I presently brought it forth according as my husband comman- » ded me, and burnt the greatest part of the poison, and the rest I reserued, that if after my husbands » death your Grace should vse me vnkindly, it might serue me to escape those extremities that » would betide me.

The yeere of the world, 3961. before Christs Natiuity, 3.

Pheroras wife cõfesseth that she hath the poison, & casts her selfe down headlong frõ the roofe.

» After she had spoken thus, she brought forth before them all the poison, and the boxe wherin it was kept. After her, another of *Antiphilus* brothers, and the mother to them both, confessed no lesse, being constrained thereunto by force and violence of torture, and acknowledged the boxe. The Kings wife also, who was the daughter of the High Priest, was accused for confederacy and concealement of all these treasons. For which cause *Herod* put her away from him, and razed his sons name out of his testament, wherein he had bequeathed him the kingdome after his decease. He displaced also his father in law *Simon* the sonne of *Boethus* from the Priesthood, and placed *Matthias* the son of *Theophilus*, who was borne in Ierusalem, in his stead. In the meane space *Bathillus*, *Antipaters* freeman returned from Rome; who being tortured, confessed that he brought a poison with him to deliuer it to *Antipaters* mother, and *Pheroras*, to the end that if the first poison were not effectuall enough to dispatch the King, they might make vse of this other, to cut him off speedily. There came letters also to *Herods* hands from his friends in Rome, written and deuised by *Antipaters* meanes, to accuse *Archelaus* and *Philip*, for very often they had refreshed the memory of *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* death, contriued by their father; and for that they lamented the miserable fate of them, who were innocently betrayed, and that now also they themselues were called backe into their country for no other cause, but vpon their arriuall to be made partakers of their brothers miserable destiny. These things did *Antipaters* friends certifie *Herod* of, in that by many and mighty presents he wrought them thereunto. He himselfe also wrote vnto his father colourably, after a manner excusing the young men, and imputing their words to their indiscretion and young yeers. Meane-while, he busied himselfe in accusing *Syllæus*, and courted the chiefest Romans, buying diuers ornaments and iewels to present them with, to the value of two hundreth talents. And it is to be wondred at, that so great matters being brought on foot against him, seuen moneths at least before his returne into the country of Iudæa, that no inkling thereof came vnto his eares. But the cause partly was, the diligent search and watch that was kept vpon the high-waies, and partly the hatred that all men had conceiued against *Antipater*. For there was not any that would put themselues in hazzard to procure his security.

The yeere of the world, 3962. before Christs Natiuitie, 2.

The king putteth away his wife, & blots his son out of his testament He degradeth Simon, & enstateth Matthias in the Priesthood. Archelaus & Philip are accused by Antipaters meanes

CHAP. VII.

ANTIPATER *is condemned, and cast into prison.*

HEROD concealing his displeasure, answered *Antipater* his sons letters (wherein he gaue him to vnderstand, that as soone as he had dispatched his affaires as it behoued him, he should returne) charging him to hasten homeward, for feare lest during his absence, some vnexpected inconuenience might betide him. He likewise after a temperate manner complained vnto him of his mother, promising notwithstanding to remit the fault vpon his returne, and by all meanes hee made shew vnto him of much kindnesse, fearing lest he, apprehending any suspicion, should deferre to hasten his returne homeward, and lingring too long at Rome, should contriue some traiterous stratageme, to the preiudice of himselfe, and the ouerthrow of his kingdome. These letters did *Antipater* receiue in Cilicia, and already had he receiued others at Tarentum,

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 6. Herod writeth friẽdly letters to Antipater, and calleth him home from Rome.

rentum, by whom he vnderstood of *Pheroras* his vncles death, whereat he was sore grieued; not for the loue he bare to *Pheroras*, but for that he died before he had murthered his father; according as he had promised him. As soone as he came to Celenderis a City of Cilicia, hee grew doubtfull whether he should returne or no, and grieuously was he distracted by his mothers disgraces, who was banished from the Court. Sundry also were the opinions of his friends in this behalfe: for some of them counselled him to stay, and expect the euent of these troubles in some place: other some, on the other side, aduised him to delay no longer his returne into his country, for that vpon his arriuall he might easily satisfie all those obiections and accusations that were inforced against him, because his accusers had nought else to strengthen their cause with, but his absence: This latter aduice liked him best; so that he betooke himselfe to sea, and at last arriued in the port of Sebaste, so called, and builded by *Herod*, to his great charge in honour of *Cæsar*.

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Celenderis in Cilicia.

Sebaste a hauen builded by Herod in honour of Cæsar.

And now already it manifestly appeared that *Antipater* was vpon his downfall: For no man came out to salute him, no man entertained him, as they did vpon his departure, when as all of them accompanied him with prayers and happy acclamations: but contrariwise they boldly and openly spake against him, and bitterly cursed him, telling him that he was iustly punished for the wickednesse he had committed against his brothers.

Antipater vpon his returne is saluted by no man.

About the same time *Quintilius Varus*, who was sent to succeed Saturnine in the gouernment of Syria, was at Ierusalem, and drew thither at that instant vpon *Herods* request, to assist him with his counsailes in his present and weighty occasions. Now whil'st these two sate and consulted together, *Antipater* came in before any man expected him, and in that purple garment and royalty that he was accustomed to vse, entered the Palace. The guard of the gates suffered him to enter in, but they excluded all those that were with him. This first of all affrighted and appauled his spirits, in that he already perceiued into what calamities he was fallen; and now also when he drew neere his father, he thrust him from him, accusing him of the murther of his brethren, and reproaching him with that intent he had to poison him, telling him that the next day *Varus* should both heare and iudge all his misdemeanours.

Quintilius Varus, gouernor of Syria.

He altogether amated at the greatnesse of that vnexpected mischiefe, which he both heard and saw, departed presently from them wholly amazed, and in the way met with his mother and his wife (which was *Antigonus* daughter, who had beene King of the Iewes before *Herod*) by whom he was aduertised of all that which had hapned, and for that cause more diligently prepared himselfe for his triall. The next day *Varus* and *Herod* sate in iudgement, accompanied by their friends on both sides; thither also were cited the Kings kinred and his sister *Salome*, and certaine others, who could discouer his secret practices; some of which had beene tortured, and namely *Antipaters* mothers seruants, who a little before his arriuall, had beene apprehended with a letter to this effect: That he should take heed that he returned not into the country, because his father was made priuy to all his practices, and that for the present he had no other refuge but onely to *Cæsar*, and to take care likewise lest he should fall into his fathers hands.

Herod calleth his sonne in question before Quintilius Varus.

Hereupon *Antipater* humbling himselfe on his knees before the King his father, besought him not to condemne him before his cause were heard, but to suspend his iudgement vntill such time as he had heard his iustifications. But *Herod*, after he had commanded him to withdraw himselfe into the midst of the court and assembly, deplored his infelicity in begetting such children, and bewailed his mis-hap, that in his old age he was reserued for an *Antipater*. After this he reckoned vp the cares he had spent in their education and institution, and how bountifully he had bestowed vpon him as much riches as he required: he furthermore alleadged, that none of all these fauors could preserue him from falling into the lapse of the losse of his life by their policy, to the intent that they might iniuriously possesse the kingdom, before either the law of nature, or the will of their father, or their owne rights could challenge the same. But aboue all the rest, he wondred at *Antipater*, with what hope he could possibly be puffed vp to attempt so audacious and wicked an enterprize. For by his testament he had made him the heire of his kingdome, and in his life time also had made him equall partaker of his dignity, glory and power: that he receiued annually fifty talents of reuenue, and to furnish his voyage for Rome, had three hundred talents giuen him. Moreouer, he accused him for his slanderous accusations against his murthered and slaughtered brothers: who if they had beene wicked, why did he imitate them? but if they were innocent; why without cause produced hee his slanderous accusations against those, who were his naturall brethren? For in his owne respect he had neuer found any thing against them, but by his report: neither had he giuen sentence against them, but by *Antipaters* aduice,

Antipater accused by Herod.

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aduice, who for the preſent were abſolued by him, becauſe he was become the heire of their patricide. In vttering theſe words he began to weepe, being vnable to vrge his griefes any further; for which cauſe he beſought *Nicholas Damaſcene*, who was his deare friend, and conuerſed ordinarily with him, and was priuy to all that which had paſſed, to proſecute the reſt that appertained to the inqueſt and approbation of his crime.

Antipaters anſwer to his fathers obiection.

But *Antipater* turning himſelfe towards his father, began to iuſtifie himſelfe, vrging the ſame teſtimonies and fauours that his father had ſhewed vnto him, and the honors he had receiued at his hands, which he would neuer haue ſhewed him, if he had bin vnworthy of the ſame, and had not by his vertue deſerued theſe fauours. He alleadged alſo, that by his vertue he had preuented all that which might haue hapned, and that where the cauſe required his labour or diligence, he diſpatched all things with his owne induſtry, that it was vnlikely that he, who had deliuered his father from thoſe treaſons, which were intended againſt him by other men, ſhould himſelfe attempt the like: and as far from probability that he ſhould goe about to extinguiſh that vertue (wherof euen vntill that day he had giuen teſtimony) to the end that alwaies hereafter he might be defamed for ſuch an indignity. For long before this time he was named and entitled to ſucceed him, and to enioy thoſe very honours whereof already he partooke no ſmall part; whereby he proteſted that it was vnlikely, that he, who might enioy the halfe of all that his father had, in all ſecurity, vertue and honour, ſhould deſire the whole with infamy and danger; yea and with incertitude to obtaine the ſame; conſidering in eſpeciall, that the puniſhment which had befallen his brothers (whom he had both diſcloſed and accuſed at ſuch time as they were hidden) was procured by him, who, if he had liſted, might haue concealed them in ſecret, and whoſe wickedneſſe toward their father (after it was approued) he himſelfe had reuenged vpon them: neither (as he ſaid) repented he himſelfe of that which he had done: for that action of his might be an argument to approoue how incorruptly he loued his father. And as touching that which he had dealt in at Rome, *Cæſar* himſelfe was witneſſe thereof; who could be no more deceiued then God himſelfe: whereof thoſe letters bore record, which were written by him; which in equity ſhould be of no leſſe force, then the ſlanders of thoſe who ſought to ſet them at oddes: the moſt part of which obiections and reproches had bin complotted and deuiſed by his enemies, who haue had the leiſure to purſue the ſame during his abſence, which they could not haue performed in his preſence. Finally, he auowed, that all thoſe confeſſions were falſe which were extorted by torture, in that it ordinarily falleth out, that ſuch as are put to the triall, confeſſe many things by force of torment that are vntrue, to ſatisfie them that put them thereto: briefly without all fauour, he offered himſelfe to the racke in iuſtification of his innocency. Vpon theſe his proteſtations, all the councell and aſſiſtants were confounded. For all of them had great compaſſion of *Antipater*, who was wholly drowned in his teares; ſo that his very enemies began to pitty him. And *Herod* himſelfe made it appeare, that he ſeemed in ſome ſort to be altered in his opinion: notwithſtanding he endeauoured to conceale the ſame.

Nicholas Damaſcene proſecuteth the Kings accuſation.

But *Nicholaus*, according as he was requeſted, proſecuted that accuſation which the King had begun, vrging all things to the vttermoſt, and producing all the witneſſes, and thoſe manifeſt proofes, that were gathered from their examinations that were tortured. In eſpeciall, he amply diſcourſed of the Kings vertue, which he had fatherly expreſſed in the education and inſtruction of his children; for which he had beene ſo vnkindly and vnnaturally requited. Moreouer, that his firſt childrens fooliſh raſhneſſe was not ſo much to be wondred at, for that being young, they had bin corrupted by the malice of their counſellers, and had blotted out of their hearts all the lawes of nature, rather through ambition of rule, then deſire of riches: But that *Antipaters* boldneſſe was both wonderfull and wicked, who more cruell then the cruelleſt beaſts (who toward their benefactors acknowledge each good turne) was nothing mollified by his fathers ſo great indulgence; not terrified by his brothers calamity, but muſt needs emulate them in their crueltie. And thou thy ſelfe (ſaid he) O *Antipater*, wert the Iudge of their attempted treaſons, by thy inquiſition they were indited, thou didſt execute the iuſtice againſt them being conuicted. Neither doe wee diſallow that thou didſt proſecute them with iuſt indignation, but rather admire thee for that thou imitateſt their intemperance: and we eaſily gather that thoſe acts of thine were not attempted for thy fathers ſecurity, but intended for thy brothers ouerthrow, that by deteſting their malice, thou mighteſt inſinuate thy ſelf into the allowance & good liking of their father and thine, that afterwards thou mightſt more cunningly and ſecurely bring him to his end, which at length thou haſt attempted to perform. For whil'ſt thou adiudgeſt thy guilty brothers to death, and ſpareſt their confederats, thou mak'ſt it manifeſt in all mens eies, that thou art in good liking with

A liking with them, whoſe aſſiſtance thou mighteſt hereafter vſe in oppreſſing thy father. Thou haſt therefore taken a double pleaſure worthy thy manners; the one openly as if reioycing and glorying, that by thy brothers death thou haſt atchieued a matter of honour: the other ſecretly, with endeauouring by greater wickednes, but more ſecret fraud, to make an end of thy father; the reuenger of whoſe iniuries thou pretendedſt to be. For if thou hadſt truly deteſted their malice, thou hadſt neuer eſteemed the ſame to be worthy of thy imitation: For thou hadſt not cut them off for committing ſuch capitall offences, as were anſwerable vnto thine, but for that they had a more iuſt and rightfull title to ſucceed in the kingdome then thou haſt: And thou haſt thought good to mixe the murther of thy father with the ſlaughtered bodies of thy brothers, for feare B leſt thou ſhouldſt be ſuddenly conuinced in thy conſpiracies againſt them, and to the end that the puniſhment that thou well deſerueſt to ſuffer, ſhould light vpon thy infortunate father, proiecting with your ſelfe ſuch a paricide, and ſo rare and hainous a murther, that to this day the like thereof hath not beene heard of amongſt men. For thou being his ſonne haſt practiſed theſe treaſons, not only againſt thy father, but againſt him that loued thee aboue meaſure, and did thee good beyond hope, with whom thou haſt actuall participation of the gouernment of the kingdome, and who had appointed thee his heire in the ſame, being no waies hindred, either for the preſent, or in times paſt, to participate the pleaſure of ſoueraignty, and being aſſured of the hope of ſucceſſion both by the will and writings of thy father. But you haue meaſured the courſe of your affaires, not according to *Herods* vertue, but according to your owne appetite and malice, C intending to depriue ſuch a father of his part, who granted you the whole; and ſeeking in effect to murther him, whom in words you pretended heretofore to protect from iniury. And not content of your ſelfe to practiſe theſe treacheries, you haue poiſoned your mother alſo with no leſſe corruption, and in ſtead of loue that ſhould haue beene amongſt brethren, you haue filled your family with mutinies and hatreds: And after and beſides all theſe things, thou haſt been ſo audacious, as to call thy father beaſt, being of thy ſelfe more maliignant then thoſe beaſts that are moſt venemous, vſing thine owne venome againſt thy deareſt friends, and ſuch as haue beſt deſerued at thy hands, ſtrengthning thy ſelfe with his guard, and diuers treacheries both of men and women againſt one old man, as if thy curſed minde alone were not ſufficient to ſatisfie thy hatred. And now after ſo many men and women, ſlaues and free-men tortured for thy cauſe, af- D ter the open and manifeſt teſtimonies of thy parties in the conſpiracy, thou art ſo impudent as yet to contradict the truth: and thou that lately hopedſt to depriue thy father of his life, doeſt now as much as in thee lieth, endeauour to aboliſh that law that was inſtituted againſt malefactors in thy kind, herewithall *Varus* equity, and all whatſoeuer iuſtice is in the world. Doeſt thou therefore accuſe them of falſehood, who were examined in torments, to the end thou mighteſt endanger their credit, who were the preſeruers of thy fathers life? ſhall we beleeue thee more then them in their torments? Wilt thou not (O *Varus*) deliuer the King from the iniuries of thoſe, who are his owne fleſh and blood? wilt thou not put this wicked beaſt to death, who hath murdred his brothers, to pretend a loue towards his father, and who hath at laſt beene diſcouered to be the moſt mortall enemy of them all, to the intent that at one inſtant he might eſtabliſh the kingdome E in himſelfe? Thou knoweſt that Patricide is no priuate crime, but a publike iniury to life and nature, which is no leſſe loathſome in the thought, then it is in the act: which whoſo puniſheth not, is of himſelfe guilty of an iniury offered to our common mother nature.

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Patricide that publike iniury of life and nature.

After theſe ſpeeches, he annexed certaine points as touching *Antipaters* mother, which through feminine frailty had beene blabbed out by her, to wit, that ſhee had asked counſell of ſoothſaiers and diuiners, to whom the Kingdome ſhould befall: And that ſhe had offered ſacrifices, and made prayers for the death of the King. And moreouer, he declared what laſciuious prankes *Antipater* had plaied with *Pheroras* women, in banquetting and amorous and wanton dalliances. The informations likewiſe that were preſented by ſuch as were tortured, with ſundry teſtimonies of diuers men, ſome ſuborned; the other found out to be incontinently produced and con- F firmed. For each man ſeeing that *Antipater* was expoſed to the accuſations of thoſe men, who had the gouernment in their hands, and that the good fortune that had long time accompanied him, had openly deliuered him into the hands of his enemies, they manifeſtly diſcouered the inſatiable hatred which they had conceiued againſt him, whereas beforetime the feare that they had of him inforced them to be ſilent: yet was he not ſo much burdened with other mens hatreds, as with his owne wickedneſſe, namely, his deadly hatred againſt his father, his breach of amity amongſt his brethren, whereby he filled the Kings houſhold with ſeditions and murthers, of ſome complotted, and acted by other ſome; neither giuing place to hatred according to

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iuſtice, nor to amity according to good affection, but according as it might ſtand with his profit. Which for that diuers men perceiued long before that time, they iudged of euents according as they had reaſon, and the rather becauſe that being void of hatred, they ſpake but their opinions. And whereas heretofore they had cried with a loud voice againſt him, at ſuch time as they were ſhut vp; at this time when they were depriued of their feare, they declared all things, that they knew. And whereas there were diuers produced of the miſchiefes committed by him, yet ſeemed there nothing to be fained, for that the accuſers neither ſpake in fauour of the King, neither concealed any thing for feare of perill, but condemned all *Antipaters* wicked actions, and iudged him worthy of death and puniſhment, not ſo much for his fathers ſecurity as of his own demerit. Neither did they onely accuſe him, who were by iuſtice tyed thereunto, but diuers voluntary witneſſes alſo brought in their euidence; ſo that although hee was a very cunning diſſembler, and colourer of his lies, and moſt impudent in his aſſertions, yet durſt he not once open his mouth or mutter againſt the ſame.

Antipater accuſed by all men.

Varus giueth Antipater licenſe to iuſtifie himſelfe.

As ſoon as *Nicholas* had finiſhed his diſcourſe and accuſations, *Varus* commanded *Antipater* to anſwer to thoſe crimes that were obiected againſt him, if he had any thing to alleadge, that he was not guilty of thoſe forfaits or hainous crimes that were laid vnto his charge. For of himſelf he deſired nothing more, and knew well that *Herod* his father deſired no leſſe, then that he ſhould iuſtifie himſelfe, and maintaine his innocency. But he humbling himſelfe vpon his face, and lowly bending his body to the ground, beſought God, who was the ſearcher of all hearts, to approue his innocency by ſome euident ſigne, how he had neuer attempted any thing to his fathers preiudice. For this is the cuſtome of all wicked men, that as often as they attempt any hainous act, they engage themſelues in all wickednes, without any reſpect of Gods iuſtice; and when as by their miſdeeds, they are fallen into perill, then call they God to their minds, by whoſe inuocation and teſtimony they deſire to be deliuered, making a ſhew that they commit al things to his determination. The like whereof in this time hapned in *Antipater*: who, whereas before time he diſpoſed all his actions in ſuch ſort, as if there had bin no God that had the ouerſway of humane affaires; at ſuch time as iuſtice ouertooke him, and he was diſfurniſhed of the benefit of the law, had his recourſe to Gods power, alleadging that he was reſerued by God to this end, that he might diligently intend his fathers ſafety. Hereupon *Varus*, when as by often queſtionings he could wreſt nothing from him, but that he only cried vpon God, ſeeing that otherwiſe there would be no end of theſe debates, he commanded the poyſon to be brought forth before them all, that he might make experience of what force it was: which being preſently brought vnto him, and miniſtred to one that was condemned to die, it preſently killed the man. Which done, he aroſe and departed out of the councell, and the next day went to Antioch, where for the moſt part he was wont to haue his reſidence, for that it was the chiefe citie of the Aſſyrians. But *Herod* preſently commanded his ſonne to be put in bonds, no man knowing what talke had beene betweene him and *Varus* vpon his departure, but all mens opinion was that the King did nothing in impriſoning him, but by his counſell. When as therefore he had faſt bound him, hee ſent vnto *Cæſar*, and wrote his letters vnto him, as touching *Antipater*, ſending certaine appointed meſſengers, who by word of mouth might certifie him of his curſed treaſons.

Antipater striueth by his proteſtations, and inuocations of God to iuſtifie himſelfe.

The poiſon is miniſtred to a condemned man, and it killeth him. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 7.

Herod impriſoned his ſon, and ſent Embaſſadors to Cæſar to certifie his abuſes

At the very ſame time there was a letter intercepted, ſent by *Antiphilus* to *Antipater*, which *Antiphilus* remained in Egypt: which letter being opened by the King, was written to this effect: I haue ſent you *Acmes* letter, hazzarding therby mine owne life: for you know that I am in danger of the diſpleaſure of two mighty families, if I ſhould be diſcouered. As for your ſelfe, bethinke you well of your affaires in this reſpect. Such were the contents of this letter. The King made diligent ſearch for others alſo, but he could finde none: for *Antiphilus* ſeruant, who had brought that which was read, denied that he had any other. But while the King was in this doubt, one of his ſeruants and friends perceiued that the inſide of the meſſengers vnder-coat was newly ſewed: for he had two garments the one vpon the other: and coniecturing that the letters might be hidden in the fould thereof, as indeed they were, he ripped the ſame, and found them. The tenour thereof was this: *Acme* to *Antipater*, Health: I haue written the letters to your father, according as you gaue me inſtructions, and I haue counterfeited the copy of my letter, as if it had been ſent by *Salome* my miſtris. I aſſure my ſelfe, that when he hath read the ſame, he will puniſh *Salome* as one that hath practiſed treaſon againſt him. But that letter that was ſuppoſed to haue beene written by *Salome* to *Acme*, was of *Antipaters* inuention, and written in *Salomes* name, according to his inuention, and in *Acmes* ſtile. The contents were theſe: *Acme* to King *Herod*, Health: Whereas I haue an eſpeciall care, that nothing be concealed from thee that concerneth thy

Aneiphilus letter to Antipater.

Acmes letters to Antipater.

A the ſecurity, hauing found a letter of *Salomes* written againſt thee vnto my Lady, I haue not without danger taken the copy thereof, & ſent it vnto you, in which ſhe required that ſhe might haue licence to marry *Syllæus*. Teare this copy, leſt through the knowledge of the ſame, I grow in danger of my life. Now in that which ſhe had written to *Antipater*, ſhe had diſcouered that ſhe had written theſe words to *Herod*, according to that commandement he had giuen her, as if *Salome* had conſpired to work ſome treaſon againſt him. She ſent alſo the copy of thoſe counterfait letters in the name of *Salome*, and ſent them vnto her miſtris to worke treaſon.

The yeere of the world, 3962. before Chriſts Natiuity, 2.

Acmes letters to Herod.

This *Acme* was a Iew born, & chambermaid to *Iulia*, *Cæſars* wife, and did that which is aboue written for the loue which ſhe bare to *Antipater*, whom he had hired by great ſummes of mony, to the end, that ſhe ſhould aſſiſt him to execute the miſchiefe, which he practiſed againſt his father and againſt his aunt. *Herod* made almoſt deſperate by the great miſchiefes of *Antipater*, was ſtirred vp on the ſuden to ſhorten his daies, for that he was the only meanes that ſtirred vp theſe great tempeſts of ſedition in his Kingdom, and who not only practiſed againſt his father and his aunt, but againſt his ſiſter alſo; and had in like ſort corrupted *Cæſars* family. *Salome* alſo incenſed him the more, beating her breſts and offering her ſelfe to all deaths, if any ſuch like matter might be duely prooued againſt her. For which cauſe *Herod* ſent for *Antipater*, commanding him to ſpeake freely all that which he had to ſay without feare. But hee hauing not one word to anſwere for his defence, *Herod* ſaid vnto him: Since that on all ſides thou art conuicted, and ſurprized in thy wickednes, delay not, but diſcouer thoſe that are of thy confederacy. Whereupon he laid all the fault vpon *Antiphilus*, and named none other. At that time *Herod* being wounded by extreme griefe, would haue ſent *Antipater* to Rome vnto *Cæſar*, that he might receiue his iudgement from him, but afterwards he feared leſt by the intereſt of his friends he ſhould eſcape the danger, for which cauſe he kept him bound and fettered in priſon, as he had done before: And in the meane while ſent certain meſſengers with letters to *Cæſar*, to accuſe his ſonne, and to declare wherein *Acme* had been his confederate, producing the copy of the letters. Theſe Embaſſadors therefore reſorted to Rome, inſtructed in thoſe things they were to anſwere to thoſe interrogatories that ſhould be offered them, and with them he ſent theſe letters.

Herod inflamed with hatred againſt his ſonne.

Antipater layeth all the fault vpon Antiphilus.

CHAP. VIII.

Herods *ſickneſſe and the ſedition amongſt the Iewes.*

MEANE-while *Herod* fell ſicke, and made his will, and appointed his yongeſt ſonne to ſucceed him in the Kingdom, for that through *Antipaters* inſtigations he had conceiued a hatred againſt *Archelaus* and *Philip*. He ſent alſo one thouſand talents vnto *Cæſar*, and fiue hundreth to his wife, and to his children, friends and freemen. Hee beſtowed alſo money, rents, and lands vpon his owne children: he gaue his ſiſter *Salome* an ample poſſeſſion, for that ſhe had alwaies perſeuered in louing him, and had neuer offended him. And hauing loſt all hope of recouery, for that he was about 70. yeeres old, he became very tutchie and froward in whatſoeuer his affaires. The cauſe hereof was, that opinion he had conceiued, that he waxed contemptible, & that the whole nation took pleaſure in thoſe miſ-haps which befortuned him: which ſome of thoſe who were fauoured by the people, made him the rather beleeue vpon this occaſion which enſueth: Amongſt thoſe that were moſt learned amongſt the Iewes, *Iudas* the ſon of *Sariphæus*, & *Matthias* the ſon of *Margalothus*, the moſt excellent interpreters of the lawes and ordinances of the country (and for this cauſe were in greateſt eſtimation among the people, by reaſon that they inſtructed and trained vp the youth; for all thoſe that deſired to obtaine vertue, ſpent all their time with them) vnderſtanding that the Kings ſickneſſe was dangerous, they incenſed the yonger ſort, counſelling them to ouerthrow all thoſe works that the King had cauſed to be made, contrary to the law and cuſtome of the countrey; to the end, that they fighting for piety, might obtaine the reward that attendeth the ſame. For in that the King had enterprized and done many things contrary to the law, diuers vnaccuſtomed miſeries had befallen him, and namely that ſickneſs wherewith he was detained. For *Herod* had done diuers things contrary to the ancient law; againſt which *Iudas* and *Matthias* exclaimed openly. For he had erected ouer the portall of the great temple, an Eagle of gold of great value. Now the law prohibiteth that they, who pretend to liue according to the ſame, ſhould in any ſort erect any image, or repreſent any figures of liuing creatures whatſoeuer. For this cauſe theſe doctors counſelled them to pull downe that Eagle: telling them, that although the matter ſeemed to want no

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 8. Herod falling ſick maketh his Will, and leaueth the ſucceſſion of his Kingdome with his other goods to his friends and kinſfolkes. Herod impatient in his old age and wondrous wayward.

The yeere of the world, 3963. after Chriſts Natiuity, 1.

A golden Eagle vpon the greateſt gate of the temple.

The yeere of the world, 3963. after Christs Nativitie, 1.

Contempt of death.

perill, yet ought they rather to prefer an honeſt death before a pleaſant life, if ſo be it be imploied for the defence of their countrey lawes and religion. For in ſo doing, they ſhould obtaine immortall praiſe for the preſent, and a memorable and eternall glory in time to come; neither that they ſhould protract the execution therof for feare of danger, ſince death was a thing that might not be auoided; ſo that ſince by the generall courſe of nature, they muſt needly die, it ſhould become them brauely to forſake their liues with praiſe and honor in imbracing vertue. For to die in the execution of ſome noble exploit (which cannot be atchieued without hazard or danger) their children ſhould be richly rewarded with the fruits therof, & their other parents that ſhould outliue them (of what ſex ſoeuer) ſhould reap the fruits of that glory which was honorably atchieued by them. In theſe or ſuch like words incouraged they the yong men.

The young men pulling downe the golden eagle, hew it in pieces with their axes. Iudas and Matthias with forty other young men being broght to the Kings preſence, iuſtifie their actions with ioy, & the King ſendeth them bound to Iericho.

About that time there was a rumour ſpred, that the King was dead, which gaue very great furtherance to the Doctors reſolution. For at high noon they went vp into the temple, they pulled and hewed down the Eagle with their axes, in the ſight and aſſembly of a great number of people that were in the temple. Now when the tydings hereof came vnto the eares of the Kings Captain, he fearing leſt ſome further and more fatall tumult might be raiſed, drew out a ſtrong company of ſouldiers with him, to repulſe thoſe that were aſſembled to hew downe the Eagle: and charging the rude and diſarmed multitude, who were gathered together, he eaſily ſlew and diſperſed the moſt; as for thoſe forty yong men that valiantly addreſſed themſelues to reſiſt, he apprehended them, and with them the authors of ſedition *Iudas* and *Matthias*, who thought ſcorne to ſubmit themſelues, & led them to the King; who demanding of them how they durſt deface the ſacred image? they anſwered, that long before that time they had reſolued it, and that now according as they had reſolued, they had like valiant men performed the ſame. For we (ſaid they) maintaine the honour of God and the doctrine of our law, whereof we are diſciples: neither ought you to admire that with contempt of your ordinances we haue preferred the lawes of our forefathers, which *Moſes* hath left vs in writting, according as he was ſuggeſted and taught them by God: neither doe we refuſe any death or puniſhment which thou ſhalt inflict vpon vs, being aſſured in our conſciences, that we ſuffer not for our impiety, but piety ſake. Thus ſpake they all of them, continuing the like conſtant boldnes in their anſweres, as they had ſhewed in their actions, being alſo ready, conſtantly to endure any puniſhment for that which they had attempted. Hereupon the King commanded them to be bound, & ſent them to Iericho: then calling before him thoſe principall Iewes, who had the gouernement vnder him; & being brought into their aſſembly vpon his pallat, by reaſon of his weaknes, he recited vnto them the numberleſs trauels he had endured for their ſakes: in like manner, how vpon his great charges he had repaired & reedified the temple: whereas the Aſmoneans for the ſpace of 125. yeeres, wherin they raigned, could not performe ſuch a building in the honour of God. Moreouer, he ſignified vnto them, how he had adorned the ſame with precious gifts, for which he hoped that after his death his memory & glory ſhould ſuruiue. After this, he expoſtulated with them for what cauſe they abſtained not from offering him that outrage during his life time? And why at noon daies & in the ſight of all the people, they had laid hands on thoſe preſents which hee had dedicated vnto God, and had taken thoſe things away violently which though in words they appertained to him, yet in the effect if the act were well examined, they had taken from God. The Gouernours ſuſpecting his cruelty, and fearing leſt his vnbridled paſſion ſhould vrge him further, by which meanes they might be aſſured of ſome ſeuere puniſhment, anſwered him: that thoſe things were not done by their conſents, and that in their opinion the iniury ought not to be let ſlip without puniſhment. At that time *Herod* ſhewed himſelfe more fauourable towards the reſt, but he cauſed *Matthias* to be depriued of the prieſthood, as one in part who had bin the cauſe of that which had hapned; and in his place ſubſtituted *Iozar* one of his wiues brethren. During the prieſthood of this *Matthias* it hapned alſo, that another high Prieſt was elected that very day, wherein the Iewes did vſually celebrate their faſt. For *Matthias* the night before the day of the faſt, ſeemed in his dream to haue had the company of his wife; and whereas for this cauſe he was vnfit to offer the diuine ſacrifice, he had *Ioſeph* the ſon of Ellemus, appointed him to be his aſſiſter and ſubſtitute, by reaſon of his alliance. *Herod* therefore depoſed *Matthias*: and as touching the other *Matthias*, who had mooued this trouble, both he & his companions were by his commandment conſumed with fire.

Herod aſſembleth the gouernours of the Iewes, and expoſtulateth with them about this commotion.

Matthias depriued of the hie prieſthood, & Iozar is aſſigned his place.

Ioſeph Ellemi for one day high Prieſt.

Matthias and Iudas burned.

The Eclipſe.

This very night the moon was eclipſed, & *Herods* ſicknes grew more vehement. For God puniſhed thoſe ſins which he had cõmitted. For he was inflamed with a lent or ſlow fire, which to the outward ſenſe ſeemed not ſo vehement, but inwardly ſearched & afflicted all his entrails: he had

A had alſo a rauenous and vnnaturall appetite to his meate, which might no waies be ſatisfied. Beſides that, he had an vlcer in his bowels with a ſtrange and furious collicke. His feet were ſwolne with moiſt and ſhining flegme, and his ſtomacke was no leſſe affected alſo. His members rotted and were full of crawling wormes, with a filthy and no leſſe troubleſome Priapiſme, accompanied with an intolerable ſtench: beſides all this, he had a ſtrong convulſion of his nerues, and ſhortneſſe of breath. For which cauſe it was a generall opinion amongſt holy men, and ſuch as had the knowledge of prophecy, that the King was thus puniſhed for his infinite impieties and ſins committed againſt the Maieſtie of God. And although he was tormented with an vnſupportable ſickneſſe, yet had he hope to eſcape: and for that cauſe he ſent for Phyſicians from all places, and B refuſed none of thoſe remedies which they thought behouefull for him. He therefore paſt ouer Iordan and went into the hot bathes of Calliroes, the waters whereof are potable, beſides other vertues they haue againſt all other kinde of ſickeneſſe: this water diſchargeth it ſelfe into the lake called Aſphaltite. Being there, it was thought good by his Phyſicians, that he ſhould refreſh himſelfe in thoſe waters: There being ſet by them into a bathing tubbe filled with oyle, he waxed ſo ſicke, that they held him for dead. Whereupon all his houſhold ſeruants wept and grieuouſly lamented; and all his familiar friends crying out and bewailing him, with their great noiſe cauſed him to come to himſelfe: and ſeeing himſelfe wholly out of hope to eſcape, he gaue order that there ſhould a diſtribution be made to euery ſouldier the ſumme of fiftie drachmes, and he offered great preſents to their Captaines and his friends. Afterwards he returned to Ieri- C cho, where a melancholy humour poſſeſſed him, which made him vnſociable, and diſpleaſed againſt all men; ſo that ſeeing that he muſt needly dye, he bethought him of this facinorous action that followeth. For the nobleſt men among the nation of the Iewes, reſorting vnto him from all parts (vpon his commandement vnder the expreſſe penaltie of loſſe of life, to whoſoeuer ſhould neglect the ſame) the King ſhewed himſelfe to be diſpleaſed, as well againſt thoſe whom he thought guiltie, as againſt them who had giuen him no occaſion of diſcontent. For he cauſed them to be ſhut vp in a place called the Hippodrome, which was the tilt-yard to runne horſes in, and ſent for his ſiſter *Salome*, and *Alexas* her husband, telling them that his end was at hand, for that his griefes did inceſſantly torment him: which as he ſaid he ought to beare patiently, becauſe it was an end that ſhould happen to all men. But that which moſt grieued him was, D that he ſaw himſelfe depriued of thoſe mournings and lamentations, which a King deſerued. For he was not to ſeeke of the Iewes affections, neither how his death was deſired and longed for by them, ſince that in his life time they preſumed ſo farre as to reuolt, and diſhonour and deface thoſe gifts, which he had beſtowed vpon the Common-weale. It therefore behoued them to affoord him ſome ſolace in that his bitter anguiſh, for that if they refuſed not to performe that which he had contriued in his mind, the lamentation of his death ſhould be magnificent, and as great as any King euer had: and the pleaſure and laughter that might accompany his death, ſhould be abated by their ſorrow, who ſhould vnfainedly lament for the whole nation. Hee therefore willed them, that at ſuch time as he ſhould giue vp the ghoſt, they ſhould cauſe the Hippodrome to be inuironed by his ſouldiers, as yet vnaduertiſed of his death (which he would E not haue publiſhed before this execution were ended) and to command them to ſhoot their arrowes at thoſe that were ſhut vp therin. And that when they had ſlaine them all after this manner, they ſhould make him triumph and reioyce in a double ioy; firſt, for that in his death his commandement ſhould be ratified by effect: ſecondly, for that he ſhould be honoured by a memorable lamentation. Thus weeping, he beſought his kinſfolke for the loue they bare vnto him, and for the faith they bare vnto God, that they ſhould not ſuffer him to die fruſtrate of this laſt honour: and they proteſted that they would not tranſgreſſe any point of this his commandement. Hereby a man may coniecture what his nature was, who tooke pleaſure in theſe aboue-named impieties, and who through the deſire he had of long life, hath after this ſort dealt with thoſe of his blood: and it may be coniectured by theſe his laſt commandements, that F he had nothing in him that ſauoured any humanity: for that departing out of the world, he had ſuch a mind, that all the nation and all ſuch as were moſt affectionate towards him, ſhould be driuen to ſorrow and deſolation; commanding that in euery houſe one ſhould be ſlaine, yea ſuch as had not in any ſort offended him, and were not accuſed of any miſdeed committed againſt any other: whereas they that haue any vertue, finding themſelues at that ſtate, haue beene accuſtomed to lay aſide the hatred which they haue before-time borne vnto their enemies.

The yeere of the world, 3963. after Chriſts Natiuitie, 1.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 9.

Herods horrible ſickneſſe.

The hot baths of Calliroes that flow into the lake Aſphaltite.

Herod beſtoweth a diſtribution among his ſouldiers.

Herod commandeth that the nobleſt of the Iewes ſhould bee ſlaine after his death.

The yeere of the world, 3963. after Christs birth, 1.

Chap. IX.

Antipaters *death.*

Letters are sent from Rome, that Acme was executed by Cæsars cõmand, and that he had authoritie to vse Antipater at his pleasure.

WHileſt he deliuered theſe inſtructions to his kinred, he receiued letters from thoſe Embaſſadors which he had ſent from Rome vnto *Cæſar*: the effect whereof was, that *Acme* was put to death by *Cæſars* command, who was diſpleaſed with her for that ſhe had bin of *Antipaters* conſpiracy, who was remitted to *Herods* pleaſure like a King and father to vſe him, as beſt pleaſed him; either to exile and baniſh him; or if it ſo pleaſed him, to put him to death. *Herod* receiuing theſe newes, recouered his ſpirits a little through the pleaſure he receiued in the contents of thoſe letters, both of *Acmes* death, as of the power that was granted him to puniſh his ſon. But being aſſailed afreſh with grieuous dolours, and vrged with a deſire to eate, he called for an apple and a knife: for before-time he was accuſtomed to pare his apples himſelfe, and to cut a little; and afterwards to eate it: when as therefore he had gotten hold of the knife, he looked round about him, determining to giue himſelfe a mortall wound therewith, and had ſurely done it, had not *Achiabus* his nephew haſtily ſtept within him, and ſtaid his hand, and called for aſſiſtance. At that time the ſorrow and lamentation was renewed in all the Palace, as if the King had beene already dead: and *Antipater* certainly beleeuing that his father was departed, began to hope (and confirmed no leſſe in his words) that being deliuered out of priſon, he ſhould obtaine the poſſeſſion of the kingdome without any difficulty: and deuiſed with the Gaoler as touching his deliuerance, offering him great preſents both in hand and hereafter, as if there had bin no other queſtion but of that. But ſo farre was the Gaoler from obeying that which *Antipater* demanded, that he went and certified the King what his intent was, and what offers he made him. *Herod*, who had already conceiued a ſiniſter opinion of his ſon, hearing what the Gaoler had ſaid, began to exclaime, and to beat his head, although he was at the vttermoſt gaſp: and lifting himſelfe vp vpon his elbowes, he commanded that one of his guard ſhould preſently haſte and kill him; and that done, he ſhould be buried in the Caſtle of Hircanion without any honour.

Herod calling for a knife and an apple, intendeth to ſtab himſelfe.

Achiab withholdeth his hand.

Antipater thinking his father to be dead, dealeth with his Keeper for his deliuery, which Herod hearing of, commandeth him to be ſlaine.

Chap. X.

Herods *Will, Death, and Buriall.*

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 10.

AFter this, hauing changed his mind, he made a new Teſtament. For he appointed *Antipas* Tetrarch of Galilee and of Peræa, whereas before that he had inſtituted him for his ſucceſſor in the Kingdome. He created *Archelaus* King; he gaue the Prouinces of Gaulonites, Trachonites, Batanea and Paneade to *Philip* his ſonne, and *Archelaus* brother by the mothers ſide, to be Tetrarch ouer thoſe places. He gaue his ſiſter *Salome Iamnia, Azot* and *Phaſaelis*, with fifty thouſand crownes of gold. He prouided alſo for his other kinſmen, all whom he left rich in money, which he gaue them, and reuenewes which he aſſigned them. He gaue *Cæſar* ten millions of drachmes in ſiluer, amounting to the ſumme of eleuen hundreth thouſand francs, beſides a great quantity of gold and ſiluer plate, and of precious moueables. To *Iulia Cæſars* wife, and to certaine others, he bequeathed fiue millions of drachmes, amounting to fiue hundreth and fifty thouſand francs, or thereabout. After he had in this manner diſpoſed all things, ſome fiue dayes after he had cauſed *Antipater* to be executed, he departed this life: hauing raigned after *Antigonus* death, for the ſpace of thirty and foure yeers, and thirty and ſeuen yeers after he was elected and approoued King by the Romans: a man without reſpect cruell, and ſeuere towards all men; ſlaue to his wrath; Lord of the lawes: yet ſo fauoured by fortune, as no man more, for from a priuate man he became a King, and being inuironed with many perils, he alwaies happily eſcaped, and he liued alſo a very long time. And as touching his family and children, in this alſo in his owne opinion was he happy, in that he ouercame his enemies and aduerſaries: but in my opinion, he was moſt vnfortunate.

Herods will is changed.

His legacy to Cæſar and Iulia his wife.

Herods death.

Herods mutable & ſtrange fortune.

But before the Kings death was thorowly knowne, *Salome* and *Alexas* diſcharged thoſe that were locked vp in the Hippodrome, and ſent euery one of them home vnto his owne houſe, telling them that the King commanded them to depart and follow their houſhold affaires, and till their land: wherein they performed a moſt noble action, and benefited the whole nation with an eſpeciall good turne. After that the Kings death was bruted abroad, *Salome* and *Alexas* cauſed all the men of warre to be aſſembled in the Amphitheater in Iericho, and firſt of all they cauſed

Salome and Alexas after the Kings death, diſmiſſe the Iewes that were ſhut vp in the Hippodrome.

Herods

A *Herods* letters to be read, which were addreſſed to the ſouldiers, in which he gaue them thankes for the fidelity and good will which they had expreſſed towards him, praying them to continue the ſame to *Archelaus* his ſonne, whom he had appointed to be their King after him. That done, *Ptolomey*, to whom the King had committed the cuſtody of his ſeale, recited his teſtament, which was to take no effect, except that *Cæſar* approoued the ſame. Thereupon all of them began to applaud and honour *Archelaus* for their King. The men of warre flocked about him in troupes, accompanied with their Captaines, promiſing him to ſerue him with no leſſe will and affection, then they had done his father, praying God to yeeld him his aſſiſtance.

The yeere of the world, 3963. after Chriſts Natiuitie, 1.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 11. Herods thākſgiuing to his army, and teſtament read and Archelaus is applauded by the people.

At that time alſo the Kings Hearſe was prepared, and *Archelaus* gaue order that his obſequies B ſhould be moſt royally performed, and beſtowed all the furniture that was requiſite for that funerall and princely enterrement. He was carried out in a gilded litter, diſtinguiſhed with diuers precious ſtones, the couer thereof was of azure colour. The dead body was apparelled in a purple raiment, hauing a Diadem vpon his head, ouer which there was ſet a Crowne of gold, and a ſcepter was couched in his right hand. About this litter marched a great number of his children and kinsfolke; and after them followed the men of warre, diſpoſed in bands and troupes, according to the manners of euery nation. The firſt of theſe were the Archers of his guard: after them went the Thracians: and laſtly, marched the Germanes, and Galatians; all of them in their warlike abiliments and diſcipline. After them followed all the army, marching in order in like manner as when they were addreſſed to battell, each one vnder his Corporall and Cap- C taine. Next theſe followed fiue hundreth of his houſhold ſeruants, bearing perfumes, and all theſe in this equipage marched to the Caſtle Herodion, diſtant ſome eight ſtades or furlongs off. For there was he intombed, according to the tenour of his teſtament. Thus dyed *Herod*: *Archelaus* continued his mourning for ſeuen daies ſpace in honour of his father. (For the law of the countrey ordaineth no leſſe.) And after he had feaſted the people, and laid aſide his mourning apparell, he aſcended vp into the Temple. All the way as he went, all the people with ſhouts and acclamations, cryed, God ſaue the King; and with prayers and praiſes honoured him to their vttermoſt, and he being conducted vp to a high ſtation and ſtate, which was made for the purpoſe, and placed in a throne that was embeliſhed with gold, entertained the people very graciouſly, taking pleaſure in their acclamations and congratulations that they beſtowed D vpon him. He gaue them thankes alſo, for that they had blotted out of their remembrance the iniuries that his father had done vnto them; proteſting in his owne behalfe, that he would inforce himſelfe to requite their kindneſſe, with an intire affection. He likewiſe told them, that for the preſent he accepted not the ſtyle of King, becauſe the honour was bequeathed him with this condition, that *Cæſar* ſhould ratifie his fathers teſtament. For this cauſe, although the ſouldiers that were in Iericho inforced themſelues to ſet the Diadem vpon his head, yet would hee not accept that vncertaine honour, becauſe it was not reſolued whether *Cæſar*, who was the principall party in the gift, would grant him the gouernment or no.

Archelaus banquetteth the people.

He alleadged likewiſe, that if his affaires ſucceeded according to his deſire, he would not, according as his honour commanded him, forget their loue, or leaue their good affection vnre- E quited. And that in the meane-while, he would enforce himſelfe by all meanes to further thoſe things that concerned them, and entertaine them with more kindneſſe then his father had done. But they, according as it is the cuſtome of the common people, thinking that thoſe that enter into ſuch dignities, declare and open their minds at the firſt day, the more *Archelaus* ſpake kindly and courteouſly vnto them, the more they applauded him, and preſented him with diuers petitions, for certaine grants and donations from him. Some of them cryed out vnto him, that he ſhould cut off ſome part of their taxes and tallages, which they payed annually: Otherſome cryed vpon him, to deliuer thoſe priſoners that were commanded by *Herod*, of whom diuers had pyned a long time in priſon: Others inſtantly vrged him to cut off thoſe tributes which had beene impoſed by him vpon bargaines and ſales, which was to pay the halfe of the bar- F gaine. Whereunto *Archelaus* did not in any ſort contradict, ſtriuing to the vttermoſt of his power to pleaſe the people, for that hee knew full well that their good affection would bee no ſmall aduantage toward him in the confirmation of his kingdome. That done, he ſacrificed vnto God, and afterward fell to banquetting and entertainement of his friends.

Archelaus promiſes that with Cæſars approbation, he will carefully intend the deſires and profits of the people.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

The people mutine against ARCHELAVS.

The yeere of the world, 3963. after Christs birth, 1

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 12. al. 13.

MEane-while, certaine men among the Iewes that were desirous of innouation, in their priuate conuenticles bewailed *Matthias* & his confederates, whom *Herod* had put to death, and condemned for razing and defacing the golden Eagle: for that incontinently after their decease, they had neither beene publikely honoured, nor lamented for, by reason of the feare that the people had conceiued of *Herod*. For which cause at that time they required with lamentations and great cryes, that their obsequies might be solemnized; and as if the dead bodies had receiued some contentation by their teares & tempest of exclaimes, they vttered many hainous & disgracefull speeches against *Herod*; and assembling themselues together, they required *Archelaus* to doe them iustice against those, that during *Herods* life were in authoritie; and especially they demanded, that the high Priest, who was aduanced by his father, should be deposed, and that another more lawfull & vpright might be placed in his stead, to offer and exercise the hie Priests place. Now, though *Archelaus* was sore displeased at these their violent proceedings; yet notwithstanding, he conformed himselfe to their good likings, in that he was with all expedition to repaire vnto Rome, to vnderstand and attend *Cæsars* pleasure. Hee therefore called for the Generall of his army, willing him to perswade them not to seeke a reuenge for those men, who were dead, notwithstanding they were their friends; because whatsoeuer was done, was done according to law; and that no inquiry might be made thereof, except to the great preiudice of his reputation, and hazard of his state, in regard of the incertaintie of the time: that it was more expedient for him to study for the maintenance of peace, vntill such time as being established in the kingdome by *Cæsars* consent, he should returne backe againe vnto them, and that then he would consult with them for the common profit, according to their iust demands, wishing them for the present to containe themselues, and to take heed lest they stirred vp sedition.

The people bewaile Matthias, and those that were executed with them.

They would be reuenged on Herods friends, and would depose the high Priest.

The yeere of the world, 3964. after Christs Natiuitie, 2.

When he had thus instructed his Generall, he sent him vnto them. But they cryed out with a loud voyce, and would not suffer him to speake: but for feare of danger and death, they put him to silence. And if any other were so forward as to speake vnto them, and perswade them to some moderation, and to alter their sinister resolutions, he was also in danger: for that they had this perswasion, that all things ought rather to be ordered according to their pleasures, then by the authoritie of their superiours: supposing that although during *Herods* life-time they had beene depriued of their deerest friends, it should be now a matter vnworthy their courages, after his death to be cut off from the priuiledge to demand their reuenge. For they were transported with their owne opinions, and held all that for lawfull and vpright, which was in any sort conformable to their pleasures, without foreseeing the danger that might happen thereby: so much were they pleased to bee reuenged on those, whom they reputed to bee their enemies. Now, whereas diuers were sent by *Archelaus*, to consult with them; and diuers came vnto them, not as messengers from him, but as friends and louers of peace, of their owne motion, with an intent to pacifie them, they would not permit any of them to speake; and through their rage there arose a great tumult, which had growne to a further extremitie, if a greater number of people had ioyned themselues with them.

Sedition at the feast of the Passeouer.

At that time fell the feast of vnleauened bread, which is called Pascha, which is a memoriall of their deliuerance out of Ægypt, at which time all men doe most willingly present their sacrifices, and a greater number of beasts are slaine at that feast, then at any other time. To this solemnitie also an infinite number of people assembled from all parts, to honour God: whereby the seditious (supposing that they had gotten fit opportunitie) lamented *Iudas* and *Matthias*, who were the Expositors of the law, and kept themselues within the Temple, whither they had gathered good store of victuals, which they were not ashamed impudently to begge for. But *Archelaus*, fearing lest their rage should produce some more grieuous effect of mischiefe, sent out a band of armed men, with a Captaine, and a Regiment of a thousand men, to represse their headlong fury, before the rest of the people were infected with their follies; and to bring them likewise vnto him, whom they found to be the forwardest in that commotion. Against those the seditious cryed out, with great clamours, and incensed the people against them, so that all of them rushed in vpon the men of warre, and slew diuers of them. The rest of them escaped with their Captaine, yet not without diuers wounds. That done, they which were within the Temple, returned againe to their diuine seruice.

Now

A Now *Archelaus* ſuppoſing that his whole fortune was endangered, except hee repreſſed the rage of the multitude, he ſent out all his footmen with a certain number of horſemen, to preuent leſt they that were without ſhould yeeld aſſiſtance to thoſe, who had taken vp their lodging in the temple, and to put thoſe to the ſword, who hauing eſcaped the violence of the footmen, ſuppoſed themſelues to be in ſecurity. Theſe horſeman ſlew about three thouſand men, the reſt retired themſelues into the mountaines that were neer adioyning. Hereupon *Archelaus* made proclamation, that each one ſhould repaire vnto his owne houſe. For which cauſe they departed & abandoned the feaſt, for feare of greater miſchiefe; notwithſtanding they had ſpleen enough, as it is the ordinary cuſtome of the ignorant multitude.

The yeere of the world, 3964. after Chriſts Natiuitie, 2.

Three thouſand Iewes ſlaine.

B After this, *Archelaus* accompanied with his mother, betook himſelfe to ſea, and led with him *Nicholas* & *Ptolomey*, with diuers other his friends, committing the gouernement of all his houſhold and Kingdome to his brother *Philip*: with him alſo departed *Salome Herods* ſiſter, leading with her her children. There went alſo diuers other of his kinred, who ſaid that they would all of them labour for *Archelaus*, that he might obtaine the kingdom, but in effect it was to cõtradict him with all their power: and in eſpeciall, to vrge that againſt him with great vehemency, that was done in the temple. *Sabinus*, *Cæſars* Viceroy in Syria, poſting into Iewry to take charge of *Herods* money, met with *Archelaus* in Cæſarea. But *Varus* arriuing in the meane while, detained him from finiſhing that voyage; for *Archelaus* had ſent for him to come thither by *Ptolomey*, and *Sabinus* willing to doe *Varus* a pleaſure, would not ſeize the fortreſſe of Iury; neither ſealed vp C *Herods* treaſures, but left them in *Archelaus* poſſeſſion, vntill ſuch time as *Cæſar* had giuen order for the eſtate; and after he had made this promiſe, he ſtaied in Cæſarea.

Archelaus repairs to Rome and many of his faction follow him.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 13. al. 14.

After *Archelaus* had ſet ſaile towards Rome, and *Varus* was departed for Antioch; *Sabinus* went to Ieruſalem, where he ſeized the Kings palace: and calling before him the Kings Agents, and the captaines of his garriſons, he required them to deliuer vp their Caſtles into his hands. But they, according as *Archelaus* had commanded them, continued the poſſeſſion in their accuſtomed manner, according to the Kings direction, pretending to keepe the ſame in *Cæſars* behalf. At the ſame time, *Antipas Herods* ſon trauailed to Rome likewiſe, vnder the hope to bee elected King, in regard of *Salomes* promiſes; and for that hee better deſerued the ſame then *Archelaus*, conſidering that in the firſt teſtament, which ſhould be of more force then the later, he had been D appointed king. He led his mother alſo with him, & *Ptolomy* the brother of *Nicholas*, who had bin one of *Herods* moſt eſteemed friends, and was well affected to further and ſet forward his title. But eſpecially he was ſtirred vp to ſeek the kingdom by *Ireneus*, a man very eloquent, & to whoſe charge in regard of his ſufficiency, the affaires of the kingdome had been committed. For which cauſe, although he were perſwaded to giue ouer the kingdome vnto his elder brother, who was confirmed in the kingdome by his fathers teſtament, yet would he not giue eare thereunto. But *Antipas* no ſooner arriued in Rome, but all kinsfolke reuolted from *Archelaus*, vnto him, not ſo much for the loue they bare him, as for hatred they had conceiued againſt *Archelaus*: and aboue all, for the deſire they had to recouer their liberty, & to draw themſelues vnder a Roman Gouernour. For they thought that if there were any contradiction, that *Antipas*, for whom they E endeuoured to procure the royalty, ſhould bee more profitable vnto them then *Archelaus*. *Sabinus* alſo by his letters accuſed *Archelaus* to *Cæſar*: but *Archelaus* by *Ptolomy* exhibited vnto *Cæſar* a ſupplication containing his right and title to the kingdome, his fathers teſtaments, and the account of the money which *Herod* his father had ſealed vp, together with his ring, and expected the iſſue.

Sabinus repaireth to Ieruſalem, with an intent to ſeize Herods treaſures and caſtles.

Antipas vnder hope to recouer the Kingdome, ſaileth to Rome.

But when he had read theſe letters, and thoſe which *Varus* and *Sabinus* had ſent him, and vnderſtood what ſummes of money he had left, and what the annuall reuenue was, and how *Antipas* challenged the kingdom, and appropriated it to himſelfe, according as his letters made mention: he aſſembled all his friends to haue their aduice thereupon. Amongſt them was *Caius* the ſonne of *Agrippa* and his daughter *Iulia*, adopted by him, whom he cauſed to ſit in the chiefeſt F place: which done, hee commanded the aſſiſtants to ſpeake what they would touching this matter. At that *Antipater Salomes* ſonne, a man very eloquent, and a great aduerſary to *Archelaus*, ſpake firſt, ſaying, that it was a mockery for him at that time to ſpeake of the Kingdome, conſidering that before *Cæſar* had granted it him, hee had already ſeized the forces of the ſtate, when as vpon a feſtiuall day he had ſlaine ſo many: who although they had deſerued that puniſhment, yet ought the iuſtice thereof to haue been reſerued to a lawfull power, and not to haue bin vſurped by him, either being King with *Cæſars* preiudice, whoſe authority hee had contemned; or by being a priuate man, which was a greater ouerſight. For which cauſe hee vndeſeruedly at this

Antipater, Salomes ſon, accuſeth Archelaus before Auguſtus Cæſar.

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this time hoped for his approbation, whom already as much as in him lay, hee had depriued of the title and authority of his allowance. Moreouer, hee obiected againſt him, that of his owne authority he had changed certaine chieftaines of the army, and that hee had ſeated himſelfe in the royall throne, and like a King had determined certaine cauſes, and had granted certaine demands of the people: finally, that he had left nothing vndone, which he might haue performed, had *Cæſar* confirmed his title. He alleaged alſo, that they who were incloſed in the Hippodrome, were diſmiſſed by him, and diuers other acts, partly true, partly probable in regard of the ambition of young men, who deſirous to gouerne, doe ordinarily commit ſuch things: beſides this, his neglect in mourning for his father, and withall, his reare banquets all night long at that very time his father died; whereat the people began to mutine, ſeeing the ſmall regard he had of his fathers death, from whom he had receiued ſo great goods and honors. How all the day long he made a ſhew of his ſorrow & teares in his pauillion, but all the night took pleaſures like a King; and being ſuch, if *Cæſar* ſhould grant him the Kingdome, he would behaue himſelf no leſſe vnkindly towards him, then he had done towards his moſt kinde father. That it was no leſſe then a haynous crime in him, to delight himſelf with ſongs & dãces at his fathers death, as if he had bin his enemy: That he now came to *Cæſars* preſence, to the intent to obtaine the Kingdome by his conſent, whereas already he had behaued himſelfe no otherwiſe then if he had already been eſtabliſhed King by his authority. But moſt of all he exaggerated the ſlaughter he had committed in the temple, and the impiety perpetrated ſo neere to the feaſt of Eaſter, at which time diuers both ſtrangers & citizens had been ſlaughtered after the manner of ſacrifices, and the temple filled with carcaſſes, not by a ſtranger, but by him, who vnder the colour of religion deſireth the gouernement of the kingdome, to the end he might ſatisfie the vniuſtice of his nature, in exerciſing each way his tyranny towards all men: for which cauſe his father neuer thought, nor euer dreamt to ſubſtitute him King in his place. For he knew both his life and diſpoſition, and by his former teſtament (and that of greateſt force) had ordained his aduerſary *Antipater* to bee King. For he had bin allotted the kingdom by his father, not when his minde was dead before his body, but when both his iudgement was ſound, and his body in health. Yea although at that time *Archelaus* father had ſuch a conceit of him, as in his later teſtament & bequeſt he pretendeth; yet that he had already declared what kind of King he was like to be, who contemned *Cæſars* authority in confirming the kingdome, and being as yet a priuate man, doubted not to murther the citizens in the temple. This ſaid, *Antipater* (to giue greater credit to his words, bringing diuers of his kinred as witneſſes of that he had ſaid) ended his Oration.

Nicholaus excuſeth Archelaus.

Whereupon *Nicholas* aroſe, and alleadged in *Archelaus* behalfe as touching the ſlaughter, that it was to be imputed to their impiety, who could not be reſtrained from their tumults and vprores, before *Archelaus* was enforced to appeaſe them by force; alleadging that they were ſo much the more guilty, for that they had not only exerciſed their malice, but alſo had enforced others to attempt ſo hainous a reuenge againſt them: for their inſolency ſeemed in apparance to concerne *Archelaus*; yet in a ſort their contumacy pertained to *Cæſars* ruine. For thoſe that had been ſent by him to appeaſe & redreſſe their ſedition, were againſt all law and right charged and ſlaine by them, without reſpect of God, or regard of the ſolemne feaſt: whoſe defence *Antipater* was not aſhamed of, without reſpect of equity, ſo that he might ſatisfie that hatred which he bare vnto *Archelaus*. That therefore it was their fault, who firſt of all abſtained not from iniury, but whetted thoſe ſwords, which were drawne in maintenance of the peace, againſt their owne boſomes. He enforced all other things alſo, whereof they had accuſed *Archelaus*, againſt themſelues, ſaying that none of theſe things were done without their conſents: and that the offence was not ſo grieuous, as they intended it ſhould be eſteemed, to the end they might diſcredit *Archelaus*. So great a deſire was in them to hurt their kinſman, a man both well reſpected, and affected by his father, as alſo kind and officious towards them in all things that concerned them. As for the teſtament, that it was made by the King when he was in perfect eſtate of mind and body, and of greater force then the former, becauſe the authority and confirmation thereof was aſcribed to *Cæſar* the Soueraigne of the world.

Further, that *Cæſar* would not imitate them in that wrong they did vnto *Herod*, who (being during his life-time bountifully graced by him, by many benefits) do now after his death, go about to violate his laſt and trueſt teſtament: but that rather like a friend & confederate he would confirme his will, who like his faithful & ſworne welwiller had cõmitted all things to his truſt. For that there muſt needs be a great difference between their malice & *Cæſars* vertue & faith, which was renowmed thorow the whole world. For which cauſe he would not iudge his decree to be incon-

A inconsiderately past, who left his succession to his well-deseruing son, and referred all things to his trust. For that it was vnlikely that he should erre in the choice of his successor, who had so discreetly submitted all things to *Cæsars* iudgement. After this manner *Nicholas* also finished his discourse. Hereupon *Cæsar* courteously raised *Archelaus*, who lay prostrate and humbled before his feet, telling him that he was most worthy to be King, by giuing an apparant testimonie, that he was constant in his resolutions; pretending that he would doe nothing but that which should be answerable to *Herods* testament, & *Archelaus* profit; and seeing the young man was confirmed in some good hope with this his promise, he determined nothing more for that time: but dismissing the councell, he debated with himselfe, whether he should ratifie the kingdome to *Archelaus* B only, or diuide it amongst *Herods* kindred, especially since all men had need of his assistance.

The yeere of the world, 3964. after Christs birth, 2.

Cæsar pronounceth Archelaus to be worthy of the kingdome. Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 14.

CHAP. XII.

The Iewes mutiny against Sabinus, *and how* Varus *punisheth the author of the sedition.*

BVT before *Cæsar* had determined any thing certainly in this behalfe, *Marthalce Archelaus* mother died of a sickenesse, and *Varus* the President of the Iewes in Syria, had sent letters, which certified the Emperour of the rebellion of the Iewes. For after *Archelaus* departure, all the nation were in an vproare. To pacifie which, *Varus* resorted thither, and punished the authors of the same: and after he had in this sort appeased all things, he returned to Antioch, leauing a Regiment of souldiers in Ierusalem to restraine the factious innouations amongst the C Iewes: yet preuailed he nothing by this his policie. For as soone as *Varus* was departed, *Sabinus*, who intended *Cæsars* affaires, remaining in that place, grieuously burthened the Iewes, trusting to that power that was left him, and supposing that he was already enabled to withstand the multitude. For he armed diuers souldiers, and made vse of them to oppresse the Iewes, and to prouoke them to sedition. For he inforced himselfe to surprize their fortresses, and forcibly to make search after the Kings treasures, for his priuate lucre and couetousnesse sake. When as therefore the feast of Whitsontide was come (which is one of our festiuals) diuers thousands from all parts repaired to Ierusalem, not only for religion sake, but also for despite & hatred they had conceiued against those violences and iniuries, which *Sabinus* had offered them. And not only were those of Iudæa grieuously offended (but diuers also resorted out of Galilee and Idu- D mæa, from Iericho & the cities situate on the other side of Iordan, desiring all of them to be reuenged on *Sabinus*. And diuiding their campe into three bands after this manner, and one part of them tooke vp the Hippodrome, & of the other two the one seized the southerne quarter of the Temple, and the other the Easterne, & the third which was in the Hippodrome, were planted to the Westward, where the Kings Palace stood; & thus prepared they all things that were necessary to set vpon the Romanes whom they had besieged on all sides. At that time *Sabinus* fearing their number, & resolution, who were resolued either to die or to ouercome, sent present letters vnto *Varus*, requiring him with all expedition to send him a supply, because the regiment that was left by him, was in great danger; and must needs vtterly perish without his speedy rescous: as for himselfe he withdrew into the tower and dungeon of the castle Phasaelus, which was a for- E tresse which was builded and so called in honour of *Herods* brother, who was slaine by the Parthians; and from the top thereof made a signe to the Romans, that they should sally out vpon the Iewes; being afraid to trust himselfe to his owne friends, and supposing that the rest ought to expose their liues to danger in maintenance of his safetie. The Romanes hauing made this sally, there arose a desperate skirmish, wherein the Romans diuers waies had the vpper hand; yet were not the Iewes any waies discomforted, notwithstanding they had lost many men; but wheeled about so long, till at last they seized the outward galleries, and those that incompassed the Temple, & in that place there was a hot assault: for they flung downe stones with their hands & slings, & there were certaine archers mixed amongst them; who in that they had recouered a place of aduantage, grieuously gauled the Romanes which were below, in that they had no meanes to a- F uoide their shot, but were in such sort exposed thereunto, as their enemies had the better. And with this disaduantage fought the Romans a long time, till at length sore aggrieued at this their present indignitie, they secretly fired the Galleries and porches, without any discouery of those that were therein: which fire brought thither by many, and fed with such matter, as would speedily flame, incontinently tooke hold of the roofe, because the roofe was couered with pitch and waxe, and guilded vpon the waxe; so that these great and excellent buildings were burnt downe to nothing in a moment, and they that were resorted thither, were all of them consumed before they were aware. For some of them fell with the roofe of the Galleries; other-

Marthalce Archelaus mother dyeth. Varus pacifieth the seditions at Ierusalem.

Alias chap. 15. Sabinus auarice raiseth a great sedition in Ierusalem, at the feast of Pentecost.

A most bloody battell fought betwixt the Romans & Iewes neere vnto the Temple.

Diuers Iewes are slaine and burned in the roofe of the porches.

some

The yeere of the world, 3964. after Christs Nativitie, 2.

some shot at and slaine by those that stood round abouts; othersome despairing of their liues, and amazed at the mischiefe, either cast themselues into the fire, or slew themselues with their owne swords; and all those that retired vnder hope to saue themselues by that way they ascended, were incountred by the Romanes, who slew them all in that they were discouraged and disarmed, though furiously desperate: so that not one of them that ascended the porches escaped with life. Afterward, the Romans thrusting forward one another by those waies, where the fire was slaked, entred the treasure house where the sacred money was kept, by which meanes a great part thereof was stolne away by the souldiers, and *Sabinus* to all mens knowledge carried away 400. talents. But the Iewes being afflicted with a double calamitie, first of all with the losse of their friends in that fight: and lastly, with the spoile of the treasury; yet assembled they a troupe of the most valianteſt souldiers, and besieged the palace, threatning to burne the same, with *Sabinus* and all other the Romanes that were therein, except they speedily departed; and in so doing, they promised both them and *Sabinus* all assurance and securitie: whereby it came to passe, that diuers of them that were in the palace, issued out and submitted themselues vnto them. But *Rufus* and *Gratus* hauing three thousand of those valiant souldiers vnder their charge, who had serued *Herod*, ioyned themselues with the Romanes. The like did those horsemen which followed *Rufus*, who in like manner submitted themselues to their direction: yet for all this, the Iewes continued and intended their siege, vndermining the walles, and exhorting their aduersaries to depart, and not to exempt them of their libertie, which they had long time enioyed vnder their predecessors. *Sabinus* was willing to depart from thence with his souldiers; yet durst hee not trust them in regard of their former attempt, and he suspected ouermuch the ouer-liberall offer his enemies had made him: but neglected the same, because he expected *Varus*.

A great part of the sacred treasure taken away by the souldiers.

The palace besieged by the Iewes.

Rufus & Gratus, Captaines of Herods army, ioyne with the Romanes.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 15.

At the same time infinite other troubles were raised in diuers other places of Iudæa, according as each man either was incensed with a desire of gaine, or a will to reuenge. For two thousand men of warre (who had sometime serued vnder *Herod*, and being at that time cashierd, liued at home) assembling themselues together assailed those of the Kings faction, who made head against them, vnder the conduct of *Herods* nephew *Aciabus*: who neuer daring to encounter them in a place of equall aduantage, in that they were old souldiers, and well exercised in warre, defended himselfe, in that he held and kept himselfe as neere as he could in the mountaines and places of aduantage. Moreouer, *Iudas* the sonne of *Ezechias* the archthiefe, whom *Herod* ouercame with so much difficultie, at Sephoris a citie of Galilee, gathering vnto him a band of desperate men, made incursions vpon the Kings dominions. And hauing taken all those Armes and weapons, which he might recouer in that place, hee armed from the first to the last all those souldiers that were with him: he tooke away all that money which was reserued for the King, in that place: and affrighting the inhabitants round about him, he spoiled all those with whomsoeuer he met; aspiring to the kingdome, and affecting the same, not by lawfull meanes, of which he was vnskilfull, but by a libertie to doe iniury.

Diuers tumults in Iury.

Two thousand of Herods souldiers assaile the Kings people.

Iudas Ezechias sonne the archthiefe.

Whilest these troubles ranged in euery place, *Simon* also, who had bin one of *Herods* seruants, and both for his shape, stature and strength, was esteemed amongst all men, vndertooke the kingdome: and being attended by a mightie army, and proclaimed king by them, who were a wicked and vnbridled multitude, and perswading himselfe that he was worthy to be King aboue any other, he first of all set fire on the palace in Iericho, and spoiled all that which was therein. Hee burnt also diuers other royall palaces, belonging to the King, which were in diuers places of the countrey, giuing them free licence, who were his followers in the action, to beare away the prey that remained: and farre more licencious pranks had he played, had not his practices bin speedily and wisely preuented. For *Gratus*, who with the Kings souldiers had coupled himselfe with the Romanes, and gathered all the forces that he had, went out against this *Simon*. And after a fierce battell, they on the other side of Iordan, were put to flight, and fighting rather vnder courage then military discipline, they were ouercome. And whilest *Simon* in trauersing a valley sought to saue himselfe by flight, *Gratus* met with him, and cut off his head.

Simon Herods seruant.

Gratus cõflict with Simon.

Simon beheaded.

About the same time also, the royall palace of Amatha, that was fast by Iordan, was burnt by men of as bad dipoſition as *Simon* was. And thus thorow the whole nation raigned this raging rebellion, for that the country had no King, who by his vertue might gouerne and moderate the people, for that the strangers, who were sent to represse these mutinies, did rather incense them through their violence and auarice. For a certaine obscure & base man (neither esteemed for vertue, nor worthy regard for his riches, but being a shepheard vtterly vnknowne beforetime, and onely famous for his huge stature and strength) called *Athronges*, was so audacious to aspire to royall

The Iewes almost enraged in rebellion.

Athronges strong in body and goodly in stature, attempteth royall dignitie.

A royall dignitie, and tooke pleaſure to offer violence, ſetting light by his life, and expoſing himſelf to all hazards for the onely vnbridled affection he bare to ſoueraigntie. He had foure brothers of as goodly ſtature as himſelfe, who were eſteemed for men of valour and execution, whereby they imagined they had the meanes offered them to occupy the Kingdome. Each one of theſe had the commaund ouer a company. For a great company of people reſorted dayly vnto them; the charge of whom was committed vnto his brethren, at ſuch time as any occaſion of war was offered, and hee in the meane while wearing the Diadem on his head, ordered, counſailed, and commaunded all things. The power of this Gallant endured a long time, who was not called King for nought: for he diſpoſed all things according to his owne pleaſure, and both hee and his B brethren were fleſht with the ſlaughter of the Romans, & thoſe of the Kings ſide, whom he hated alike; theſe, by reaſon of the inſolence they had vſed during *Herods* life-time: the other, in regard of thoſe iniuries, which lately they ſuppoſed themſelues to haue receiued by them. This hatred of theirs daily increaſed more and more, and there was no man that could eſcape their hands, both in reſpect of the gaine they ſought, as for the cuſtom they had to ſhead bloud. They therefore at that time ſet vpon the Romans, & ſuprized them on the ſodaine neere to Emmaus, at ſuch time as they carried victualls and munition vnto their campe; and hauing encloſed the Centurion *Arius* with forty of their moſt valiant footmen, they ſhot him thorow with their darts. The reſt that expected nothing leſſe then life, were ſaued by *Gratus*, who came in vpon them with the Kings ſouldiers: whereupon leauing the dead bodies, they retired. Continuing C their war after this maner a long time, according as occaſion was offered, they had done much miſchiefe to the Romans, and farre more iniury to the nation of the Iewes. Finally, they were ſurprized; the one in an encountrie betwixt them and *Gratus*: the other in fighting againſt *Ptolomey*. The eldeſt was taken by *Archelaus*, and the laſt being diſmaid with the accidents, and ſeeing no meanes to eſcape (for beſides his other miſ-haps, his ſouldiers were afflicted with ſicknes) hewith the reſt vpon *Archelaus* faith and oath ſubmitted himſelfe vnto him. But this was done ſome little while after.

The yeere of the world, 3965. before Chriſts birth, 3.

Athronges & his brethren taken.

At this time was all Iudæa full of robberies, & as many ſeditious aſſemblies as drew together, ſo many Kings were there elected, who were raiſed to the vtter ruine of the common-weale. Amongſt the reſt, the Romans were they that ſmarted leaſt, but the murthers were executed D againſt thoſe that were out of the country. But *Varus* vnderſtanding by *Sabinus* letters, in what dangers they were, & fearing the vtter ouerthrow of his third legion, he tooke with him the two other (for to the vttermoſt, in Syria there were but three) and with the aſſiſtance of the Kings & Tetrarches hee haſted into Iewry, to relieue thoſe that were beſieged, commanding thoſe that were ſent out before he diſlodged, to meet him at Ptolemais, and paſſing by the Citie of the Berythians, he receiued a thouſand, & 5. hundreth ſoldiers at their hands, to attend him in his war. *Aretas* alſo, who was Lord of Petra, drawing himſelfe into confederacy with the Romans in regard of that hatred he bare toward *Herod*, ſent him horſemen and footmen. When all theſe forces were aſſembled at Ptolemais, he deliuered a part therof to his ſon, and one of his friends; commanding them to make war vpon the Galileans, who bordered vpon that Citie; who ente- E ring that region, and putting all thoſe to flight, whoſoeuer durſt make head againſt him, he took Sephoris, and ſelling the inhabitants vnder the ſpeare, hee conſumed the Citie with fire. *Varus* himſelfe marching towards Samaria with his army, violenced not the Citie, in that hee knew it was free from the contagion of the ſeditious, but he pitched his camp in a certain village, which was *Ptolomies* poſſeſſion called *Arus*. The ſame did the Arabians burne, reuenging themſelues on *Herods* friend for his ſake, and marching onward, the Arabians ſpoiled alſo another village called Sampho, and for that it was ſtrongly fortified burned the ſame. Beſides, in that iourney nothing eſcaped their hands, but they put all to fire and ſword. For both Emmaus was burned by *Varus* commaund, and in reuenge of his ſouldiers that were ſlaine in that place, it was left de- ſolate and voide of inhabitants. From thence drawing neere to Ieruſalem, thoſe Iewes that be- F ſieged the legion of that ſide, vpon the ſodaine view and approach of the army of the Romans, fearefully fled, giuing ouer that ſiege which they intended. But thoſe Iewes of Ieruſalem, being grieuouſly reproued by *Varus*, alleadged in their excuſe, that the people in regard of the feaſt were aſſembled in that place, and that the warre was not begun by their conſent, but vndertaken by their boldneſſe who reſorted thither from diuers places, and that they were ſo far off from aſſayling the Romans, as they rather ſeemed to bee beſieged by them. And long before this, *Ioſeph* King *Herods* nephew, *Gratus* and *Rufus*, with their ſouldiers were gone out to meet *Varus*, and thoſe Romans that had ſuſtained the ſiege, had done no leſſe. But as touching *Sabinus*, hee

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 16.

Arus burned by the Arabians.

Sampho and Emmaus burned.

VARVS repaireth to Ieruſalem, and deliuereth the legion that was beſieged.

would not appeare in *Varus* preſence, by ſtealing away priuily out of the Citie, hee fled vnto the ſeaward. Thē *Varus* ſending a part of his army thorow the whole region, ſought out the authors of this ſedition; and thoſe that were noted men in the action; ſome of which, who were moſt guiltie, were puniſhed: the reſt were deliuered. Now of thoſe that were puniſhed for this occaſion, there were about two thouſand crucified; and that done, ſeeing that this army ſtood him in little ſtead, hee diſmiſſed them. For diuers diſorders and outrages, contrarie to *Varus* expreſſe commaund, were acted by his ſouldiers, who ſought after nothing more them to increaſe their meanes by other mens miſeries. And hearing that ten thouſand Iewes were aſſembled together, he haſted to apprehend them: but they not daring to hazard their fortune in a fight with him, by *Achiabus* aduice ſubmitted themſelues. But *Varus* hauing pardoned the people for that their rebellion, ſent all thoſe that were the ringleaders thereof to *Cæſar*, who diſcharged diuers of them. But hee chaſtiſed certaine of *Herods* allies, and ſuch as bare armes with them: for that neither in regard of kindred, not reſpect of iuſtice, they had abſtained from rebellious inſurrection. After that *Varus* had in this ſort appeaſed all the troubles in Iewrie, and left the firſt legion in garriſon in Ieruſalem, he returned to Antioch.

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The puniſhment of the conſpirators.

Hegio & Ruffinus, cha. 16. al. 17.

But *Archelaus* was croſſed in Rome by another occurrent that aroſe vpon this occaſion: Certaine Embaſſadors of the Iewes reſorted thither by *Varus* permiſſion, requiring that it might be lawful for them to liue according to their owne lawes: theſe preſented themſelues, to the number of fiftie, and were backt by eight thouſand Iewes that inhabited the Citie. And when as *Cæſar* had aſſembled the councell of his friends, and chiefeſt citizens in *Apolloes* temple, which he had builded to his mightie charge, thither reſorted the Embaſſadours, who were follow'd by a troupe of Iewes; & *Archelaus* alſo attended by his friends. But the Kings kindred neither ſtood by *Archelaus* in regard of the hate they bare him, & yet diſdained they to aſſiſt the embaſſadors, for that they were aſhamed in *Cæſars* preſence to oppoſe themſelues againſt their neereſt friend and kinſman. *Philip* alſo was preſent at that time, who by *Varus* perſwaſion reſorted thither out of Syria, eſpecially to the intent to pleade for his brother, to whom *Varus* wiſhed all god fortune: beſides that, hoping not a little, that if the Iewes ſhould obtaine the libertie to liue according to their lawes, it might come to paſſe that the kingdom being diuided amongſt *Herods* children, he might alſo light on ſome part thereof. After therfore the Embaſſadors of the Iewes had obtained licence to propoſe their demaunds, pretending with themſelues wholly to extinguiſh the royalty: they began to rippe vp *Herods* diſgraces, alleaging how onely in name he had beene a King; whereas otherwiſe he had vſed all the tyrannous practices that the wickedſt perſon could haue inuented toward the deſtruction of his nation; & that not content with theſe, he had of his owne head practiſed & inuented new. Neither that it needed them to reckon vp how many hee had depriued of life, when as the eſtate of thoſe that were aliue was farre more deſperate; whom hee not onely affrighted with perpetuall terror and ſeueritie, but alſo with iniurious hands had not abſtained from their goods. By which meanes it came to paſſe, that he not onely builded, but beautified forraine Cities inhabited by forraine nations, to the end hee might the rather vtterly ſpoyle thoſe by exaction, which were ſituated and ſeated in his owne Countrey: and that he inforced his nation to extreme pouertie, which hee receiued in moſt happy eſtate, whileſt he ſpoiled thoſe nobles of their eſtates, who vpon weake probabilities were condemned to die, or granting them life, depriued them of their poſſeſſions. Furthermore, whereas yeerely tributes were impoſed on euerie one; yet ſeuerally was the rauenous & couetous deſires of his friends & courtiers to be ſatisfied, yea & of his ſeruants alſo, who had the authority to exact theſe things, that by this meanes they might redeeme their iniurious vexations. As for the deflowring of virgins, and the ſcornefull betraying of a matrons chaſtitie, they couered them vnder ſilence, for that it is a great comfort to thoſe that ſuffer ſuch outrage, if their diſgraces bee but knowne to a fewe. In briefe, that *Herod* had in no other ſort gouerned, then as if the gouernment of them had been committed to a moſt ſauage beaſt. For which cauſe, whereas in times paſt that nation had been afflicted with many calamities and murthers, yet that there is no example extant amongſt their monuments of antiquitie, that may be compared with their preſent calamitie vnder *Herod*. For which cauſe, vpon iuſt reſpects they had with one conſent named *Archelaus* their King, ſuppoſing that whatſoeuer king might befall them, hee would alwaies demeane himſelf more affably then *Herod* had done; and that to honour *Archelaus* they had mourned with him for his father, to gratifie him in other things, to the intent they might tie his good affection vnto them: But hee without delay & all at once had made manifeſt to the whole nation, what opinion they were to conceiue of him, notwithſtanding that as yet he was not confirmed King (for that it lay in *Cæſars* hands

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The embaſſage of the Iewes to Rome.

Archelaus & the Embaſſadors of the Iewes appeare before Cæſar.

Philip Herods ſonne.

The Embaſſadors of the Iewes cip vp Herods and Archelaus iniquitie.

A hands to bequeath it, yea or no) and as if he had beene afraid leſt he ſhould aſſuredly be acknowledged for his fathers ſon, he had ſhewed an example of his vertue, moderation and good gouernment, that hee would vſe towards his ſubiects, by the firſt act which hee hath committed, not onely againſt God, but alſo againſt men. For in the Temple it ſelfe he hath cauſed three thouſand of his owne countrymen to be ſlaine. And how can he chooſe but be iuſtly hated, who beſides his other cruelties, obiecteth againſt vs the crime of rebellion and mutiny? The effect of their requeſt therefore was this, that they might not any more be gouerned by a King, nor any ſuch like gouernment, but that they might be annexed vnto Syria, and ſubmit themſelues vnto thoſe gouernours that ſhould be ſent thither: That in ſo doing it ſhould truly appeare whether B they were ſeditious, and addicted to changes, or whether they would liue in peace at ſuch time as they had fauourable gouernours. After the Iewes had ſpoken to this effect, *Nicholas* diſcharged the Kings of thoſe accuſations that were obiected againſt them, and namely *Herod*, who (as he ſaid) had neuer beene accuſed all his lifetime; and that it was no reaſon that they who iuſtly accuſing him, might haue cauſed him to be puniſhed during his lifetime, ſhould now addreſſe their accuſations againſt him after he was dead. And as touching thoſe things that were obiected concerning *Archelaus* actions, it ought to be imputed to their inſolence, for that engaging themſelues in matters contrary to law, and hauing begun to murther thoſe who ſought to appeaſe the tumult, they accuſed ſuch as had kept them in obedience. Beſides this, he obiected againſt them, that they were addicted to alterations, and tooke pleaſure to ſtirre vp ſeditions, for C that they knew not what thing it was to obey iuſtice and the lawes, and that there was no nation in the world ſo head-ſtrong as that of the Iewes; for that they would haue the vpper hand ouer all. Thus ſpake *Nicholas*.

The yeare of the world, 3966. after Chriſts Natiuitie, 4.

Nicholas excuſeth Herod and Archelaus.

CHAP. XIII.

CÆSAR *confirmes* HERODS *teſtament, and appointeth his children to be his ſucceſſors.*

D WHEN *Cæſar* had heard theſe things, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly. But ſome few dayes after, he deſirous to make an end of this matter, declared *Archelaus* not King, but Lord of halfe that gouernment that appertained to *Herod*, promiſing him to beſtow a royall dignitie vpon him, if ſo be he behaued himſelfe vertuouſly, according as it became him. As for the other moitie, he diuided it betweene two, giuing a ſeuerall part thereof to each of *Herods* ſonnes, *Philip* and *Antipas*, who debated with his brother *Archelaus* for the whole kingdome. The ſame *Antipas* alſo had the countrey on the other ſide of Iordan, and Galilee, with two hundreth talents of annuall reuenue. As for *Philip*, he had Bathanea, Trachonitis, and Auranitis, and part of the palace that was called by Zenodorus name, with one hundreth talents. As for *Archelaus*, he had Idumæa, Iudæa and Samaria, which were diſcharged of the fourth part of the tribunes by *Cæſar*, for that they had ioyned themſelues with the reſt of the people during the E time of the ſedition. Beſides that, *Archelaus* had the tower of Straton, Sebaſte, Ioppe and Ieruſalem. For Gaza, Gadara, and Hippon were cities of Greece which *Cæſar* had diſmembred, and adioyned to Syria. *Archelaus* had fiue hundreth talents of yeerely rent out of his countrey. Thus was the patrimony diuided among *Herods* ſonnes. As for *Salome*, beſides that which her brother had giuen her in his Will, which were the Cities of Iamnia, Azot, Phaſaelis, and halfe a million of ſiluer money, *Cæſar* granted her a royall houſe in Aſcalon; ſo as ſhe receiued, in the whole, ſixtie talents of annuall reuenue, and had her houſe allotted her within the dominion of *Archelaus*. All other of *Herods* kinred, receiued that which was bequeathed vnto them by his teſtament. Two of his daughters that were vnmarried, were endowed by *Cæſar* with a quarter of a million of ſiluer money which he gaue them, beſide their fathers portion, and they F were married to *Pheroras* ſonnes. Moreouer, he gaue *Herods* ſonnes, all that which he had giuen him by the teſtament, amounting to the ſumme of one thouſand and fiue hundreth talents; contenting himſelfe onely to receiue ſome few moueables, not ſo much for their value, as in remembrance of the King, who had giuen them.

Cæſar maketh Archelaus an Ethnarque, and beſtoweth the one halfe of the kingdome on Philip and Antipas.

Salome.

Herods two daughters that were virgins married to Pheroras ſonnes.

Chap. XIIII.

Of the counterfeit Alexander.

The yeere of the world, 3966. after Christs Natiuitie, 4.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 18. Alias, chap. 17.

The false Alexander.

After these things were in this sort disposed by *Cæsar*, a young man and a Iew borne, brought vp in the Citie of Sidon, by a certaine Romane libertine, intruded himselfe into *Herods* kindred, for that all those that beheld him, reported he resembled *Alexander Herods* sonne, who was slaine by him; and by this meanes, hee began to aspire vnto the kingdome: whereupon calling to him a companion, who was his owne countreyman and a long beaten Courtier, and his craftsmaster, and fit to execute any dangerous or desperate actions, he by his instructions fained himselfe to be that *Alexander Herods* sonne, who was deliuered from death by the meanes of a certaine friend, who had the charge to see him executed: who executing others in their steads, deliuered both him and his brother *Aristobulus*, and that they were both escaped in this manner. Beeing puffed vp by these toyes, he failed not to deceiue other men; and as soone as he came to Creet, as many Iewes soeuer as hee fell in conference with, he perswaded them no lesse; and getting much money at their hands, he sailed into the Ile of Melos, where he gathered a great summe of money vnder pretext that he was of the Kings blood. And now hoping that he should recouer his fathers kingdome, and that he should remunerate those who were beneficiall vnto him, he hasted towards Rome, accompanied with his friends in great pompe. And being arriued at Puteol, he there also was entertained with no lesse fauour by those Iewes whom he deceiued by his colourable title; and diuers others, who had bin *Herods* friends and familiars came vnto him, and entertained him as their King. The cause hereof was the naturall dispositiõ of men, who take pleasure in false reports, together with the report of his resemblance. For they that had frequented very familiar with *Alexander*, held it for a matter most assured, that he was the man, and none other, and affirmed vnto other vpon their oathes that it was he; so that this rumor at last came to Rome. And all the Iewes that dwelt there came forth to meet him, saying, That it was Gods handy-worke, that he was after that sort preserued beyond all mens expectation: and they greatly reioyced in his mother *Mariammes* behalfe, from whom he was descended; and he was carried in a litter thorow the streets with all the apparell of a king, the charge whereof was defraied by those who were his friends. He was attended with a great multitude of men, and honoured with great applause, as it ordinarily falleth out at such time as beyond all expectation any one is found to haue bin miraculously preserued. When this newes was brought to *Cæsars* eares, he gaue small credit thereunto, perswading himselfe that it was a hard matter to deceiue *Herod* in a cause of so great importance: notwithstanding, conforming himselfe in some sort to the opinions of men, he sent a certaine free-man of his called *Celadus*, who had very familiarly conuersed with *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* during their infancy, giuing him in charge to bring *Alexander* vnto him, to the end he might see him; which he did, and was neuer the wiser in discouering him. This notwithstanding, *Cæsar* was not fully deceiued. For, although he resembled him somewhat, yet was not he so neerely like him, that he could deceiue those who narrowly obserued him. For this counterfeit *Alexander* had hard hands, in that he had beene accustomed to labour, which the true *Alexander* could not haue in regard of his tender and delicate education: and contrariwise this man was of a rough skin and hard flesh. *Cæsar* therefore discouering the treachery both of the counterfeit scholler and lying master, & how they accorded in their confident iustifications, he enquired of them what was become of *Aristobulus* who was secretly hidden with him, & for what cause he presented not himselfe to enioy the honour that appertained to those, who were so nobly descended? It was answered him, that he remained in the Ile of Cyprus, for feare of dangers, to which they are exposed who saile by sea, to the end that if any misfortune should befall them, all *Mariammes* race should not be extinguished, but that at leastwise *Aristobulus* might be left aliue. Whilest he auowed these things, and the author of this fable iustified no lesse, *Cæsar* drawing the young man aside, said vnto him: My friend, if thou wilt not deceiue me, thou shalt haue this recompence, that thou shalt not be punished. Tell me therefore what thou art, and who hath emboldned thee to practise this fraud: for this malice is so great that it surpasseth thine age: wherupon being vnable to cõceale the truth: he discouered the trechery to *Cæsar*, how & by whom it was contriued. At that time *Cæsar* being loth to falsifie his promise that hee had past to this false *Alexander*, and seeing that in times past he had traueild with his hands, he caused him to be enrouled among the number of his saylers to row, & caused the other that induced him to this fraud, to be put to death, cõtenting himselfe

The false Alexander commeth to Rome.

The false Alexander cannot deceiue Cæsar.

The false Alexander is condemned to rugge at an oare.

A selfe that the inhabitants of *Melos* had lost their charges, which they had imployed vpon this false *Alexander*, who had a shamefull end, as it hath beene heretofore declared.

The yeere of the world, 3966. after Christs birth, 4.

CHAP. XV.

Archelaus *is accused anew, and afterwards banished, and sent into Vienna.*

AFTER that *Archelaus* had taken possession of that Soueraignty that was allotted him, hee came into Iudæa, where he deposed *Ioazar* the son of *Boëthus* from the high Priesthood, accusing him to haue fauoured the seditious, and established *Eleazar* his brother in his B place. After this he reedified the Palace in Iericho, and sumptuously adorned it, drawing away the halfe of those waters which serued the borough of Neara: and conueying them thorow a field which he had planted with Palme trees; hee builded a borough in that place, which he named *Archelais*, and contrary to the lawes of his countrey he married *Glaphyra Archelaus* daughter, who had beene his brother *Alexanders* wife, by whom also he had diuers chidren, notwithstanding, the law of the Iewes forbiddeth a man to marry his brothers wife. Neither did *Eleazar* enioy the Priesthood any long time: but during his life-time, *Iesus* the sonne of *Sias* was substituted in his place.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 19. al. 18.

The Priesthood is taken from Ioazar, and deliuered to Eleazar, and from him to Iosuah the sonne of Sia.

Archelais builded.

The tenth yeere of *Archelaus* gouernment, the chiefest gouernours among the Iewes and C Samaritanes, vnable any longer to endure his crueltie and tyranny, accused him before *Cæsar*, and especially after they had vnderstood that he had transgressed *Cæsars* command, who had charged him to behaue himselfe graciously towards them. Which when *Cæsar* vnderstood, he was sore displeased, and caused *Archelaus* agent to be called before him, who was then at Rome, and sent for *Archelaus* also: and esteeming it too base an indignitie for him to write vnto him, Goe (said he) vnto him with all expedition, and bring him vnto me without delay. He posting forward with all diligence, at length arriued in Iudæa, where he found *Archelaus* banquetting with his friends, and hauing certified him of *Cæsars* pleasure, he incited him to hasten onward of his way. As soone as he came to Rome, after that *Cæsar* had heard certaine of his accusers and his iustifications, he banished him, and confined him in the Citie of Vienna in France, and con- D fiscated all his goods.

Archelaus banished and confined.

But before *Archelaus* was sent for to Rome, he reported vnto his friends this dreame which ensueth: Him thought that hee saw tenne eares full of wheat, and very ripe, which the oxen browzed vpon, and as soone as he awoke, he conceiued an opinion that his vision presaged some great matter. For which cause he sent for certaine sooth-sayers, who made it their profession to interpret dreames. Now whilest they were debating one with another (for they differed for the most part in their exposition) a certaine man called *Simon* an Essean, hauing first of all obtained securitie and licence to speake, said that the vision pretended, that a great alteration should befall in *Archelaus* estate, to his vtter disgrace. For the oxen signified afflictions, in respect that those kinde of creatures do ordinarily trauell; and as touching the change of estate, it was signified by E this, in that the earth being laboured by the trauell of the oxen, retained not the same estate: and as touching the ten eares of corne, they signified the like number of yeeres. And therefore when as one summer should be ouerpast, that then the time of *Archelaus* soueraignty should be at an end. Thus interpreted he this dreame. And the fift day after the vision thereof, *Archelaus* his Factor by *Cæsars* commandement came into Iury to summon him to Rome. Some such like matter hapned to *Glaphyra* his wife also, the daughter of King *Archelaus:* shee (as we haue said) married *Alexander Herods* sonne, when shee was a maide, and brother to this *Archelaus*; who being slaine by his father, she was married the second time to *Iuba* King of Mauritania: and he also being dead, she liuing with her father in Cappadocia, was married to *Archelaus*, who put away *Mariamme* his wife for the loue he bare vnto *Glaphyra*. Shee liuing with *Archelaus*, was encountred F with such a dreame: Shee thought that she saw *Alexander* fast by her, who cherishing and embracing her, checked her, saying, *Glaphyra*, Thou approouest the truth of that prouerbe, which saith, Women haue no loyaltie. For hauing giuen me thy faith, and married with me at such time as thou wert a virgin, and borne children by me, thou hast forgotten and neglected my loue, thorow the desire thou hast had to be married the second time. Neither wast thou cõtented to haue done me this wrong, but hast taken vnto thee likewise a third husband, lewdly and impudently intruding thy selfe into my family; and being married with *Archelaus*, thou art content to admit my brother for thy husband. This notwithstanding, I will not forget the loue that I haue

Simon the Essean interpreteth Archelaus vision.

Glaphyras dreame.

The yeere of the world, 3973. after Christs birth, 11

borne thee, but will deliuer thee from him, who hath done thee this reproach, by retaining thee for mine owne, as heretofore thou hast beene. After that she had told this vision to certaine women that were her familiars, shee dyed very shortly after. Which accident I haue thought good to register in this place, in that I was to intreat of those Kings; and otherwise the matter seemeth to be a signall example, containing a most certaine argument of the immortalitie of soules, and Gods prouidence. And if any one deeme these things incredible, let him reserue his opinion to himselfe, and no waies contradict those, who by such euents are incited to the study of vertue. Now when the gouernment of *Archelaus* was annexed to Syria, *Cyrenius*, who had beene Consull, was sent by *Cæsar* to taxe Syria, and to dispose of *Archelaus* house.

Cyrenius Censor of Syria.

THE EIGHTEENTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the eighteenth Booke.

1 Cyrenius *is sent by* Cæsar *into Syria and Iudæa to taxe the people.* Coponius *is made gouernour of Iudæa.* Iudas *the Galilean raiseth vp new troubles.*
2 *What and how many Sects there were among the Iewes.*
3 *The Tetrarchs* Herod *and* Philip *build Cities in the honour of* Cæsar.
4 *The sedition of the Iewes against* Pontius Pilate.
5 *That which hapned to the Iewes that were dwelling at Rome in* Pilates *time.*
6 *Of* Vitellius *his arriuall in Ierusalem, and how hee receiued commission from* Tiberius Cæsar *to make warre against* Aretas, *after he had receiued hostages of* Artabanus.
7 Herod *the Tetrarchs warre against King* Aretas, *and his ouerthrow.*
8 Agrippaes *voyage to* Tiberius, *where hee is accused and shut in prison. Hee is deliuered after the death of* Tiberius, *by* Caius *his successor.*
9 *How* Herod *the Tetrarch was banished.*
10 *The sedition of the Iewes and Greekes at Alexandria.*
11 Caius *sendeth* Petronius *into Iudæa to make warre against the Iewes, if so be they refused to receiue his statue.*
12 *That which hapned the Iewes that were at Babylon, and of the two brethren* Asinæus *and* Anilæus.

CHAP. I.

CYRENIVS *is sent by* CÆSAR *into Syria.*

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 1. Cyrenius is sent by Cæsar into Syria to execute iustice in that place. Coponius Præfect of Iudæa. The taxation of the people of the Iewes.

CYRENIVS the Romane Senator hauing executed all degrees, offices, and dignities, vntill such time as he obtained the Consulship (a man of great reckoning and estimation) was sent into Syria by *Cæsars* direction, to doe iustice among the people, and to sesse and taxe each mans goods: with him was sent *Coponius* a Captaine of a company of horsemen, who was appointed to haue the commandement of all Iewry. *Cyrenius* therefore came into Iudæa, which was already annexed vnto Syria, to taxe the goods of the inhabitants thereof, and to confiscate *Archelaus* substance. And although at the first the Iewes thought but hardly of this description, yet notwithstanding without contradiction they submitted themselues, being perswaded thereunto by the counsell of the high Priest *Ioazar* the sonne of *Boëthus*, by whose aduice they suffered themselues to be taxed without contradiction. But after this there arose a certaine Iew called *Iudas* the Gaulanite, borne in the towne of Gamala, who hauing a certaine man called *Sadoc* the Pharisee confederate with him, laboured to stirre vp the people to rebellion: alleadging that the description was no other thing, but a manifest confession of their seruitude, exhorting all the nation to maintaine their libertie, and putting them in hope that they thereby should happily establish their estates, and enioy their goods with securitie: and besides this,

Alias, chap. 3.

this, obtaine both honour and glory in profecution of ſuch an enterprize. Moreouer, that God would not affoord them a more aſſured way to ſettle their fortunes then by this meanes, namely, if they would employ themſelues in the execution of their deſignes, and if hauing conceiued in their minds hauty and noble attempts, they forbore not to finiſh the ſame, notwithſtanding the execution coſt them their liues. Theſe ſpeeches of theirs were entertained by the people with great pleaſure, and by the ſame they were the more confirmed and heartned to rebellion. So that there was no kind of euill which theſe men ſet not abroach, yea the whole nation was repleniſhed with ſuch miſeries, that it is impoſſible to recount them: for the wars therein continued with ſuch fury, that it was impoſſible to reſtraine the violence thereof; ſo that they neither ſpared friends, nor reſpected enemies, but were wholly giuen ouer to the ſpoile. There raigned nothing but robberies and murthers of noble perſonages, who entertained one another vnder pretence to eſtabliſh the eſtate of the Common-weale, but in effect for their priuate profit ſake, wherby the cities were repleniſhed with ſeditions and murthers, in which the inhabitants ſlaughtered one another, after a ſtrange manner of fury, and deſire they had not to ſpare any that was of their contrary faction. They were afflicted with forraine enemies and famine; yet none of theſe could pacifie their fury, but that they furiouſly razed Cities, ſhed innocent blood, till at length the horrible miſchiefe tooke ſuch a head, that they conſumed the Temple of God, and burned all the beautifull buildings. So dangerous a thing is it to change the cuſtomes and manners of a countrey. For *Iudas* and *Sadoc* hauing introduced and raiſed a fourth ſect, and tying the Sectaries to their command, filled the whole Common-weale for the preſent with many troubles, and produced the roots of theſe miſchiefes, which afterwards branched abroad from this vnaccuſtomed ſect. For which cauſe I thinke it not amiſſe to diſcourſe briefly of theſe Sectaries opinions, whereby ſo many euils haue fallen vpon our nation.

The yeere of the world, 3973. after Chriſts Nativitie, 11.

Slaughters, thefts, ſeditiõs and famine in Iudæa.

The Temple of Ieruſalem burnt.

Iudas and Sadoc authors of the fourth ſect.

CHAP. II.

How many, and what ſects there were among the Iewes.

THERE were three ſects among the Iewes, of long continuance and antiquity: that of the Eſſeans; that of the Sadduces; and that of thoſe who were called Phariſes. Of theſe haue we ſpoken in our ſecond booke of the warres of the Iewes; and yet now I thinke it not amiſſe to ſpeake ſomewhat of them in this place alſo. The Phariſes vſe a very auſtere and ſtrict kinde of life, and addict not themſelues to any delicacy, but diligently follow that which their reaſon induceth them vnto. They honour their elders, neither dare they reply, or reproach them for their admonitions. They attribute all things vnto fate, and yet they take not an aſſent of will from man; ſuppoſing that God tempereth all things in ſuch ſort, that by his ordinance and mans will all things are performed either good or euill. They beleeue alſo that the ſoules of men are immortall; and that vnder the earth they receiue iudgement of honour or diſgrace, according as they haue addicted themſelues to vertue or vice in their life times: the one to liue in perpetuall priſon; the other to riſe againe very ſhortly. For which cauſe they are in great eſtimation among the people: and all that which appertaineth to the ſeruice of God, whether they be prayers or ſacrifices, all things are done according as they giue direction. So ample a teſtimony yeeld the Cities of their wiſedome, temperance and honeſt life. But the Sadduces are of that opinion, that the ſoules of men periſh with their bodies. They obſerue no other thing but that which is in the law, and hold it a vertue to diſpute with their maſters, as touching the decrees of their ſect. Their opinion is entertained by very few, yet ſuch, who for the moſt part are men of the beſt reckoning; yet entermeddle they not in any caſe with any affaires: and when they are aduanced to any honours, either with their owne good liking, or with conſtraint; they are enforced to allow of that which the Phariſes ſhall propoſe, otherwiſe the common people will not endure them. The Eſſeans attribute vnto God the gouernment and diſpoſition of all things. They ſay that the ſoules of men are immortall, and all the vttermoſt of their indeuour & delight is to maintaine iuſtice and equity. They ſend their offerings vnto the Temple, yet ſacrifice they not with other men, by reaſon they vſe more ſacred and different ceremonies: for which cauſe they are ſecluded out of the common Temple, and ſacrifice apart. Otherwiſe, they are men of moſt reconciled behauiour, & ſuch as are wholly addicted to trimming & labouring their fields. They haue one cuſtome which is worthy admiration, & ſuch a one as is not to be found amongſt any other, either Greeks or Barbarians, that make any reckoning of vertue, which they haue not practiſed

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 11. al. 5.

Three ſects of the Iewes: of whom mention is made in the ſecond booke of the warres of the Iewes.

The Phariſes doctrine.

The Sadduces opinion.

The Eſſeans profeſſion.

The Eſſeans life and manners.

practiſed for a little while, but euen from all antiquitie; which is, that they poſſeſſe their goods in common: neither doth the richeſt among them make more vſe of his poſſeſſions then he that hath leaſt of all. They are at leaſt foure thouſand in number, who neither haue wiues nor ſlaues; ſuppoſing that women are the occaſion of iniuſtice, and that ſlaues doe ariſe by mutinies: and liuing apart by themſelues, they ſerue one another: and chooſe out certaine vpright men among their Prieſts to gather the fruits and reuenewes of their lands, to the end they may be ſuſtained and nouriſhed thereby: In a word, they follow the ſame courſe of life that they doe, who are called Pliſti among the Danes. The fourth ſect was founded by *Iudas* of Galilee, which accordeth altogether and in all things with the Phariſes, but that they are extremely zealous of their liberty, acknowledging but one onely God, Lord and maſter of all things, and had rather both themſelues with their deareſt children and kinsfolke endure the moſt grieuous and bitter torments that may be imagined, then call any mortall man their Lord. Of which conſtancy of theirs I forbeare to diſcourſe any further at this time, for that it is ſufficiently knowne vnto diuers, who haue beene eye-witneſſes thereof: neither feare I leſt any one ſhould ſuppoſe thoſe things to be incredible, which I haue ſaid of them; but contrariwiſe, that I haue ſpoken leſſe then they themſelues make euident in contemning their grieuous tortures and puniſhments; which courage and magnanimity of theirs increaſed very mightily amongſt our nation, being kindled by the moſt hainous iniuries which were offered vs by *Geſsius Florus* our Gouernour, by which meanes at length it came to paſſe that they reuolted and rebelled againſt the people of Rome. Thus much as touching the ſects among the Iewes.

The yeere of the world, 3973. after Chriſts birth, 11.

Pliſti among the Danes.

Iudas Galileus the author of the fourth ſect

Geſſius Florus iniuries.

CHAP. III.

The Tetrarches HEROD *and* PHILIP *builded Cities in honour of* CÆSAR.

AFTER that *Cyrenius* had confiſcated *Archelaus* goods, and finiſhed the valuation of euery mans eſtate (which hapned 37. yeers after *Antonies* ouerthrow by *Cæſar* in the Actian battell) hee depoſed *Ioazar* from the Prieſtly dignity, by reaſon of that ſedition which the people ſtirred vp againſt him, and eſtabliſhed *Ananus* the ſonne of *Seth* in his place. But *Herod* and *Philip* tooke each of them the poſſeſſion of their Tetrarchy, and diſpoſed of the affaires thereof. *Herod* inclozed Sephoris with a ſtrong wall, and made it the chiefeſt City and ornament of Galilee: he fortified alſo another City called Betaramphtha, and named it Iulias in honour of *Iulia* the Emperour *Cæſars* wife. *Philip* repaired Paneada ſituated neere vnto the ſourſe of Iordan, and called it Cæſarea: he repaired alſo the borough of Bethſaida neere vnto the lake of Genazereth, and gaue it the dignity of a City, both for the number of the inhabitants, as for other preeminences, and called it Iulia by *Cæſars* wiues name. As for *Coponius* the Gouernour in Iudæa, who (as we haue ſaid) was ſent with *Cyrenius*, in his time there hapned that which followeth. At the feaſt of vnleauened bread, which we call Paſcha, the cuſtome was that the Prieſts opened the Temple gates about midnight: at which time certaine Samaritans, who ſecretly entred into Ieruſalem, as ſoon as the gates were open, ſpred mens bones amidſt the porches, and ouer all the Temple: whereby it came to paſſe, that the Prieſts began to keepe a more diligent watch, then they had done before-time.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 3.

Anan the ſon of Seth made high Prieſt in Ioazars place.

Alias, chap. 6.

Sephoris chief city of Galile.

Betaramphtha called Iulias.

Paneas.

Bethſaida.

Mens bones ſcattered in the Temple.

The yeere of the world, 3974. after Chriſts Natiuitie, 12.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 4.

The yeere of the world, 3975. after Chriſts birth, 13.

Some little while after, *Coponius* returned to Rome, and *Marcus Ambiuius* ſucceeded him in the gouernment. In his time *Salome* King *Herods* ſiſter departing out of this life, bequeathed vnto *Iulia* the Citie of Iamnia and all the lands and countrey round about: ſhe gaue her alſo Phaſaelis ſituate in the Plaine, and *Archelais* where there are diuers date trees, bearing moſt excellent fruit. After *Ambiuius*, *Annius Ruphus* had the command, vnder whom died *Cæſar* the ſecond Roman Emperour, after he had raigned fifty ſeuen yeers, ſixe moneths and two daies, and had *Antonius* his copartner in the monarchy for the ſpace of fourteene yeeres. He liued in the whole ſeuenty ſeuen yeeres.

The yeere of the world, 3977. after Chriſts birth, 15.

The yeere of the world, 3978. after Chriſts birth, 16.

The yeere of the world, 3979. after Chriſts birth, 17.

After *Cæſar* ſucceeded *Tiberius Nero* the ſon of *Iulia* his wife, who was the third Roman Emperour. He it was that ſent the fift Gouernour into Iudæa, whoſe name was *Valerius Gratus*, who ſucceeded *Annius Rufus*. This *Gratus* depoſed *Ananus*, and appointed *Iſmael* the ſonne of *Fabius* High Prieſt: and after his deceaſe (for he liued but a little whiles after) *Eleazar* the ſon of *Ananus* was made High Prieſt. A yeer after this, this *Eleazar* was alſo depoſed, and the Prieſthood was giuen to *Simon* the ſon of *Camithus*: who continuing in this dignity for a yeers ſpace and no longer, *Ioſeph* called *Caiaphas* ſucceeded after him. After *Gratus* had behaued himſelf thus, he returned to Rome, after he had remained in Iudæa for the ſpace of 11. yeerrs. After him came

Pontius

Pontius Pilate, and ſucceeded him in the gouernment. But *Herod* the Tetrarch being entertained into *Tiberius* friendſhip, builded a City in honour of his name, and called it Tiberias. He planted it in the fruitfulleſt part of Galilee, hard by the lake Genazereth, and neere vnto the naturall bathes in the borough called Emmaus. This City was peopled by ſtrangers, who reſorted thither from all parts; and by diuers, of the countries of Galilee, ſome of which were conſtrained to inhabit the ſame. Some of thoſe likewiſe, who were in authority repaired thither, and from all countries there flocked many, who were not aſſuredly held for men of free condition; all which he enfranchiſed, and gaue them great gifts, vnder that condition, that they ſhould not abandon the City. To ſome of them he gaue houſes already builded; to other ſome lands very apt to be tilled, knowing that the habitation of ſuch a place was contrary to the lawes and cuſtomes of his countrey, and the ordinances of the Iewes; for that Tiberias was builded in a place full of ſepulchers: and our law ſaith, he that conuerſeth in thoſe places, is held vncleane and defiled for the ſpace of ſeuen dayes.

The yeere of the world, 3979. after Chriſts Natiuity, 17.

The yeere of the world, 3990. after Chriſts birth, 28.

Tiberias builded.

At that very time died *Phraates* King of Parthia, being traiterouſly ſlaine by his ſonne *Phraataces*, for this cauſe. After that *Phraates* had gotten many lawfull children, he tooke vnto him an Italian woman to his concubine, called *Thermuſa*, whom with other preſents *Iulius Cæſar* had ſent vnto him. After he had begotten on her his ſon *Phraataces*, he was ſo much beſotted with her beauty, that he took her to his wife, and held her in high eſtimation. She that might perſwade him vnto all that whatſoeuer ſhe liſted, enforced herſelfe to the vttermoſt to make her ſon king of Parthia: and ſeeing that ſhe might not attaine thereunto, except ſhe had firſt found out the meanes to deliuer her ſelfe of *Phraates* lawfull children, ſhee perſwaded him to ſend them hoſtages to Rome. In a word, they were preſently ſent away, becauſe *Phraates* in no ſort had the power to contradict *Thermuſas* will, and only *Phraataces* was brought vp in the affaires of eſtate; who thinking the time too tedious and long, if he ſhould expect the kingdome whilſt his father were dead, conſpired againſt him by the inſtigation and furtherance of his mother, with whom (as it is thought) he committed inceſt. In effect, being equally attainted of theſe two hainous crimes, both for the murther of his father, as his inceſt committed with his mother, he was generally hated by his ſubiects, who rebelled againſt him before ſuch time as he was ſettled in his kingdome. By this meanes was his fortune ouerthrowne, and he died. The noble men among the Parthians, perceiuing that it was impoſſible for them to maintaine their policy without a King, and that their King ought lineally to deſcend of the race of the Arſacians (becauſe by cuſtome they might not chooſe any out of another ſtock) and ſuppoſing that their ordinances had too much already bin broken, and that it would redound to their great diſhonor if the kingdome ſhould be continued in the hands of ſuch a man, who was deſcended from an Italian concubine, they ſent Embaſſadors to require *Herod* to come and bee their King, who otherwiſe was in hatred with all the people, and accuſed of extreme cruelty. In a word, he was an vnſociable man, and extremely cholericke, notwithſtanding he were of the blood of the Arſacides: they therefore flocked about him, and killed him at a banquet made at a certain ſacrifice (for the cuſtome of the Parthians was, that euery one bare his weapon) or as the common report was, that he was ſlaine at ſuch time as he was a hunting. For this cauſe, they ſent Embaſſadors to Rome, requiring that one of thoſe that were hoſtages there might be their King, and one *Vonones* was ſent vnto them, who was preferred aboue all his brethren. For he ſeemed to be capable of that high degree of honour, as to command two of the greateſt ſoueraignties that were vnder the ſunne; the one of his owne nation; the other of a forraine dominion. But the Barbarians, who are by nature mutable and moſt impatient of indignity, ſhortly after repented themſelues: for they diſdained to execute the command of a ſlaue; for ſo called they a pledge, ſaying, that the Parthians had not a King giuen them by right of warre, but that which was the moſt outrage that might befall them, by iniury offered them in time of peace. For which cauſe they ſpeedily ſent for *Artabanus* King of Media, who was of the race of the Arſacides. To this requeſt of theirs he willingly condeſcended, and came vnto them with his army. And *Vonones* marched forward to make head againſt him. At the firſt encountry, although the common ſort among the Parthians fauoured *Artabanus*; yet was he ouercome and fled to the mountaines of Media. But not long after, hauing aſſembled a greater army, he once more ſet vpon *Vonones* and diſcomfited him, at which time *Vonones* retired himſelfe with ſome horſemen of his into Seleucia. But *Artabanus* hauing made a great ſlaughter of thoſe that fled, and wholly abaſhed the minds of the Barbarians, he retired himſelfe to the City of Ctеſiphon, with thoſe people that accompanied him, and was afterwards made King of Parthia. *Vonones* arriued in Armenia, and at the firſt ſought to make himſelfe

Phraates king of the Parthians ſlaine by the treaſon of Phraataces his ſonne. Thermuſa Phraataces mother.

Phraataces ſlaine.

Herod ſent for by the Parthians, and ſlaine in hunting.

Vonones king of the Parthians put to flight by Artabanus.

himselfe King ouer that nation, sending to this effect certaine Embassadours to Rome: but *Tiberius* repulsed his suit in respect of his cowardize, but the rather for that *Artabanus* by an expresse Embassage had threatned him with warre. For they of the greatest power among the Armenians (who are those that dwell about the floud Niphates) maintained *Artabanus* title; and *Vonones*, destitute of all hope to obtaine the Kingdome, yeelded himselfe to *Syllanus*, who was gouernour of Syria, and in regard that he had bin brought vp at Rome, he was kept in Syria: and *Artabanus* gaue Armenia to *Orodes*, one of his sons. *Antiochus* King of the Comagenes dyed also at that time, and there fell a debate betwixt the commons and the nobility; so that both parties sent their Embassadors to Rome. The nobles required that the forme of their gouernment might be changed into diuers signiories; and the people requested that they might be honoured by a King, as they had beene accustomed. The Senate decreed that *Germanicus* should be sent to settle the affaires in the East, fortune thereby presenting him with the occasion of his ruine. For, at such time as he arriued in the East, and orderly disposed all things, he was poisoned by *Piso*: whereof he died, as it is declared in another place.

The yeere of the world, 3990. after Christs birth, 28.

Vonones submits to Syllanus gouernor of Syria. Orodes King of Armenia. Antiochus King of Comagena. Germanicus poisoned by Pisoes means.

CHAP. IIII.

The rebellion of the Iewes against PONTIVS PILATE.

PILATE Gouernour of Iudæa led his army from Cæsarea to Ierusalem, where he wintered them with an intent to bring in *Cæsars* statues, and standards into the City, in contempt of our law which forbiddeth vs to make images. For which cause, those Gouernours that were before him, were wont to make their entries into the Citie without such pictures or paintings. *Pilate* was the first, who vnawares and by night entred Ierusalem, bringing with him his images. Which when the people vnderstood, in great multitudes they resorted to Cæsarea, beseeching him for many dayes, that hee would transport those images into some other place. But when as *Pilate* denied them to performe their request, because the matter would redound to *Cæsars* dishonour, and the Iewes also ceased not to sollicite him; some sixe dayes after commanding his souldiers to lie in ambush in a readinesse, he sate him downe in the Tribunall within the Hippodrom, making vse of the opportunity of the place, for that it was most fit for a stratagem. There being vrged once more about the same businesse, he gaue a signe to his souldiers to beset them, threatning them with death, except they would presently giue ouer their suite, and repaire euery one of them with all speed to their owne houses. But they prostrating themselues vpon the earth, and offering their naked throats, told him that they rather desired to dye, then to see their lawes violated, which were with so great iudgement and reason proposed vnto them. *Pilate* amazed at the confidence they shewed in the conseruation of their lawes, suddenly caused *Cæsars* images to be transported out of Ierusalem into Cæsarea, and out of the sacred treasury he made certaine conduits of water, that had their fountaine heads more then two hundreth stades off. But the people tooke no pleasure in these conduits, and diuers thousands of men assembled themselues exclaiming against *Pilate*, endeauouring thereby to make him giue ouer his enterprize. Some of them also vttered diuers iniurious speeches against him, as it ordinarily falleth out amongst an vnbridled multitude. But he causing them to be hemmed in by a great number of his souldiers, attired in popular habit, as soone as they began to exclaime against him, gaue a signe to his souldiers: they, as it was before-time commanded them, made vse of their maces; and without distinction either of the persons or the offenders, fell on all those whom they had encompassed; and so vnmercifully laid on them, who were naked and disarmed, that some of them were slaine, othersome grieuously hurt: and after this manner was the tumult and sedition appeased.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 6. al. chap. 8. Pilate bringeth Cæsars statues to Ierusalem, and vpon the peoples instant motion transferreth them to Cæsarea.

The yeere of the world, 3997. after Christs Nativity, 35.

Pilate seeking to draw certain springs of water to Ierusalem, stirreth vp a rebellion.

The yeere of the world, 3998. after Christs Nativity, 36.

At that time was IESVS, a wise man, if it be lawfull to call him a man. For he was the performer of diuers admirable works, and the instructer of those who willingly entertain the truth: and he drew vnto him diuers Iewes and Greeks to be his followers. This was CHRIST, who being accused by the Princes of our nation before *Pilate*, and afterwards condemned to the crosse by him; yet did not those who followed him from the beginning, forbeare to loue him for the ignominie of his death. For he appeared vnto them aliue the third day after, according as the diuine Prophets had before testified the same, and diuers other wonderfull things of him: and from that time forward the race of the Christians, who haue deriued their name from him, hath neuer ceased.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 6. al. chap. 9.

Iesus Christ crucified by Pilate.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 7. Alias chap. 10.

At that time also there fell out another accident, which very sore troubled the Iewes, and in the

the temple of Isis at Rome there were many shamefull acts committed. But I will first of all recount the accident in the Temple of Isis: and then will I declare that which befell the Iewes. There was in Rome a Lady called *Paulina*, renowmed both for the nobility of her house, as also through her study and exercise in vertue. Besides this, shee was verie rich, and with her riches beautifull, and in her flowring yeeres; and notwithstanding a verie mirrour of chastitie. Shee was married to a certaine noble man called *Saturnine*, that equald her in all those her excellent perfections. A certain young man called *Decius Mundus*, one of the knights of greatest account at that time, fell in loue with her. But she was of that disposition, that it was impossible for him to corrupt her by presents: And the more she refused those infinite presents which he sent vnto her, the more was *Mundus* heart inflamed with ardent affection; so that to enioy her but onely one night, he offered her two hundred thousand drachmes, amounting in our English money to some sixe thousand pound; yet for all this he could not ouercome her. For which cause being vnable to indure this his vnfortunate loue, he thought best to pine himselfe away for want of sustenance, thereby to deliuer himselfe from the tyranny of that passion, wherewith he was afflicted: Finally, that he confidently resolued, he constantly put in execution. Now there was a certaine freewoman that belonged to *Mundus* father, whose name was *Ide*, expert in all sorts of subtilties, who being sore aggrieued to behold the yong mans resolution, whom she saw wholly addicted to a desperate death, she addressed her self vnto him, and encouraged him with hope, promising him to bring him to *Paulinas* speech, by the meanes of a certaine bribe which she intended to offer. He reioycing very much at her motion, demanded what summe should serue her: who requiring nothing more then fifty thousand drachmes to obtaine *Paulina*; he furnished her presently. When as by this means she had quickned the young mans spirit, and receiued all that which she demanded, she shaped not the same course which others had kept that had the sollicitation of the matter before, seeing she saw that mony would not tempt her; but knowing that she was deeply deuoted to the seruice of *Isis*, she practised this subtill and vnexpected policy. She addressed her selfe to certaine priests of the temple, and vpon great hopes, and offer of greater presents, and paying them downe vpon the present, twenty & fiue thousand drachmes, and promising them as much more vpon the performance of the bargaine, she disclosed vnto them the passionate loue which the young man bare vnto *Paulina*, exhorting them to work so wisely that he might inioy her. They bewitched with this huge present they had, and hoped to receiue, promised her to work the feat. Whereupon, the eldest among them resorted to *Paulina*, and hauing free accesse vnto her presence, he required that he might haue conference with her in secret: which when he had obtained, he told her that he was sent vnto her by God *Anubis*, in that the God was surprized with her loue, and desired that she would come vnto him. *Paulina*, tooke great pleasure in this his discourse, and told her familiars how she had been honoured with the amorous sollicitation of a god, and certified her husband how *Anubis* would banquet and lie with her. Whereunto he consented, knowing how great his wiues chastitie was. She therefore repaired to the temple: and after she had supt, & the time was come wherein she was vsually accustomed to lay her downe to rest, and the gates were lockt vp by the priests that were therein, and the lights likewise were taken away; *Mundus*, who was hidden within, failed not to accost her: who thinking that it was god *Anubis*, satisfied his desires all the night long; and in the morning betimes before the priests, who were priuie to this trecherie, were stirring, he retired himselfe: *Paulina* also early in the morning repaired to her husband, and certified him how *Anubis* had appeared vnto her, and boasting her selfe among her familiars what conference hee had vsed with her. But some of them beleeued her not, in regard of the manner of their entertainment; the rest were altogether amazed, supposing those things to bee no waies incredible, at such time as they bethought themselues of the Ladies chastitie. Some three dayes after this act was committed, *Mundus* meeting with *Paulina*, said vnto her: You haue saued mee two hundreth thousand drachmes, wherewith you might haue augmented your treasure, and this notwithstanding, you haue not failed to satisfie my request: neither am I grieued that you haue contemned mee vnder the name of *Mundus*, since that vndertaking *Anubis* name, I haue accomplished my desire, and this said, hee departed. But she presently amated with the mans audacious impudence, tore her garments, and hauing told her husband of all this subtill circumuention, she requested earnestly his assistance, and that he would not forsake her in the prosecution of her reuenge: who presently certified the Emperour of each particular thereof. Now when *Tiberius* had diligently vnderstood, how all things had happened, by the inquisition and examination of the Priests, he condemned them and *Ida*, who had beene the inuenter and complotter of this

The yeere of the world, 3998. after christs birth, 36.

Tiberius causeth Isis priests & Ida, to be hanged, and banished Mundus.

The yeere of the world, 3998. after Christs birth, 36.

this treason against *Paulina*, to be hangd: he pulled downe the temple also, and cast *Anubis* statue into Tyber, and banished *Mundus*; supposing that he ought not to be more grieuously punished, considering that the fault which was committed by him, proceeded from extreme loue: Behold here the insolence committed in the temple of *Isis*, by the priest that appertained to that temple. Now intend I to declare that which hapned to the Iews that were at that time in Rome, according as heretofore I both purposed and promised.

CHAP. V.

Of that which befell the Iewes that were at Rome in Pilates *time.*

Fuluia Saturnines wife deliuereth gold and purple to be sent to the temple in Ierusalem, they conuert it to their own vses which when Tiberius knew he cõmanded all the Iewes to be thrust out of Rome.

THere was a certaine Iewe, that hauing beene accused for the breach of the lawes of his country, and fearing to bee punished for the same, fled from thence, being without respect, a man of a most mischieuous behauiour. He dwelling at that time in Rome, professed himselfe to be an expounder of *Moses* law, and drawing to him three other no lesse reprobates then himselfe, he followed his ordinary profession. *Fuluia* a Lady of much honor became their scholler; and had embraced the religion of the Iewes, whom they had perswaded to send certain purple and gold to the temple of Ierusalem: which after they had receiued at her hands, they conuerted it to their owne vse, as before that time they had determined to doe. *Tiberius*, who was informed hereof by *Saturnine* his familiar friends, and *Fuluias* husband, who had discouered the same vnto him, commanded all Iewes whatsoeuer to depart out of Rome. Of these the Consuls chose out and enrouled to the number of foure thousand men, whom they sent into Sardinia: and punished diuers of them that refused to beare armes, for feare they should transgresse the ordinances of their countrey. So that by reason of the loose behauiour of foure wicked persons, all those of our nation were driuen out of the City of Rome.

The Samaritanes assemble at Tirathaba to ascend the mountain Garizim. Pilate chargeth and ouercommeth them and putteth them to flight.

Neither was the nation of the Samaritanes exempt from this trouble: for a certaine subtill companion, who sought by all the means he might to incroche vpon the peoples fauour, perswaded them to withdraw themselues with him to the mount Garizim (which they supposed to be the holiest amongst all their mountaines) in which place, he auowed he would shew them the sacred Vessels buried in a certaine place, where *Moses* had laid them: and at that time they being gathered together in armes, by his perswasion encamped themselues in a borough called Tirathaba, where they entertained those that repaired thither to adioyn themselues with them, to the end they might ascend the mountaine with the greater companie. But *Pilate* preuented them, and got vp before them with his horsemen and footmen: who charging those that were assembled in the borough, put them to flight; and slaying some, and putting the rest to flight, led away a great number of them prisoners with him. *Pilate* executed the chiefest ring-leaders amongst them, and those also of greatest force amongst the fugitiues. The tumult of these Iews being published abroad, and their misfortune made knowne, the Senate of Samaria addressed themselues to *Vitellius* who had bin Consul, and who at that time gouerned Syria, before whom they accused *Pilate* for the murther of those whom he had slaine, saying that they assembled not in Tirathaba to rebell against the Romans, but to warrantize themselues against *Pilates* tyranny. Whereupon *Vitellius* sent *Marcellus* his friend, to take charge of Iudæa, commanding *Pilate* to returne to Rome, and to satisfie the Emperor in those things wherof the people had accused him. Hereupon *Pilate*, after he had soiourned ten yeers in Iewry, repaired to Rome, hauing no means to contradict that commandement that *Vitellius* had giuen him. But before hee arriued there, *Tiberius* was departed and dead.

The yeere of the world, 3999. after Christs Natiuity, 35.

Alias, cha. 11. Pilate accused before Vitellius, is sent to Rome. Hedio & Russinus, chap. 8. al. 12.

CHAP. VI.

Vitellius *commeth to Ierusalem.*

Vitellius commeth to Ierusalem, forgiueth the Iewes their tribute, & committeth the charge of the high priests garmẽts to them. The high priests vestmẽts reserued in the castle of Antonia.

AS sõne as *Vitellius* came into Iudæa, he went vp to Ierusalem and celebrated there the feast of the passeouer, and after he had been magnificently entertained in that place, he forgaue the Citizens the tribute of all those fruits which were sold. He deliuered them also the ornaments of the high priests, with all the rest of the priestly furniture within the temple, committing the charge thereof vnto the priests, according as in times past they had the same. But at that time they were laid vp in the castle of Antonia for this cause which followeth: *Hircanus* the high priest the first of that name (for diuers haue been so called) hauing builded a tower neere vnto the temple, did for the most part make his residence therein, and there kept his

A his veſtments that were committed to his charge, the rather for that he onely had the authority to put them on, and returne them into their place at ſuch time as hee came downe into the Ci- *The yeere of the world, 3999. after Chriſts birth, 37.*
ty, and put vpon him his accuſtomed rayment. His ſonne and his ſonnes ſonnes entertained the ſame cuſtome, till ſuch time as *Herod* being exalted to the kingdome, and ſeeing this tower to
B be ſtrongly ſited, builded the ſame moſt magnificently, and called it *Antonia*, in honour of *Anto-* *ny* his great friend. And hauing found theſe veſtments in the place, he retained them with him, aſſuring himſelfe, the people would attempt nothing againſt him. *Archelaus* his ſonne and ſucceſſor in the kingdome, kept the ſame courſe that *Herod* had done. But after that the Romans had obtained the ſoueraignty thereof, they kept the High Prieſts ornaments in their hands, and reſer-
B ued them in a place builded for the purpoſe, vnder the ſeale of the Prieſts: and the Prefect of thoſe that kept the ſacred treaſure, lighted the lamp euery day in that place. This euery ſeuenth day before the feaſt, doth the Prefect deliuer it into the High Prieſts hands, and after it was puri-ſied, he put it on to doe diuine ſeruice, and the next day after the feaſt he returneth it againe to the ſame place where it was kept before: which cuſtome was obſerued thrice euery yeere in the time of a faſt. But *Vitellius* returned thoſe ornaments into the hands of the Prieſts, according to the ancient orders, leauing them to be vſed at ſuch time as need required, commanding the Prefect to trouble himſelfe no more about the place where they ſhould be kept. After he Vitellius aduanced Ionathan the ſon of Anani to the prieſthood and degradeth Ioſeph ſurnamed Caiaphas
had done this fauour to the nation of the Iewes, he depoſed the High Prieſt *Ioſeph* ſurnamed *Caiaphas*, and aduanced *Ionathan* the ſonne of *Ananus* to that dignity, and afterwards returned to
C Antioch.

At that time he receiued letters from *Tiberius*, by which he commanded him to capitulate and conclude a friendſhippe with *Artabanus* the King of the Parthians (whoſe hatred hee ſuſpected, and feared, leſt being ſeized of Armenia, hee ſhould worke further diſpleaſure to the ſtate of Rome) willing him to aſſure the league by hoſtages, and namely with *Artabanus* ſonne. After *Tiberius* had written theſe letters aboue mentioned vnto *Vitellius*, he perſwaded the Kings of Iberia and Alania by great ſtore of money, that with all expedition they ſhould make warre againſt *Artabanus*. But the Iberians would not be drawne thereunto, yet ſuffered they the Alaines to march thorow their countrey, and opened them their gates of the mount Caſpius, The Parthians loſe Armenia.
to giue them paſſage to inuade *Artabanus*. Thus once more was Armenia conquered, and the
D countrey of the Parthians was filled with warre, whereby the chiefeſt among them were ſlaine, and all their eſtate was ſpoyled and diſordered. The Kings ſonne alſo was ſlaine in thoſe conflicts, with diuers thouſands of his men of war. Moreouer, *Vitellius* hauing ſent money to a certaine kinſman and friend of *Artabanus*, pretended to corrupt him to make *Artabanus* away. But Such things as hapned betwixt Vitellius & Artabanus.
Artabanus perceiuing the plot that was intended againſt him, and ſeeing that he could not eſcape, becauſe it was attempted by a great number of the beſt accounted nobles within his court, ceaſed to paſſe any further: and ſeeing himſelfe moſt apparantly inuironed, and thinking that vnder colour of friendſhip hee was fraudulently betrayed, hee thought it better to retire himſelfe into the Prouinces of the higher country, and there to ſaue himſelfe, rather then to put himſelfe in hazzard, and reſort vnto them who had already betrayed and forſaken him. Arriuing
E in that place, he aſſembled a great number of ſouldiers of the countries of Danes, and Swethi- Artabanus reſtored to his kingdome by the Danes & Swethians.
ans: and hauing fought againſt them who oppoſed themſelues againſt him, he recouered his eſtate. When *Tiberius* had tydings hereof, he wrought the meanes to draw *Artabanus* into friendſhip with him: which when *Artabanus* had notice of, hee willingly admitted; ſo that *Artaba-* A league betwixt Vitellius & Artabanus.
nus and *Vitellius* met together neere Euphrates, and by the meanes of a bridge that was builded Herods banquet in the midſt of Euphrates.
vpon the riuer, they debated the matter together; being each of them attended by their guards. After that they had concluded the peace, *Herod* the Tetrarch feaſted them in a very magnificent Pauillion, erected in the middeſt of the floud, not without his great coſt. And not long after, Artabanus ſendeth Tiberius his ſon in hoſtage, and a Iew ſeuen cubits high.
Vitellius ſent *Darius*, *Artabanus* ſonne in hoſtage to Rome, with diuers preſents; amongſt which there was a man ſeuen cubits high, a Iew borne, who was named *Eleazar*, who was called a Gy-
F ant by reaſon of his greatneſſe. That done, *Vitellius* returned to Antioch, and *Artabanus* to Baby-lon. But *Herod* deſirous to be the firſt who ſhould aduertiſe *Cæſar* of the receite of theſe hoſtages, ſent expreſſe meſſengers with letters, by which he fully ſatisfied him of all that which had Herod aduertiſeth the Emperour of all things, before Vitellius letters came to his hands.
hapned, omitting nothing for the Conſull to certifie: ſo that after *Vitellius* letters were brought vnto him, and that *Cæſar* had already certified him of the true information that *Herod* had giuen him, *Vitellius* was ſore troubled: and ſuſpecting leſt he had receiued a greater iniury then the matter made ſhew for; he conceiued in his heart a ſecret deſpight, which continued vntill ſuch time as *Tiberius* was dead, and *Caius* obtained the Empire.

The yeere of the world, 3999. after Christs birth, 37.

At that time also died *Philip Herods* brother, in the twentieth yeere of *Tiberius* raigne, after he had raigned himselfe for the space of seuen and thirty yeeres, in Trachonitis, Gaulonitis, and Bathanæa. During all the time of his gouernment, he behaued himselfe very peaceably, and farre from businesse. For he made his ordinary abode within his owne dominion. He walked being accompanied with a small number of his chosen seruants, and had that seat carried after him wherein he was accustomed to sit and doe Iustice: and therein sate he, to the end that if any one presented himselfe, and required his assistance, hee might without delay doe him right. For vpon the first motion, the seat was placed in that part wherein the plaintiffe met him; and being seated therein, he examined the cause, punishing those that were guilty, and absoluing the innocent. He died in Iuliade, and was buried in the sepulcher which he himselfe had caused to be built, and his obsequies were performed with great solemnity and maiesty. And for that hee left no heires males behind him, *Tiberius* seized his estate, which he annexed to the gouernment of Syria, ordaining that the tributes that were gathered in his Tetrarchy, should be kept within the bounds of the same region.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 9. al. chap. 13.

The yeere of the world, 4000. after Christs birth, 38.

CHAP. VII.

The warre of HEROD *the Tetrarch, against King* ARETAS, *and his ouerthrow.*

Herod the Tetrarch putteth away Aretas daughter, and marrieth Herodias his brother Herods wife.

MEane-while, *Aretas* King of Arabia *Petræa*, and *Herod* fell at strife, the one with the other, for this cause that ensueth: *Herod* the Tetrarch married *Aretas* daughter, with whom he had liued married a very long time. Afterwards taking his iourney towards Rome, he lodged with *Herod* his halfe brother by the fathers side (for *Herod* was the sonne of *Simons* daughter, which *Simon* was the High Priest) and there being surprized with the loue of *Herodias* his brothers wife, which was the daughter of *Aristobulus* their brother, and sister to the Great *Agrippa*, he was so bold as to offer her some speech of marriage: which when she had accepted, the accords were made betweene them, that at such time as hee should returne from Rome, he should displace her, and lead her away with him, with conditions that he would banish *Aretas* daughter far from him. After he had ratified those couenants, he made his voyage to Rome, from whence he no sooner returned and performed that for which he went, but his wife (who had some priuy notice of the conuentions which were made betwixt him and *Herodias*) before he suspected that she knew thereof, required him to send her to the Castle of Macheron, which was the frontire towne betwixt *Herods* and *Aretas* countries, without certifying him any wayes of her intent. *Herod* without suspect easily condescended vnto her request, thinking she was ignorant of his drift: but she long before that time had taken order with the Gouernour of Macheron (which at that time was vnder her fathers gouernment) to prepare all things for her iourney, where being arriued, she speedily posted into Arabia, vnder the conuoy of those Gouernours, who receiued and conducted her the one after the other. As soone as she arriued in her fathers Court, she incontinently certified him of *Herods* resolution, whence arose the beginning of this discord betwixt them. As soone as therefore they had both of them assembled their armies vpon the confines of the countrey of Gamalite, they fought together vnder the conduct of the two Generals, to whom they had committed their armies. In this battell *Herods* army was wholly discomfited through the treason that was complotted against him by certaine banished men of *Philips* Tetrarchy, which were in pay with *Herod*. *Tiberius* was certified of all this by those letters which *Herod* had written vnto him: and being sore displeased with *Aretas* for his proud attempt, he commanded *Vitellius* to make warre against him, willing him that if he could take him aliue, he should send him bound vnto him: but if dead, he should send him his head. Such was the commission that *Tiberius* sent to the Gouernour of Syria.

Herods wife returned into her owne countrey.

Herods army discomfited by the Arabians.

Tiberius commandeth Vitellius to make warre against Aretas.

Diuers Iewes were of the opinion, that *Herods* army was ouerthrowne by the iust vengeance of God, who punished him most iustly, because of the execution which he caused to be done on *Iohn* surnamed *Baptist*: For he had done this man to death, who was replenished with all vertue, and who exhorted the Iewes to addict themselues thereto, and to execute iustice towards men, and piety towards God: exhorting them to bee baptized, and telling them that baptisme should at that time be agreeable vnto God, if they should renounce not onely their sinnes, but if to the purity of their bodies they should annexe the cleannes of their soules repurified by iustice. And whereas it came to passe that diuers flocked and followed him to heare his doctrine,

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 10. al. 14.

Herod

Herod feared leſt his ſubiects allured by his doctrine and perſwaſions ſhould be drawne to reuolt. For it ſeemed that they would ſubſcribe in all things to his aduice; he therefore thought it better to preuent a miſchiefe by putting him to death, then to expect ſome ſudden commotion, which he might afterwards repent. Vpon this ſuſpicion *Herod* cauſed him to be bound, and ſent to the caſtle of Macheron, whereof we haue ſpoken heretofore, and there was he put to death. The Iewes were of opinion, that in reuenge of this ſo grieuous a ſin, *Herods* army, againſt whom God was diſpleaſed, had been ſubiect to their vtter ruine and ouerthrow. But *Vitellius* being addreſſed to make warre againſt *Aretas*, gathered together two legions, and all thoſe horſe or foot that he could aſſemble amongſt thoſe Kings, who were the Romans allies, and marching towards Petra he ſtayed at Ptolemais, becauſe he pretended to paſſe by Iudæa. Which when the principall nobles amongſt the Iewes had notice of, they went out to meet him, beſeeching him that he would not paſſe thorow their country, becauſe it was a cuſtome amongſt them not to ſee any images borne, ſuch as he had of diuers colours in his army. Whereunto he condeſcended, and hauing changed his purpoſe, he cauſed his army to march thorow the great Plaine: as for himſelfe he came to Ieruſalem accompanied with *Herod* the Tetrarch and his friends, to offer ſacrifice to God vpon the next feſtiuall day, where he was moſt magnificently receiued by all the people of the Iewes. There ſoiourned he for the ſpace of three dayes, during which time he depoſed *Ionathan* from the High Prieſthood, and inueſted *Theophilus* his brother. The fourth day letters came vnto him that aduertiſed him of *Tiberius* death, for which cauſe he commanded the oath of fidelity ſhould be miniſtred to the people, in the new Emperour *Caius* behalfe. He called his army backe alſo, and ſent them to their wintering garriſon, becauſe it was not lawfull for him to proſecute the warre, by reaſon the ſoueraigne eſtate was fallen vnto *Caius*.

The yeere of the world, 4000. after Chriſts Natiuity, 38.

Iohn Baptiſt ſlaine by Herod. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 11.

Vitellius leadeth his army againſt the king of Arabia

The yeere of the world, 4001. after Chriſts birth, 39.

Vitellius repaireth to Ieruſalem, & diſplaceth Ionathan, and preferreth his brother.

Caius Caligula ſucceedeth after Tiberius.

Aretas gathereth by auguries, that it was impoſſible for the army to come to Petra.

Herods progeny.

It is ſaid, that *Aretas* hearing newes of *Vitellius* expedition or voyage, and after he had taken counſell of the Augurs, ſaid, that the army ſhould not finde engines to pierce as farre as Petra, becauſe the Chieftaine thereof, or he that had the command of the expedition, or he that obeyed his ordinance in conducting the ſame, or he againſt whom the army was conducted, ſhould dye. *Vitellius* therefore retired himſelfe to Antioch. A yeere before the death of *Tiberius*, *Agrippa Ariſtobulus* ſonne came to Rome, to intreate with the Emperour about certaine affaires, according to the power which he ſhould obtaine at his hands. But before I ſpeake any thing hereof, I will relate *Herods* progeny, both for that it is pertinent to this preſent narration, as alſo that the greatneſſe of Gods prouidence may appeare, to the end that a man may know that neither the number of children, nor any other humane force whatſoeuer it be, can be auaileable without the feare of God; conſidering that within the ſpace of one hundreth yeers or ſomewhat leſſe, it ſo fell out, that all *Herods* line, which was very populous and fruitfull, was extinguiſhed, a very few excepted. Whereby we are giuen to vnderſtand, what the miſery of mankind is, and learne to moderate our owne ſelues. It is alſo expedient to ſpeake ſomething of *Agrippa*, who amongſt all other deſerueth admiration, in that being a man wholly drowned in obſcurity and baſe in birth, he was exalted to ſuch greatnes, as no one of thoſe that knew him, would euer haue thought his fortune ſhould haue ſuch ſucceſſe and mightineſſe. And although heretofore I haue ſpoken ſomewhat of this matter, yet it is requiſite that I ſpeake ſomething more expreſly therof in this place. *Herod* the great had two daughters borne by *Mariamme Hircanus* daughter. The one of them which was called *Salampſo*, was married by *Herod* to *Phaſaelus* the ſon of *Phaſaelus*, who was *Herods* brother. The other called *Cypros* was eſpouſed to *Antipater* her Couſin, who was *Salomes* ſonne, who was *Herods* ſiſter. *Phaſaelus* had fiue children by *Salampſo*: Three ſons, *Antipater*, *Herod*, and *Alexander*; and two daughters, *Alexandra* and *Cypros*, whom *Agrippa* the ſonne of *Ariſtobulus* married, and *Alexandra* was married to *Timæus* of Cyprus, who was a man of great dignity, and with whom ſhe died without iſſue. *Cypros* had by *Agrippa* her husband two ſonnes and three daughters: *Bernice*, *Mariamme*, and *Druſilla*: their two ſonnes were called *Agrippa* and *Druſus*. *Druſus* died very young: but *Agrippa* was brought by his grandfather amongſt his other brethren, *Herod*, *Ariſtobulus*, and *Bernice*. Theſe were *Herods* children, ſonne vnto him who was ſurnamed the great; *Bernice* was *Coſtobarus* daughter, begotten on *Salome Herods* ſiſter: *Ariſtobulus* died leauing his children vnder age, vnder his fathers charge with *Alexander* his brother, as we haue already recounted. Theſe attaining their full age were in this ſort married: *Herod* brother to *Agrippa* was matched with *Mariamme Olympias* daughter, who was *Herod* the Great his daughter, and of *Ioſeph Herods* brother: By her he had his ſonne *Ariſtobulus*: *Ariſtobulus Agrippas* third brother married *Iotape* the daughter of *Sampſigeram* King of the Emeſenians. They had a daughter which in like ſort was called *Iotape*, which was deafe.

The yeere of the world, 4001. after Christs birth, 39.

These were the children begotten by *Herods* three sonnes. But *Herodias* their sister married *Herod* the sonne of *Herod* the Great, whom he begot on *Mariamme* the daughter of *Simon* the High Priest, by whom *Salome* was begotten. After her birth, *Herodias* in contempt of the lawes of the countrey, married her selfe with *Herod* her husbands brother begotten of the same father, being separated from him during his life-time, who was Tetrarch of Galilee. His daughter *Salome* was married to *Philip* the Tetrarch of Trachonitis *Herods* sonne: who dying without children, *Aristobulus* married her, who was *Herods* sonne and *Agrippas* brother. They had three sonnes, *Herod*, *Agrippa* and *Aristobulus*. See here the posterity of *Phasaelus* and *Salampson*. *Antipater* by *Cypros* had a daughter that in like sort was called *Cypros*, which was married to *Alexas Selcius* the sonne of *Alexas*, of whom he begat a daughter called likewise *Cypros*. As for *Herod* and *Alexander*, who (as I said) were *Antipaters* brothers, they died without issue. *Alexander Herods* sonne, who was slaine by his father, begat *Alexander* and *Tigranes* on the daughter of *Archelaus* King of Cappadocia. *Tigranes* being King of Armenia died without issue, after hee had beene accused at Rome. *Alexander* had a sonne called *Tigranes*, after his brothers name, who was sent by *Nero* to raigne in Armenia, who had a sonne called *Alexander*, who married *Iotape* the daughter of *Antiochus* King of Comagena. This *Alexander* by *Vespasian* was elected King in Lesis a City of Cilicia. As soone as *Alexanders* posterity began to multiply, they fell from their countrey religion, to follow the customes of the Greekes. All the rest of King *Herods* daughters died without issue. Hauing after this manner reckoned vp *Herods* posterity, which continued vntill such time as *Agrippa* the Great began to raigne; it remaineth at this time to declare what aduentures befell this *Agrippa*, and how he escaping his dangers, obtained at last so great power and dignity.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 12. Alias, chap. 15 Agrippa from obscurity obtained great dignity and power.

CHAP. VIII.

AGRIPPAS *voyage to* TIBERIVS, *where he is accused and shut in prison, and is deliuered after* TIBERIVS *death, by* CAIVS *his successor.*

Agrippa liuing at Rome, through his lauish liberality groweth into necessity.

SOME little time before the death of King *Herod*, *Agrippa* conuersing at Rome, grew into great familiarity and acquaintance with *Drusus*, *Tiberius* the Emperours sonne, and was beloued by *Antonia* the wife of *Drusus* the elder; by the meanes of his mother *Berenice*, whom *Antonia* held in great estimation, and to whom shee had recommended her sonne. And whereas by nature he was of a liberall and high spirit, as long as his mother liued, hee would not discouer his intent, lest he should prouoke her displeasure against him. But incontinently after *Berenice* was dead, and hee became Lord of himselfe, partly by his daily and bountifull entertainment and liuing, partly by his immoderate liberalities, but especially by his lauish prodigality towards *Cæsars* freemen, whose fauour hee hunted after, hee was brought into extreme pouerty, and could no more liue at Rome; the rather for that *Tiberius* hauing lost his sonne, forbad his friends to come into his sight, for feare lest their presence should refresh and encrease the sorrow hee conceiued for the losse of his sonne. For these causes hee returned backe into Iudæa, hauing but badly ordered his estate, spent his money, and left himselfe no meanes to satisfie his importunate and many creditours. For which cause incertaine how to dispose himselfe, and ashamed of his present estate, he withdrew himselfe into a Castle called Malatha in Idumæa, bethinking himselfe after some sort to cut off his miserable dayes. Which purpose of his, when *Cypros* his wife perceiued, shee endeauoured by all meanes to preuent his resolution: shee wrote also to his sister *Herodias*, who was married to *Herod* the Tetrarch, certifying her both what *Agrippa* had decreed, as also by what necessity he was enforced thereunto: and shee exhorted her, that in regard of affinity shee would assist him, and imitate her in this, who, as much as in her lay, relieued his misery, although her fortunes were farre weaker then hers. Being therefore sent for by his sister and wife, hee was commanded to dwell in Tiberias, and had a certaine summe of money assigned him for his maintenance, and for his greater honour was appointed Magistrate of that City. Yet did not *Herod* continue long time in that minde, although by the meanes he had giuen him, hee had not satisfied his kinsmans necessities. For being in the City of Tyre in a certaine company, where hee dranke immoderately, *Agrippa* esteemed it for an extreme iniury, that *Herod* had vpbraided him with his pouerty, and hit him in the teeth that hee maintained him at his charge. For which cause he withdrew himselfe to *Flaccus*, who had sometimes beene Consul

Agrippa bethinketh himselfe how hee might shorten his miserable life.

Cypros Agrippas wife certifieth Herodias his sister of his pouerty, and requireth her assistance.

Agrippa dwelleth at Tiberias.

Herod tanteth Agrippa with his pouerty.

A ſul at Rome, and for the preſent was Preſident of Syria, with whom at Rome he had fallen into familiarity, who entertained by him liued with him, who long before that time had entertained *Ariſtobulus*; who though *Agrippas* brother, yet was he his enemy; yet notwithſtanding this diſſenſion between them, *Flaccus* entertained them both with equall fauour. But *Ariſtobulus* remitted nothing of his hatred hee bare his brother, neither euer reſted hee before he had drawn *Flaccus* into diſlike with his brother, vpon this occaſion: The inhabitants of Damaſco, contending with the Sidonians about their demaines, and being to debate their cauſe before *Flaccus*; knowing what intereſt *Agrippa* had in him, they beſought him that he would further their cauſe, promiſing him a great ſumme of money: whereupon he addreſſed himſelfe in what he could to further thoſe of Damaſco. But *Ariſtobulus*, who had an inkling of this concluſion and promiſe, accuſed his brother to *Flaccus*: and after inquiſition was made, and hee found guilty of the fact, *Agrippa* grew out of the Preſidents fauour, and falling againe into extreme pouerty, he came to Ptolemais; and for that he had no meaus of maintenance, he determined to ſaile into Italy. And for that he wanted money, he commanded *Marſyas* his free-man, that by all means whatſoeuer, he ſhould ſeek to take vp money vpon intereſt. He ſpake vnto *Protus* (who was *Agrippas* mothers free-man, who by the teſtament of his deceaſed Miſtris was left vnto *Antonias* protection) that vpon his Maſters bill and promiſe, he would lend him ſome money. But hee alleaging that *Agrippa* before that time ought him money, extorted from *Marſyas* a bill of his hand, for twenty thouſand Attique drachmes, deducting out of that ſum two thouſand and fiue hundreth, which *Marſyas* took for himſelfe: which he might the more eaſily do, for that *Agrippa* could not otherwiſe chuſe. Hauing therefore receiued this money, hee went to Anthedon, where getting ſhipping he prepared himſelfe for the iourney.

The yeere of the world, 4001. after Chriſts birth, 39.

Agrippa retireth himſelfe to Flaccus.

Ariſtobulus draweth Agrippa into Flaccus diſfauour.

Agrippa by Marſyas means borroweth mony of Protus.

But when *Herennius Capito*, who was treaſurer of Iamnia, vnderſtood of his being there, hee ſent his ſouldiers vnto him, to exact three hundreth thouſand ſiluer drachmes at his hands, for which he ſtood indebted to *Cæſars* Treaſurer during his being at Rome, by which means he was enforced to ſtay. Whereupon he made a ſhew that he would obey their demand; but as ſoone as it was night, hee cauſed the cables of the ſhip to be cut, and caſt off, and ſailed to Alexandria: there requeſted he *Alexãder Alabarcha* to lend him two hundreth thouſand drachmes in ſiluer. But he proteſted that he would truſt him with nothing. But admiring *Cypros* his wiues conſtant B loue towards her husband, and her many other vertues, he vpon her promiſe accorded to doe him kindneſſe: whereupon in preſent money hee payed him fiue talents in Alexandria, and promiſed to deliuer him the reſt of the money at Puteol, fearing *Agrippas* vnthriftineſſe. Thus *Cypros* hauing furniſhed her husband for his iourney into Italy, returned her ſelfe and her children into Iudæa by land. But *Agrippa*, as ſoone as he arriued at Puteol, wrote vnto *Tiberius Cæſar*, who liued at Capreas, ſignifying vnto him that hee came to doe his duty, beſeeching him that hee would grant him free and fauourable acceſſe. *Tiberius* with all expedition returned him a very kinde anſwere, certifying him that he would be very glad to ſee him ſafely arriued in Capreas. In a word, as ſoone as hee was arriued, *Cæſar* expreſſed and made it knowne, that his affection was anſwerable to his letters, and both embraced him and lodged him. The next day *Cæſar* receiued letters from *Herennius Capito*, who aduertized him that *Agrippa* ought three hundreth thouſand drachmes of ſiluer, which he borrowed and paid not at the time prefixed, and that at ſuch time as the appointed time of payment was come, he was fled out of the countrey, & place of his procuration, and by this occaſion had depriued him of the meanes to conſtraine him to make ſatisfaction. When *Cæſar* had read the letters, he was ſore diſpleaſed, & commanded thoſe of his chamber, that they ſhould not admit *Agrippa* to his preſence, vntill ſuch time as hee had diſcharged that debt.

Agrippa whilſt Herenius Capito extorteth money at his hands, flieth to Alexandria by night.

Agrippa borroweth mony at Alexandria.

Agrippa arriueth at Puteol & is admitted to Cæſars preſence.

But he, nothing diſmaied at *Cæſars* diſpleaſure, required *Antonia*, *Germanicus* and *Claudius* mother, who was afterwards Emperour, to lend him the ſumme of three hundreth thouſand drachmes, to the end he might not loſe *Cæſars* friendſhip. Who remembring her *Berenice Agrippas* mother, and with what familiarity they had conuerſed together, and how *Agrippa* likewiſe had been brought vp with *Claudius* her ſonne, lent him that money: Whereupon he paying the debt, without any contradiction enioyed the Princes fauour, & was ſo reconciled to *Cæſar*, that he committed his nephew to *Agrippas* charge, commanding him to attend him alwaies, whitherſoeuer he went. Being by this benefit bound and tyed to *Antonia*, he began to reuerence her nephew *Caius*, who was gracious in all mens eyes, and honoured in memory of his parents. At that time by chance there was one *Allius* a Samaritane, *Cæſars* free-man, of whom hee borrowed ten hundreth thouſand drachmes of ſiluer, and paied *Antonia* her due, and kept the reſt the more

Agrippa borrowes 300000 ſiluer drachmes of Antonia, Germanicus and Claudius mother.

Caius commended to Agrippas charge.

Allius Cæſars free-man lendeth Agrippa money.

The yeere of the world, 4001. after Christs Natiuitie, 39.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 13 Eutychus Agrippa freeman bethinks him to accuse Agrippa to the Emperor.

honourably to attend and wait on *Caius*. By whom being entertained with moſt inward familiarity, it hapned one day that riding in the ſame Coach with him, *Agrippa* wiſht (for they two were alone) that *Tiberius* might ſhortly ſurrender the kingdom and Empire vnto *Caius*, who was each way more worthy then he. Theſe words of his were ouerheard by the Coachman called *Eutychus*, who was *Agrippas* freeman, who for that time ſpake not a word therof. But being afterwards accuſed for ſtealing *Agrippas* garment (as he indeed had done) and brought backe againe after he had fled away to *Piſo* (who was the Prefect of the city) he asked him why he fled: who anſwered, that he had certaine ſecrets which he deſired to reueale vnto *Cæſar*, that appertained to his profit and ſafety: for which cauſe he was ſent by him in bonds to Capreas. *Tiberius*, according to his dilatory manner, wherein no King or tyrant euer equalled him, held him priſoner. For neither did he preſently admit any Embaſſadours, neither ſent he ſucceſſors to thoſe, who were gouernours, and Prefects of his prouinces, when the former were dead; and no leſſe negligent was he in yeelding audience to his priſoners. But when his friends at any time queſtioned with him, why he vſed theſe accuſtomed delayes; he anſwered them, that he deferred the embaſſadors after that ſort, for feare leſt if he ſhould ſpeedily diſpatch them, they ſhould inſtantly returne with new, whereby it ſhould come to paſſe, that hee ſhould be continually troubled in entertaining and diſmiſſing them.

For what cauſe Tiberius changed not his gouernors

And as touching his offices, he left them in their hands, to whom he had committed them, in regard of his ſubiects welfare. For naturally all magiſtracy is ſubiect to auarice: but in eſpeciall ſtrangers induce thoſe, who exerciſe the ſame to gather, and ingroſſe the more inſtantly, when as the time of their authority is ſhort and of ſmall aſſurance; whereas if they ſhould continue in the ſame for a long time, in regard of the gaine they had made, and the much profits they had raiſed, they would be afterwards leſſe greedy to extort further. Now if he ſhould ſend others to ſucceed them on a ſudden, it were impoſſible for him to content them, notwithſtanding their many bribes: whereas in giuing them time to fill their purſes, when they had gotten well, they would abate the furious deſire of lucre which they affected before. And to this purpoſe he told them an example of a poore man that was a Lazar, to whoſe wounds a great number of flies aſſembled themſelues, and couered the ſame: at ſight wherof ſome by fortune arriuing there, and hauing compaſſion of his miſery, and ſuppoſing that the cauſe why he repulſed them not, proceeded from his diſability, approched neere to help him: but he required them to let him alone. Whereupon they demanding the cauſe wherfore he that was hurt refuſed to be diliuered from ſo irkſome an euill, he anſwered them, for that they ſhould do him more wrong, if thoſe flies were driuen away; for that being already full of blood, they prick me not (ſaid he) neither ſuck me ſo earneſtly, but giue me ſome eaſe; whereas if new ſhould alight on my wound which were hungry, and ſhould ſeize my fleſh in that deſperate eſtate that I am, they would procure my death. For theſe cauſes he ſaid; that ſeeing his ſubiects already conſumed by ſo many exactions, he thought it a good policy in him, and a better prouiſion for them, not to ſend them new gouernours continually, who might after the manner of flies ſucke them to the quick, eſpecially if to their innated couetouſnes hee ſhould annex the feare of their ſudden diſplacing. Now to approue that to be true which I haue declared of *Tiberius* diſpoſition, this action of his may ſuffice to iuſtifie me. For hauing beene Emperour for the ſpace of twenty two yeeres, all thoſe gouernours which he ſent into Iury were two, namely *Gratus* and *Pilate* his ſucceſſor; neither demeaned he himſelfe otherwiſe towards the reſt of his ſubiects of the Empire.

Why Cæſar would not giue audience to his priſoner.

Agrippa ſolliciteth Antonia to bring Eutychus to his anſwere.

Antonia very much honoured by Tiberius.

Antonia diſcouereth Seianus conſpiracy to Cæſar.

And as touching his priſoners, the reaſon why hee delayed ſo much to giue them audience, was, to the end that they who had been condemned to death, ſhould not ſpeedily be deliuered from thoſe torments, wherewith he threatned them, and which they had deſerued by their wickednes. For whilſt he kept them in that paine, their miſ-hap increaſed the more. For this cauſe *Eutychus* could not obtaine audience at his hands, but was long time detained priſoner. Afterwards in proceſſe of time, *Tiberius* tranſported himſelfe from Capreas to Tuſculanum, which was diſtant from Rome ſome hundreth furlongs. There did *Agrippa* ſollicite *Antonia*, to cauſe *Eutychus* to be called to his anſwer, as touching the accuſation which he pretended againſt him. Now *Antonia* was in great fauour with *Tiberius*, both in regard of the affinity that was between them (in that ſhe was *Druſus* wife, who was *Tiberius* brother) as in reſpect of her modeſty. For ſhe being young continued in her widowhood, and would not marry with any other, notwithſtanding *Auguſtus* importuned her to wed; but liued alwaies in honour without blame. Beſides that, ſhee had done *Tiberius* a great pleaſure: for at ſuch time as *Seianus* his friend, and a man in great account in thoſe daies (by reaſon he had the gouernment of the army) practiſed a conſpiracy

racy against him, whereunto diuers of the Senate, and of his freemen, and his men of warre likewise were accessary: yet brought she all their intents to nothing. This attempt had taken a great head, and *Seianus* had finished his purpose, had not *Antonia* vsed more aduised courage, then *Seianus* did in executing his treason. For hauing discouered the danger that threatned *Tiberius*, she wrote and sent her expresse letters by *Pallas* one of her rrusty seruants vnto him to *Capreas*, certifying him in particular the whole processe of the conspiracy. *Cæsar* hauing true vnderstanding thereof, caused *Seianus* and his confederats to be executed. Although therefore that before that time he honored *Antonia* greatly, yet did hee afterwards honour her farre more, in such sort as he trusted her in al things. When as therfore she entreated him to giue *Eutychus* audience: *Tiberius* answered, If, said he, *Eutychus* hath falsely obiected any thing against *Agrippa*, it sufficeth that he endure that punishment which I haue enioyned him. But if in the torture hee maintaine that which he hath spoken to be true, it is to be feared lest *Agrippa* intending to punish his freeman, do rather heap the punishment vpon his owne head. When *Antonia* had reported this answere of his to *Agrippa*, hee did the more instantly sollicite her, requiring her that the matter might be brought to tryall. And for that *Agrippa* ceased not to importune her, *Antonia* took the occasion, which was this: *Tiberius* being after dinner time carryed in his litter, and hauing *Caius* and *Agrippa* before him, she walking foot by foot by the litter, besought him to call *Eutychus* to his tryall: whereunto he replyed: The gods (said he) know, that that which I do, I do it not of mine own wil, but for the necessity I am pressed with vpon your request: & hauing spoken thus, he commanded *Macron Seianus* successour to bring *Eutychus* before him: which was performed with al expedition? Whereupon *Tiberius* asked him what he had to say against him, who had enfranchised him? My soueraigne (said he) *Caius* that is here present, and *Agrippa* rode one day together in the same Coach, and I sate at their feet. After diuers discourses held between them, *Agrippa* began to speake after this manner vnto *Caius*; O, said he, would God the day were come wherein the old man departing out of this world, would make you gouernour thereof. For his son *Tiberius* would be no hindrance vnto you, for him might you make away. Then should the world be happy, and I likewise haue my share in the felicity. *Tiberius* esteeming this his accusation to be true, and hauing of long time conceiued a grudge against *Agrippa*, for that notwithstanding he had commanded him to honor *Tiberius*, who was his nephew, & *Drusus* son; *Agrippa* had giuen small regard to his commandement, and had not honored him, but was wholly addicted vnto *Caius*. For which cause said he to *Macron*, bind me this fellow. He scarcely vnderstanding that which hee spake, and no waies suspecting that he should giue that commandement in respect of *Agrippa*, deferred the performance vntil such time as hee might more exactly vnderstand his mind. When as therefore *Cæsar* turned into the Hippodrome, and by chance met with *Agrippa* in the teeth: This is he (said he) *Macron*, whom I haue commanded to be bound, & demanding of him once more by whom he spake: It is *Agrippa*, said he. Then had *Agrippa* recourse to submissiue and humble prayers, refreshing the memory of his sonne with whom he had been brought vp, & alledging the education he had vsed towards his nephew *Tiberius*: but he preuailed nothing, but was led away bound in those purple ornaments which he then wore.

The yeere of the world, 4001. after christs birth, 39.

Agrippa vrgeth Eutychus triall, and for certaine speeches of his is cast into bonds.

At that time it was very hot weather, and being in distresse of wine, he was extremely thirsty and distressed, yea more then became one of his quality. Whereupon espying *Thaumastus* one of *Caius* seruants, who carried water in a pitcher; he required him to giue him drink: which when he had willingly bestowed on him, he dranke, and afterwards said vnto him, This seruice thou hast done me in giuing me drink, shall do thee good one day. For as soone as I shall escape out of these bonds, it shall not be long before I obtaine thy liberty at *Caius* hands, for that thou hast not neglected to doe mee seruice in this my imprisonment, as thou hast beforetime done mee whilest I was in my prosperity and dignity: Neither deceiued hee the mans expectation of his promise, but rewarded and gratified him. For afterwards, when he had obtaind the Kingdom, he begged *Thaumastus* liberty at *Caius* hands, and made him superintendent of his affaires, and after his decease he gaue order that he should serue in the same place, with his sonne *Agrippa* and his daughter *Berenice*; so that he died very old, and much honored. But this happened afterward. But at that time *Agrippa* stood before the place bound with other companions, who were likewise in bonds: and through the griefe he conceiued, he leaned against a certaine tree, on which there sate an Owle. One of those prisoners, who was by nation a German, beholding that bird, asked the soldier that was fettred with him, who he was that was apparelled in purple: and vnderstanding that his name was *Agrippa*, and that he was a Iew, and one of the nobility of that nation, he required the souldier, who to the end to guard him was chained with him, to suffer him to draw

Thaumastus Caius seruant giueth Agrippa drinke, whom he promiseth to procure his freedome.

The yeere of the world, 4001. after Christs birth, 39.

draw neer vnto *Agrippa*, and to haue a little conference with him, for that he had a great desire to aske him of certain things concerning the customes of his country. Which when he had obtained, and hauing got neer him, he certified him by an interpreter of that which followeth: Yong man (said he) the sudden change that hath befallen thee at this present, afflicteth and oppresseth thee with great and grieuous torment, neither wilt thou easily beleeue that thou shalt
» escape from thy misery: yet so doth the diuine prouidence dispose all things, that thou shalt
» shortly be deliuered. Know therfore, and I sweare vnto thee by the gods both those of mine an-
» cestors, and those also, who haue residence and presidence in this place, and who haue procured vs this iron chaine, that I will tell thee all, not to yeeld thee pleasure by my vaine discourse, or to entertaine thee with fruitlesse consolation; knowing well that when these predictions shall happen to faile, they will breed thee more sorrow, then if thou hadst neuer heard of them. But I haue thought it good, yea although it were with mine owne danger, to declare vnto thee the predictions of the gods. It cannot otherwise be, but that shortly thou shalt bee deliuered from these bonds, and shalt be aduanced to great honour and power; so that those, who at this day
» haue compassion of thy calamity, shall beare enuy to thy glory, and thou shalt depart this life in
» great felicity, & shalt leaue thy children mighty possessions. But beare this in thy remembrance,
» that when thou shalt see this bird once more, thou must needly die within fiue daies after. These
» are those things which the gods thinke meet to foretell thee by this bird. As for my selfe, I haue
» supposed that I should do thee wrong, if I should conceale this prediction from thee, hauing the
» foreknowledge therof. I haue therfore thought good to impart this ioy vnto thee, whereby tho-
» row hope of thy future profit, thou maiest more easily endure thy present misfortune: for which
» cause I beseech thee, that as soon as thou shalt be partaker of this thy felicity, thou wilt endeuor
» thy selfe to deliuer vs also from these aduersities.

A certaine German foretelleth Agrippa of his happy fortunes to come, and the manner of his death.

This presage of the German seemed so ridiculous to *Agrippa*, as it afterwards deserued most mighty admiration. But *Antonia* being sore grieued at the yong mans calamity, thought it not onely a difficult matter for her to entreat *Tiberius* for him, but altogether vnprofitable in regard she should be repulsed: yet wrought she so much with *Macron*, that hee was committed to the custody of such souldiers, who were of more reconciled behauiour, and had a Centurion appointed to keep him, that suffered him to vse his daily bathings, and gaue his friends and seruants leaue to visit him, by whose seruice and kindnesse his necessities might bee relieued. His friend *Silas* also was admitted to speake with him, and amongst his free-men *Marsyas* and *Stichus*, who brought him in such meates as hee was delighted withall, and couerings vnder colour to sell them: which by the permission of the souldiers, who had no lesse direction from *Macron*, they spred by night for him to take his rest vpon. See here the estate wherein *Agrippa* liued in prison for the space of six moneths. But *Tiberius* being returned to Capreas, beganne at first to be attainted with a certaine lingring disease, and for that his sickenesse increased more and more, hee began to conceiue a sinister hope of himselfe, and commanded *Euodus*, whom hee most honoured amongst all his free-men, to bring him his sonnes, because hee intended to talke with them before he died. But the sooth is, that he had not any children of his own, but had adopted them. For *Drusus*, who was his only childe, was already dead, and had left behinde him a sonne called *Tiberius*, surnamed *Gemellus*. Hee had *Caius* also, his brother *Germanicus* sonne, who was in the flower of his age, and had trauailed very diligently in good disciplines. To him also the people ascribed very much, in remembrance of the vertues of his deceased father; and as touching himselfe, he was of a sweet conuersation, and so modest, that he was familiar and conuersant with all men. Whereby it came to passe, that not onely the people, but the Senate also held him in great estimation, as also all the subiects in euery seuerall Prouince. For they that spake with him, were drawne partly by his affability, partly by the fidelity they saw in him: so that when he was dead, all of them mourned, not counterfeitly lamenting his losse, but with vnfained sorrow; for that there was not any one that supposed not his death to be euery mans particular losse. He therfore demeaned himselfe so modestly towards all men, that his sonne after his death was highly aduanced thereby. For among the rest the men of warre made their reckoning, that although it should cost them their liues to get him the Empire, they would not refuse the hazard.

Agrippa liued six moneths in prison.

Tiberius falleth sick, and sendeth for his sonnes.

Tiberius Gemellus the son of Drusus.

Caius the gracious, Germanicus son.

Tiberius by an Augury vnderstãdeth Caius succesſe and succession before his death.

After that *Tiberius* had charged *Euodus* to bring him the two young men the next morrow by breake of day, he besought the gods of that place to giue him an euident signe whereby hee might know who should succeed him: For although he desired to leaue the Empire to his sons son; yet made he more account of that which God should make manifest vnto him. He therefore

A fore conceiued a preſage, that he, who the next day ſhould enter firſt to ſalute him, it ſhould be he, who in the Empire ſhould neceſſarily ſucceed him. And hauing ſettled this thing in his fantaſie, he ſent vnto his little ſonnes Maſter, charging him to bring him vnto him by breake of day, ſuppoſing that God had ordained that the Empire ſhould be his: but the matter fell out quite contrary to his expectation. For being in this thought, hee commanded *Euodus*, that as ſoone as he might, and as ſoone as the day ſhould ariſe, hee ſhould ſuffer him of the two young Princes to enter in vnto him, who ſhould arriue the firſt. Hee walking out, met with *Caius* before the chamber doore (for *Tiberius* was not there, who being ignorant of that which his grandfather thought, was buſie about his breakefaſt) and ſaid vnto him, that the Emperour his father B called for him, and withall ſuffered him to enter. When *Tiberius* beheld *Caius*, he ſuddenly began to conſider vpon the power of God, who depriued him of the meanes to diſpoſe of the Empire, according as he had determined with himſelfe, for that it lay not in his power: and hee lamented greatly, not ſo much for that he ſaw his deliberation could not be brought to effect, as for that his ſonne *Tiberius* was diſtated of the Romane Empire; and beſides that, was in danger of his life. For he made reckoning that they, who were more ſtronger then he, would not ſuffer him to conuerſe among them, and that allſance could not aſſure him his life: for ſometimes for feare, and otherwhiles for hatred, ſome one would accuſe him, that he went about and buſily ſought to ſeize the Empire; or that hee had complotted ſome ſtratagem, leſt hee ſhould loſe the Empire with his life. In a word, *Tiberius* was very much addicted to Aſtrologicall predictions C and natiuities; ſo that the greater part of thoſe things which he executed in all his life-time, was ordered thereby.

The yeere of the world, 4001. after Chriſts Natiuitie, 39.

Tiberius addicted to the Mathematicks.

He ſeeing *Galba* one day comming towards him, ſpake this of him to certaine of his familiars: Behold the man that ſhall be one day honoured with the Romane Empire. And amongſt all the Emperors, he gaue greateſt credit to diuination, for that in certaine things he had found the coniectures correſpondent to truth. But at that time he was grieuouſly diſquieted, by reaſon of the misfortune that had hapned; yea he was in ſuch ſort grieued, as if his grandchild had bin already loſt, and he blamed himſelfe for that he had ſought theſe preſages: for that he might haue dyed without falling into that diſaſter, in being ignorant of that which was to come: whereas now he ſhould die in the knowledge of their mis-haps whom he loued moſt intirely. Being thus trou- D bled to ſee that the ſoueraigntie of the Empire ſhould contrary to his intention fall into their hands, who by his will ſhould not enioy the ſame; although it were with hearts griefe and contrary to his will, yet ſpake he to *Caius* after this manner which enſueth: My ſonne, although *Tiberius* be more neerely allied vnto me then you are; yet notwithſtanding both by mine owne aduice, as alſo by the will of the immortall Gods, I commit vnto your hands the Empire of the Romanes. I require you therefore that when you ſhall enioy the ſame, you forget not the good will I haue borne towards you, who haue eſtabliſhed you in ſo high and worthy a dignity; and charge you likewiſe that you forget not your Couſin *Tiberius*; but knowing that by the will of the gods I am he, who after them am the author of ſo many goods, which haue befalne you, you returne me the like good will and affection: and that you likewiſe take care of *Tiberius*, by rea- E ſon of your mutuall alliance: for you ought to know that *Tiberius* ſerueth you for a bulwarke to maintaine your Empire, and your owne life; and if he die, it will be the beginning of your mis-hap. For it is a perilous matter for thoſe, who are raiſed to high dignities, to be ſole and without allies. Furthermore, the gods doe neuer leaue them vnpuniſhed, who attempt or act any thing againſt the lawes of conſanguinitie. Theſe were the laſt words which *Tiberius* ſpake to *Caius*, who promiſed him to performe all that which he required, notwithſtanding he meant nothing leſſe. For incontinently after he was inſtalled in the Empire, he cauſed *Tiberius* to be made away, bethinking him of thoſe diuinations: as alſo the ſame *Caius* dyed anon after by a conſpiracy that was practiſed againſt him. When that *Tiberius* had declared *Caius* his ſucceſſour in the Empire, he liued not many dayes after, and dyed after he had gouerned twentie two yeeres, F fiue moneths, and three daies. Thus *Caius* was the fourth Emperour.

He foretelleth Galbas ſucceſſion in the Empire.

Tiberius recommendeth the Romane Empire, and Tiberius his grand-childe to Caius.

" " " " " " " "

Caius killeth Tiberius.

The Romanes hauing intelligence of *Tiberius* death, greatly reioyced at the good newes: yet durſt they not aſſure themſelues: and though of long time they would haue willingly redeemed the truth of theſe reports with a good ſumme of money; yet feared they leſt the newes ſhould be falſe, and leſt if they ſhewed themſelues too diligent in expreſſing their ſignes of ioy, they ſhould afterwards be accuſed for it, and loſe their liues thereby. For only *Tiberius* had done much miſchiefe to the noble families in Rome, being of himſelfe a man cholericke, implacable towards all men without any occaſion, hauing a naturall inclination ſo cruell, that the eaſieſt paine where-

Caius Caligula the fourth Romane Emperour.

Tiberius a tyrant.

whereunto he adiudged thoſe whom he condemned, was death: notwithſtanding therefore that each man tooke pleaſure to heare the newes, yet did each one conceale it, vntill ſuch time as they might bee more fully aſſured, through the feare of thoſe miſeries they foreſaw, if the matter ſhould fall out otherwaies. But *Marſyas Agrippas* freeman, hauing certaine notice of *Tiberius* death, ranne ſpeedily to comfort his Maſter *Agrippa*, with theſe good newes, and meeting with him as he came out of the Bath, he made a ſigne vnto him, and told him, in the Hebrew tongue, the Lyon was dead. *Agrippa* conceiuing that which he meant, was rauiſhed with ioy, and ſaid vnto him: I will requite thee for all thoſe benefits I haue receiued at thy hands, and eſpecially for this good newes, prouided that it prooue true. The Centurion, who had the keeping of *Agrippa*, conſidering what expedition *Marſyas* had vſed in running, and the pleaſure that *Agrippa* had conceiued in his report, he began to ſuſpect ſome alteration, and asked them what had hapned: and whereas they delayed to giue him an anſwer, he importuned him the more. Whereupon *Agrippa* told him plainely what he had heard, in that he had growne already into inward familiarity with him. The Centurion reioyced at his newes, as well as *Agrippa*, hoping to ſpeed the better thereby, and made *Agrippa* good cheere: but whileſt they were in the midſt of their banquetting, and drunke freely; there came one vnto them, who told them that *Tiberius* was aliue, and that within few daies he would come to Rome. The Centurion troubled with this newes, for that hee had committed a capitall crime in eating in the company of a priſoner, vpon the newes of *Cæſars* death, and by reioycing with him, he draue *Agrippa* out of the place where hee ſate, and reproachfully ſaid vnto him: Thinkeſt thou (ſaid he) that I know not how falſely thou ſpreadeſt rumor of *Cæſars* death? yes, be aſſured thou ſhalt anſwer thy lie with the loſſe of thy head. This ſaid, he cauſed *Agrippa* to be bound, whom before-time he had ſuffered to goe at libertie; and ſhut him vp in more cloſe priſon, then he had beene before: ſo that *Agrippa* was all that night long in this extreme miſery. The next day the rumour was ſpred thorow the whole Citie, that confirmed *Tiberius* death, and at that time euery one boldly proteſted it. There were ſome alſo, who offered ſacrifices for this cauſe, and there came letters alſo from *Caius*, which were addreſſed to the Senate, by which he certified them that *Tiberius* was dead, and how the Empire was committed to his hands. He wrote another alſo to *Piſo*, who had the guard of the Citie, containing the like report: and beſides that commanding him to transferre *Agrippa* from the company of thoſe ſouldiers, by whom he was kept, to the ſame place where he was lodged before; ſo that from that time forwards, he waxed confident. For although he was as yet a priſoner, yet liued he at his owne diſcretion. *Caius* arriuing in Rome, brought with him *Tiberius* body, which he burned moſt magnificently, according to the cuſtome of the countrey. And although he were very willing to deliuer *Agrippa* the ſame day; yet was he diſſwaded from the ſame by *Antonia*, not for any ill will ſhee bare the priſoner, but in regard of *Caius* honour, leſt thereby he ſhould ſhew himſelfe to be glad of *Tiberius* death, in ſetting him at libertie ſo ſpeedily, whom he had committed to priſon. When as therefore ſome few daies were ouer-paſt, he ſent for him to his houſe, and cauſed him to be powld, and his garments changed, and that done, he ſet a Diadem vpon his head, and made him King of *Philips* Tetrarchy, to which he annexed *Lyſanias* Tetrarchy, and changed his chaine of yron, into a chaine of gold of the ſame weight, and ſent *Marullus* into Iudæa to gouerne there. The ſecond yeere of *Caius* raigne, *Agrippa* asked licence to repaire into Iudæa, to the intent he might diſpoſe of his kingdome, purpoſing to returne againe at ſuch time as he had diſpatched thoſe affaires. Which when the Emperour had granted him, he came into Iudæa, and was ſeene and ſaluted for a King beyond all mens expectation, ſeruing thereby for a moſt notable example vnto men, to expreſſe vnto them how great the power of deſtiny is in humane affaires, conſidering the poore eſtate wherein he had beene before, and the happineſſe which he enioyed at that time. Some tearmed him happy, in that he reſolutely followed his hopes, otherſome could ſcarcely beleeue that he was in this ſort aduanced.

The yeere of the world, 4001. after Chriſts Natiuitie, 39.

Marſyas A. grippas freeman certifieth him of Tiberius death.

The rumor was ſpred in Rome that Tiberius was aliue.

Caius certifieth the Senate and Piſo of Tiberius death and his ſucceſſion, and willeth that Agrippa ſhould be ſent to his owne lodging.

Tiberius funerall.

Caius createth Agrippa King, and giueth him two Tetrarchies. Agrippa departeth into his kingdome.

The yeere of the world, 4002. after Chriſts birth, 40.

CHAP. IX.

HEROD *the Tetrarch baniſhed.*

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 14. al. chap. 16.

Herodias Agrippas ſiſter enuyeth her brothers happineſſe, and inciteth her husband to ſeeke a kingdome.

HErodias *Agrippas* ſiſter was married to *Herod* the Tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa. Shee enuied her brother to ſee him raiſed to ſo great authoritie, and to farre greater dignitie then her husband enioyed. For which cauſe ſhee was diſpleaſed, that her brother, who fled out of his countrey in that he wanted meanes to pay his debts, was returned in great honour and

A and with greater ſubſtance. This charge endured ſhe with great hearts griefe, eſpecially, at ſuch time as ſhe ſaw him apparelled like a King, and inuironed with a great multitude of people, and impoſſible was it for her to hide the bitternes of her griefe; for which cauſe ſhe incited her husband and perſwaded him to make a voyage to Rome, & to purchaſe as much as he poſſeſſed. For ſaid ſhe, I cannot endure to liue, if *Agrippa Ariſtobulus* ſon condemned to death by the ſentence of his own father (ſo poore & indigent, that to redreſſe his neceſſities wherwith he was daily preſſed by his creditors, he was cõſtrained at laſt to flie to Rome) ſhould return with ſuch titles of a king, & that her husband who was a kings ſon, & was called to the kingdom by his father, ſhould liue obſcure, and paſſe his life like a priuate man: Husband (ſaid ſhe) if heretofore it hath bin no prejudice to thee to liue in leſſe dignity, then erſt thy father hath done; now at leaſtwiſe deſire that due honour which belongeth to thy family: neither thinke it to be ſufferable to ſubſcribe to him ineſtimatiõ, who in times paſt hath bin maintained by thy bounty. Neither ſuffer it to be thoght (through thine owne ſlouth) that he in his neceſſitie had better meanes and induſtry to obtaine an ample fortune, then you amidſt your mightie abundance; as if it redounded not to thy ſhame to be thought inferior to him at this time, who not long ſince, except by thy mercy, had no meanes to liue. Let vs therefore haſtily repaire vnto Rome, and neither ſpare gold, ſiluer, or any other expence, for that it auaileth vs not ſo much to keep the ſame, as to imploy the ſame in the purchaſe of a kingdome. But *Herod* diſſwaded her as much as he might, for that he contented himſelfe to liue in quiet, and ſuſpected the confuſion that was at Rome, which he endeuoured as much as in him lay, to lay open to *Herodias*. But the more negligent ſhe ſaw him, the more inſtantly incited ſhe him to ſeeke out the kingdome, and neuer gaue ſhe him ouer, vntill ſhe had conformed him to her deſire: Whereunto he the rather liſtned, in that ſhe might not be drawne from her reſolution. Hauing therefore furniſhed himſelfe after the moſt magnificent manner, and ſpared no coſt, he repaired to Rome, and led *Herodias* his wife with him. *Agrippa* ſmelling their intent and the preparation they made, made his prouiſion likewiſe. And hauing notice that they were put to ſea, he ſent *Fortunatus* one of his freemen to Rome, with Preſents to the Emperour, and certaine letters againſt *Herod*, with commiſſion to certifie *Caius* of euery particular, according as the occaſion ſhould ſerue. He embarking himſelfe after *Herod*, had a happy paſſage, and was onely preuented by him, but for the ſpace that *Herod* preſented himſelfe to *Caius*: for he incontinently followed him, and deliuered his letters. For they arriued at one time at Puteol, and found *Caius* at Baia, a village of Campania, diſtant from Puteol ſome fiue ſtades, inriched with moſt royall and ſumptuous palaces, for that euery Emperor enforced himſelfe to exceed the honor of his predeceſſour, by reaſon of the hot baths that naturally iſſued out of the earth, ſeruing both for the health of the body, and recreation of the ſpirits. Whilſt *Caius* talked with *Herod* in that he viſited him firſt, he receiued *Agrippas* letters, containing *Herods* accuſations, for they accuſed him of a conſpiracy made and complotted betwixt him and *Seianus*, ſince the beginning of *Tiberius* Empire: And how for the preſent he fauoured *Artabanus* King of the Parthians to the preiudice of the Emperour *Caius*: of this, the preparations *Herod* had ſtored vp in his Arcenals, gaue euident teſtimony, which were ſufficient to arme ſeuenty thouſand men of warre. *Caius* was ſore moued with theſe informations, and asked *Herod* if that which was informed him touching his warlike preparation, was true. He vnable to contradict the ſame in any thing, for feare he ſhould be conuicted of falſhood, auowed no leſſe. Whereupon *Caius* ſuppoſing the accuſation of his reuolt to be ſufficiently approued, depriued him of his Tetrarchy, and annexed it to *Agrippas* kingdom; beſtowing *Herods* ſubſtance alſo vpon him. He baniſhed him likewiſe for euer, and confined him in the Citie of Lions in France: and vnderſtanding that *Herodias* was *Agrippas* ſiſter, he gaue her all that which in right appertained vnto her. And ſuppoſing that ſhe would not willingly accompany her husband in that his calamitie, he told her that her brother ſhould be her warrant. But ſhee gaue him this reply: Mightie Emperour, you ſpeake magnificently, and as it well beſeemeth ſo great a Maieſtie, but there is a cauſe that hindreth me from partaking the benefit of that bountie, which you intend towards mee, which is the affection that I beare vnto my husband, whom if I ſhould forſake in this his miſery, it would very ill beſeeme mee, in that I haue bin a partner with him in his felicitie. *Caius* diſpleaſed with this her reſolute anſwer, baniſhed her likewiſe with her husband, and gaue the confiſcation of her eſtate alſo to *Agrippa*. God did after this manner puniſh *Herodias*, in regard of that enuy which ſhe had conceiued againſt her brother; and plagued *Herod*, in that he had ſo lightly liſtned to the fooliſh perſwaſions of a woman. But *Caius* gouerned the Empire, the firſt and ſecond yeere of his raigne, with moſt noble directions, behauing himſelfe graciouſly towards all men, whereby hee obtained the good liking of the Romanes,

The yeere of the world, 4002. after Chriſts birth, 40.

Herod with Herodias repaire to Rome.

Agrippa ſendeth Fortunatus with letters and preſents after him.

Baiæ are certaine baths in Campania not far from Puteol.

Herod is accuſed for fauouring Artabanus the Parthian.

Herod is perpetually baniſhed & confined in Lions in France, and Agrippa is made Lord of his lands and goods, and Herodias deſpiſing Cæſars bountie, accompanieth him in exile.

Caius at the firſt gouerned the Commonweale very happily, but afterwards vſurped diuine honours.

The yeare of the world, 4002. after Christs Nativitie, 40.

Romanes, and the fauour of his other ſubiects. But in proceſſe of time the greatneſſe of his eſtate made him ſurpaſſe the limits of humane condition, and challenge to himſelfe the title of diuinitie, whereby he gouerned all things in contempt of God.

CHAP. X.

The ſedition of the Iewes and Grecians in the Citie of Alexandria.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 15. al. chap. 17. Appion Prince of the Alexandrians Embaſſage, accuſeth the Iewes becauſe they aſcribed not diuinitie to Cæſar.

AND whereas there aroſe a ſedition betwixt the Iewes and Grecians, that inhabited Alexandria, three choſen Embaſſadours on either ſide were ſent vnto *Caius*. One of theſe Embaſſadours of Alexandria was *Appion*, who charged the Iewes with many outrages, and amongſt other things he alleadged that they made no reckoning of honouring *Cæſar*: And that whereas all other ſubiects of the Romane Empire had erected altars and temples in honour of *Caius*, & in all other things had receiued him as a God, the Iewes ſuppoſed it to be a diſhonor for them to honour his ſtatues, or ſweare by his name. After that *Appion* had vrged many things and inueyed grieuouſly againſt the Iewes, hoping that *Caius* would be prouoked againſt them, as in all likelihood and appearance it ſhould haue falne out, *Philo*, the chiefeſt among the Embaſſadors of the Iewes, a man of a famous memory, and brother to *Alexander Alabarcha*, being experienced in Philoſophy, enforced himſelfe to anſwer thoſe accuſations which were vrged againſt the Iewes. But *Caius* commanded him ſilence, and willed him inſtantly to withdraw himſelfe; and was ſo ſore diſpleaſed, that it appeared very manifeſtly, that he intended ſome hainous reuenge againſt them. Whereupon *Philo* departed after he had bin grieuouſly taunted, and ſpake thus vnto the Iewes that flocked about him, We muſt be of good courage, ſince *Caius* in words ſeemeth to be diſpleaſed with vs: for in effect he will arme God in our behalfe againſt himſelfe.

Philo Iudæus for the Iewes is ſhut out, & can get no audience, and committeth the cauſe to God.

CHAP. XI.

CAIVS *ſendeth* PETRONIVS *into Syria, to make warre againſt the Iewes, who ſhould refuſe his Statue.*

Alias, cap. 19. Cæſar ſendeth Petronius into Syria, and commandeth him in ſpite of the Iewes to plant his ſtatue in Gods Temple.

BVT *Caius*, being ſore diſpleaſed for that the Iewes onely deſpiſed his ordinances, ſent *Petronius* into Syria to ſucceed *Vitellius* in his roome, charging him with a ſtrong army to inuade Iudæa; and if they willingly admitted his ſtatue, that then he ſhould place it in the Temple of God; but if they denied the ſame, then, that ouercomming them by warre, he ſhould enforce them to condiſcend thereunto. As ſoone as *Petronius* came into Syria, he endeuoured himſelfe to ſatisfie *Cæſars* command: and hauing aſſembled as great an army as hee could poſſibly leuy, and leading forth with him two legions of Romane ſouldiers, he wintred at Ptolomais, intending vpō the firſt ſpring to inuade Iudæa. All which he ſignified to *Caius* by his letters: who commending him for his induſtry, aduiſed him to vſe all expedition therein, and to make warre againſt thoſe who ſhould diſobey his commandements. Meane-while diuers thouſands of the Iewes reſorted to *Petronius*, who ſoiourned at Ptolemais, beſeeching him not to conſtraine them to do that thing which was contrary to their lawes, or to tranſgreſſe the ordinances of their forefathers. For if (ſaid they) you haue wholly decreed to bring and erect this ſtatue in our Temple, firſt depriue vs of our liues: and afterwards doe that which ſhall ſeeme good in your eyes. For it

The Iewes repaire to Ptolomais, beſeeching him that he would not bring his ſtatue into the holy Citie.

» is impoſſible for vs, as long as our ſoules remaine within our bodies, to permit that which is for-
» bidden by our lawes, or to ſuffer ſuch impiety in regard of that honour, which we owe vnto our
» Lawmaker, and our predeceſſors, who haue ratified our lawes to the intent we ſhould increaſe in
» vertue. *Petronius* enraged at this their proteſtation, anſwered thus: If I were Emperour, and of
» mine owne minde enterprized this action, you had reaſon to vſe theſe kinds of inſinuations vnto
» me. But ſince *Cæſar* hath ſent me this Commiſſion, there is no contradiction, but that I muſt o-
» bey his decrees: For if you reſiſt the ſame, you ſhall endure a moſt ſeuere and rigorous puniſh-
» ment for your diſobedience and contumacy. Hereunto the Iewes anſwered: My Lord (ſaid they)
» ſince your pleaſure is ſuch, as you will not in any ſort tranſgreſſe the command and contents of
» *Cæſars* letters, neither will we any waies violate or infringe the preſcript of our law, vnder hope
» of the diuine aſſiſtance, and in imitation of the vertue of our anceſtors: For we are not ſo faint-
» hearted, that vnder hope of a vaine & vntimely deſire of life, we ſhould breake thoſe lawes which
» almighty God hath propoſed vnto vs, vnder the reward of eternall felicity: for which cauſe we
» will endure all fortunes whatſoeuer; ſo as our country law and religion may remaine inuiolate,

and

and we are ready to encounter any misfortune, vnder hope that God will assist vs, for whose honour we feare not to aduenture on any danger. This had we rather doe, then by obeying thee through cowardise, to incur perpetuall ignominy; and that which is more, Gods wrath in neglect of his lawes, whose authority, euen in thine owne iudgement, is more to bee regarded then *Caius* commission. *Petronius* coniecturing by these their answers, how hard a matter it was to estrange them from their opinion, and perceiuing he could not doe for *Caius* what he expected in the erection of his statue, without great bloudshed, whereby much murder and inconuenience might follow, he tooke certaine of his neerest and dearest friends with him, and posted to *Tiberias*, that he might more conueniently and circumspectly look into the Iewes actions. They, fearing some imminent danger through the wars they expected from the Romans, and greater mischiefe through the breach of their laws, assembled once more many thousands of them, and met with *Petronius* at *Tiberias*, beseeching him he would not inforce them to that necessitie, nor defile their sacred City with forbidden images. Whereunto *Petronius* answered: Therefore (said he) will you fight with *Cæsar*, without regard either of his ability or your own weakness? We will not fight (said they) but we will rather die then depart from our lawes. Whereupon prostrating themselues, and laying open their naked throats, they said they were ready to entertaine their deaths. In these tearmes continued they for the space of 40. dayes, neglecting their husbandry, whereas at that time it was the chiefest seed-time. For it was most resolutely concluded among them, rather to suffer death then to admit the statue. Whil'st the matter stood vpon these tearmes, *Aristobulus*, *Agrippas* brother, and *Elcias* surnamed the Great, accompanied with diuers of their houshold traine, and some of the chiefest among the Iewes, came vnto *Petronius*, beseeching him that hee would consider the obstinacie of the people: neither giue them occasion to draw them into desperate actions, but rather that hee would write vnto *Caius*, with what obstinacy the people refused the dedication of his image in the temple: and how giuing ouer the care of their husbandry, they prepared themselues for the warre, without any trust or confidence in their own strength, being rather addressed to die, then to suffer so great an indignity to be offred to their religion. Besides, how giuing ouer their tillage, there was nothing to be expected but robbery, whereas they should want meanes to pay their customes, by which meanes they hoped that *Cæsar* would bee moued to moderate his seuerity towards that nation, and not to giue them cause of rebellion: and that if hee might not be moued from the prosecution of the warre, that then he might go forward with his businesse. This was the effect of *Aristobulus* request.

The yeere of the world, 4002. after Christs birth, 40.

The Iewes meet Petronius at Tiberias, beseeching him not to violate the sacred city with his images.

Aristobulus, K. Agrippas brother, and Elcias, the high priest, intreat Petronius in the Iews behalfe.

But *Petronius*, partly in respect of their praiers who instantly vrged him, and the waightines of the action; partly in regard of the contentious purpose of the Iewes, supposing that it was a matter vnworthy a man to put so many thousands of men to death, to satisfy *Caius* vnbridled desire and insolence, and touched with the feare of God, and remorse of his owne conscience, he had rather to his owne danger informe the Emperour of the absurdity of the matter by his letters, being no waies ignorant of his wrathfull spirit and forwardnesse in reuenge, except his furious passion and expectation were answered. For this thought he; that although it altered not his resolution, but haply inforc't his displeasure against him, in that he speedily executed not his command; yet that it was the duty of a good man, no, not to refuse an assured death, if so bee he might saue so guiltlesse and huge a multitude. When as therefore he had assembled the Iewes together in Tiberias (when many thousands of them resorted thither) & disposed all those warlike forces that at that time gaue attendance on him round about him, he told the Iewes first of all, not his owne, but the Emperours intent, who would haue them shortly taste his displeasure, and inforce them to beare the burden of his indignation, who were so bold as to contradict him. For himselfe, that it necessarily concerned him, that since by the Emperours fauour he had receiued so great honour, hee should not commit any thing contrary to his command. I hold it (said he) a matter most iust to imploy my life & honor for you, to the end that so huge a number of men should not be drawne into danger of death: and I will respect the excellency of the laws of your fathers, for which you thinke you ought to entertaine war and danger: neither is it lawfull to suffer the temple of God to be defil'd by the authority of princes. I will therfore write to *Cæsar*, and certifie him of your minds: and in all that I may, I will assist you to obtaine your request. God (whose power surpasseth all industry and humane force) vouchsafe to conduct you, and make you constant in the obseruation of your lawes, and grant that he, through excessiue desire of humane glorie, commit not any thing that may offend God. And if *Caius* be displeased, and inforce his ineuitable displeasure against me, I will vndertake all danger, and endure all tor-

Petronius promiseth the Iewes to write vnto Caius in their behalfe, and exhorteth them to follow their husbandry.

The yeere of the world, 4002. after Christs birth, 40.

ments both in body and ſpirit, to the end that I may not behold ſo many vertuous men, as you G are, periſh in your good and iuſt actions. Go therefore each of you and ply your worke, and till your lands: my ſelfe will ſend vnto Rome, and both in my ſelfe and by my friends, I will imploy my ſelf for you. After he had ſpoken thus, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly, praying the chiefeſt amõgſt them to encourage the husbandmen to ply their buſineſſe, and to confirme the reſt of the people in their good hope. Of himſelfe alſo he ceaſed not to animate them. And truly God ſhewed his aſſiſtance to *Petronius*, and aſſiſted him in all his affaires. For as ſoone as he had finiſhed his diſcourſe vnto the Iewes, there ſuddenly fell a great raine beyond all humane expectation. For the day was very faire, neither was there any appearance of raine in the ayre, and all that yeere long there was an extreme drought; ſo that men were paſt hope to haue any moiſture, notwithſtanding that ſometime there hapned certaine clouds in the heauens. At that time therefore the water fell in great abundance: and beſides the expectation and opinion of men, the Iewes conceiued hope that *Petronius*, ſolliciting their cauſe, ſhould not be repulſed. But *Petronius* was more amazed then all the reſt; ſeeing euidently that God vndertooke the affaires of the Iewes, and gaue them teſtimony of his manifeſt aſſiſtance; ſo that they that were their profeſſed aduerſaries, had no means to contradict them, as he himſelfe wrote to *Caius* at large, with inductions and exhortations, to the end hee ſhould not draw ſo many thouſand men into a deſperate reſolution and vnhappy death. For without war it was impoſſible for him euer to make thẽ forſake their religion. Furthermore, that he would not cut off & loſe the reuenue which he receiued of that nation; and would not erect a trophy of an euerlaſting curſe and malediction againſt himſelfe. Adding moreouer, what the power of their God was: which he had ſo cleerly declared, that no man ought to doubt, but that his mercifull hand was ouer them. This is the content of *Petronius* letters.

After a long & continuall drought there fell a ſudden ſhowre.

Petronius writeth to Caius.

On the other ſide, King *Agrippa*, who at that time conuerſed at Rome, grew more and more in fauour with *Caius*, hauing entertained him at a banquet, wherein he enforced himſelfe to exceed all others in ſumptuouſnes, as in all other ſorts of delights and pleaſures; yea with ſuch feſtiuals entertained he him, that not onely others, but alſo the Emperor himſelf could not attaine to ſuch magnificence; ſo much enforced he himſelf to exceed all others through the great deſire hee had to content and ſatisfie *Cæſar* in all things. *Caius* was abaſhed at this his courage and magnificence, ſeeing *Agrippa* enforce himſelfe aboue his power and meanes to abound in ſiluer; K and all this to the intent to pleaſe him. For which cauſe *Cæſar* in requitall of his kindnes, intending to honor *Agrippa* to his vttermoſt power, in granting him that which he moſt deſired, being one day whet with wine, inuited him to drinke a carouſe: adding theſe words; *Agrippa*, I haue heretofore known the honor thou haſt ſhewed towards me, and thou haſt expreſſed the earneſt affection that thou beareſt me, in hazarding thy ſelfe in diuers dangers, into which thou haſt bin drawne during *Tiberius* life-time; and haſt omitted nothing, no, not in that which exceedeth thy power, to ſhew thy vertuous affection towards me. For which cauſe I thinke that it ſhould be a great ſhame for me, if I ſhould ſuffer my ſelfe to be ouercome by thee in kindnes, without ſome anſwerable correſpondence: I will therefore put that in practice which I haue heretofore omitted. For all thoſe things that hitherto I haue beſtowed on thee, are of no reckoning. My will is L that thy readineſſe vertue ſhould at this preſent be requited, by ſuch meanes as might for euer make thee happy. Now hee ſpake after this manner, hoping that *Agrippa* would beg ſome great Prouince at his hands, or the reuenues of ſome Cities.

Agrippa honoreth Caius in Rome, and in reward thereof Caius willeth him to demand ſomewhat, who deſireth nothing elſe then that Petronius commiſſion to erect the ſtatue ſhould be reuoked.

But although he had already prepared his demand, yet did hee not diſcouer his intent, but gaue *Caius* this ready anſwer, that wheras he had ſerued him to the diſlike of *Tiberius*, it was not for the gaine he expected heretofore, and for the preſent alſo he did nothing vnder hope to be rich, contenting himſelfe that he was in the Emperours good fauour. That the benefits he had receiued by him, were great, yea exceeding all that which he durſt euer haue hoped. For (ſaid he) although they be but ſmall in compariſon of your Greatneſſe, yet in reſpect of my ſelfe, who haue receiued them, and in my conceit and quality, they are very great. *Caius* being amazed at this his courage, inſiſted the rather to perſwade him, that he would grant him all that he would require at his hands. Whereupon *Agrippa* ſaid: Drad Prince, ſince it is your good pleaſure to thinke me worthy to be honoured by your preſents, I wil not requeſt any thing at your hands that may tend to enrich me; for that by thoſe goods you haue already giuen me, I am greatly honoured: but I beſeech and requeſt one thing at your hands, which will purchaſe you the reputation of piety, and will procure God to bee propitious vnto you in all your actions; and which alſo will breed me much glory among thoſe, who ſhall heare that I haue not been refuſed in my

demand

A demand, which concerneth mee more then the neceſſities of this life. I therefore beſeech you that it will pleaſe you to giue commandement, that that ſtatue, which you haue charged *Petronius* to erect in the Temple of the Iewes, may neuer be aduanced there. This was *Agrippas* requeſt, which to his great hazard he preſented the Emperour with, knowing very well how perilous a matter it was, and as much as concerned his life to demand any ſuch thing at *Caius* hands, that was not anſwerable to his humour. *Caius* on the one ſide mooued with the ſeruice *Agrippa* had done him, and on the other ſide ſeeing how great an indignitie it ſhould be for him, if before ſuch an aſſembly of witneſſes, hee ſhould deny that which he had ſo inſtantly preſſed *Agrippa* to requeſt, as if he ſuddenly had repented himſelfe, and admiring *Agrippas* vertue (who hauing B meanes within a little time to augment his particular eſtate, either by reuenues or other commodities, had preſerued the common cauſe, the lawes of his country and piety before all theſe) he granted him his ſupplication, and wrote to *Petronius*, praiſing him for that he had vſed ſuch diligence in aſſembling his armie, as alſo for all that whereof he had certified him, annexing theſe words: If (ſaid he) you haue already planted the ſtatue, as I commanded you, let it remaine in the place: but if it be not done, be thou no more troubleſome to the Iewes, but diſmiſſe thine armie, and repaire thou in perſon to that place whither I haue ſent thee. For I vrge no more the erection of that ſtatue for the deſire that I haue to gratifie *Agrippa*, whom I intirely honour, and in ſuch ſort, as it is impoſſible for me to contradict any thing whatſoeuer, that either he hath need of, or ſhall require. Theſe were the contents of thoſe letters, which *Caius* wrote to *Petronius*, C before he vnderſtood that the Iewes bethought them of reuolt: for they made it knowne, that rather then they would endure the ſtatue, they would hazard a war againſt the Romanes: which when *Caius* vnderſtood, he was extremely ſorrowfull: and being a man addicted to all villany, and eſtranged from all honeſty, and who gaue place to no good counſell, incontinently after he had conceiued a diſpleaſure againſt any man, and who likewiſe thought it a great good hap for him to accompliſh all that whatſoeuer he pleaſed, hee wrote againe to *Petronius* to this effect: Since the Preſent which the Iewes haue giuen thee, haue preuailed more with thee then my commandements haue done, ſo as to pleaſe them, thou haſt deſpiſed that which I haue enioyned thee, I make thy ſelfe the Iudge how much thou haſt deſerued to incurre my diſpleaſure, to the end that thou mayſt ſerue for an example to all thoſe, who ſhall come after thee, that an Empe- D rours commandement ought not in any ſort to be neglected. Although this Epiſtle was both written and ſent, yet did not *Petronius* receiue the ſame during *Caius* life-time, for that they that carried the ſame, were ſtayed by croſſe winds; ſo that *Petronius* receiued thoſe letters that certified him of *Caius* death, before he receiued the other. For God would not forget *Petronius*, who expoſed himſelfe to great dangers for the loue of the Iewes, and the honour of God. And *Caius* being taken out of the world by Gods wrath being kindled againſt him, by reaſon that he affected diuine honours, receiued his reward; and *Petronius* obtained fauour both at Rome, and thorow all the whole gouernment, and eſpecially among the principall Senators, againſt whom *Caius* was accuſtomed to vomit his cholericke diſgraces. Hee dyed a little after he had written the letter to *Petronius*, by which hee threatned and denounced him death. Hereafter will I declare the cauſe why he was taken out of this world, and the manner how treaſon was complotted and wrought againſt him. The letter that brought tidings of *Caius* death, was deliuered to *Petronius* firſt; and incontinently after he receiued that wherein he enioyned him to kill himſelfe. He highly reioyced at this his good hap, and *Caius* death, and admired Gods prouidence, who ſpeedily and happily had rewarded him both for the honour that he bare vnto his Temple, as alſo for the aſſiſtance he vſed towards the Iewes. Behold how *Petronius* eſcaped from death, by an vnexpected meanes.

The yeere of the world, 4002. after Chriſts birth, 40.

Caius writeth to Petronius, charging him to murther himſelfe for neglecting his command.

Petronius receiues letters of Caius death, before thoſe whereby hee was commanded to kill himſelfe.

CHAP. XII.

That which hapned to the Iewes which were at Babylon, and of the two brethren ASINÆVS *and* ANILÆVS.

IN thoſe daies there hapned a grieuous commotion amongſt thoſe Iewes that inhabited Meſopotamia and Babylon, and ſuch ſlaughters and calamities as neuer the like hath beene declared in our former narrations; which in that I intend to report both particularly and ſeriouſly, I will rippe vp the whole cauſe thereof from his firſt originall. There was a Citie called Nearda belonging to Babylon, ſtored with inhabitants, and enriched with many fruitfull poſſeſſions, ſufficient to ſuſtaine ſo great a multitude: Moreouer, it was ſuch as might be

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 16. al. chap. 20.

A grieuous commotion among the Iewes in Meſopotamia & Babylon.

The yeere of the world, 4003. after Christs Nativitie, 41.

hardly inuaded by the enemy, both for that the riuer Euphrates hemmed it in on one side, as also G for that it was defenced with very strong wals. Vpon the same riuer also there stood another city, called Nisibis, in which the Iewes, in respect of the strength of the place, kept their Dragma, which they were accustomed to offer vnto God, and the rest of their votiue money. These two Cities therefore serued them for two store-houses: and from thence, according as time required, they sent the mony they had gathered, to Ierusalem, and committed the conuoy thereof to diuers thousands of men, for feare lest it should bee taken away by the Parthians, who at that time had the soueraignty in Babylon. Among these Iewes liued *Asinæus* and *Anilæus*, two brethren, borne in Nearda; whose father being dead, their mother set them and bound them to the weauers trade, for that among those nations it was accounted no indignity to follow that H trade: for both men and women exercise themselues therein. It hapned, that their master with whom they learnd their occupation, beat them one day, for that they came somewhat late vnto their worke. They taking this chastisement of his as if a great iniurie had beene done vnto them, betooke themselues to their weapons, whereof there were great store in that house, and retired themselues into a place where the floud deuideth it selfe into two parts, which naturally abounded with excellent pastures, and such fruits as were reserued for the vse of winter. To these men there flocked a number of needy persons, whom they armed and became their captaines, and no man opposed himselfe against their insolent proceedings. Being by this meanes growne absolute and impregnable, for that they had builded themselues a strong fortresse, they sent vnto the inhabitants, commanding them to pay them tribute for their cattel which they pastured; so that this tribute gaue sufficient to entertaine them, promising to those who obeyed them, all friendship, and that they would maintain them against all those that should iniure them, of what place soeuer they were: but if they did not that which they commanded them, they threatned them that they would kill all their cattell. The inhabitants of the countrey, knowing themselues vnable to crosse them, obeyed them, and sent them the number of cattell which they required; so that greater forces daily coupled themselues with them, and they grew of that power, that they could make their excursions against those whom they intended to hurt. Euery one respected them, and they were feared by all men, so that their renown came at last to the eares of the king of Parthia.

Nearda, Nisibis, two cities of Babylon.

Asinæus and Anilæus, born in Nearda, retire into a certain place, and great companies flock vnto them.

The Gouernor of Babylon likewise intending to cut off this mischiefe before it grew to greater head, assembled as many men as he could possible, both Parthians and Babylonians, & marched forth against them; with an intent to root them out, before they should haue any inkling thereof to prepare themselues for their defence. Hauing therefore prepared his army, he lay in ambush neere vnto a marish, and the next day following (which was the Sabbath, in which the Iewes forbeare all kinde of worke, he making his account that the enemy durst not make head against him, but without fight he should lead them away captiues) hee marched easily, thinking to charge them vnaware. *Asinæus*, who at that time by chance sate idly with his fellowes, hauing his Armes fast by him: Ye men (said he) me thinkes I heare the neighing of horses, not such as when they are in their heat, but as when they are backt by men. Moreouer, I heare the noise of their bridles, and I feare lest the enemies secretly stealing vpon vs, should circumuent vs: let therfore some one of vs go and discouer what the matter is, & certifie vs truly of that which he shall perceiue: I would I were found a lier in that which I haue told you. This said, one of them went out to espy what the noise intended; who running hastily backe againe, told him that he had not falsly coniectured as touching the intent of the enemy, for that they were at hand, and would not suffer themselues any longer to be out-braued by them. He also declared, that there was a mighty number of horsemen, who were assembled like a droue of beasts, sufficient & able vtterly to ouercome *Asinæus* and al his company, forasmuch as they were not in a readines to defend themselues: for that our law forbiddeth vs in any sort to trauell on the Sabbath. *Asinæus* determined with himselfe not to do that which the Spy had said, but thought that it was better for them to behaue themselues valiantly in that their necessity wherein they were plunged, and that if they must needs dye, it better became them to make breach of their law, then to hearten their enemies by their submission. He therefore presently betooke himselfe to his weapons, and encouraged all those that were about him, to make it knowne in effect what their valour was. Whereuponall of them at once marched forth against the enemy, and slaughtred a great many of them, for that they, despising *Asinæus* and his followers, marched as if they went to lay hold on men already vanquished; but in the end they were constrained to betake them to flight.

Asinæus and his companions beset by the gouernors and princes of Babylon.

Asinæus, after he had encouraged his souldiers, putteth his enemies to flight.

When the bruit of this skirmish was brought to the eares of the King of Parthia, hee was wholly

A wholly astonished at the boldnesse of these two brethren, and he had a desire to see them, and to speake with them. He therefore sent one of the trustiest of his guard, to let them vnderstand that although King *Artabanus* had beene iniured by them, in that they had inuaded his countrey; notwithstanding said this Embassadour, he making lesse account of the displeasure he hath conceiued against you, then of your vertue, hath sent me vnto you to giue you my hand and troth in his name for safeconduct and securitie in your voyage, requiring you to be his friends: he conditioneth therefore with you without any deceit or fraud, promising you gifts and honours, and determineth to encrease your dignitie by his power. *Asinæus* refused to enterprize this voyage, but sent his brother *Anilæus* with certaine presents, such as he could possibly finde. He there-
B fore departed with the messenger, and presented himselfe before *Artabanus*; who seeing *Anilæus* come alone, asked him how it hapned that *Asinæus* came not with him: and vnderstanding that he stayed in his marish through the feare that he had of him, he swore by the gods of his ancestors, that he would doe him no wrong, wishing them to giue credit to his promise, and he stretched out his hand, which is the greatest signe which the Kings of that country vse to assure those that parley with them. For after they haue mutually giuen one another their hands, there is no sinister practice to be feared, and they from whom a man expecteth any harme, are no more to bee feared at such time as they haue giuen this testimony of assurance. That done, *Artabanus* sent backe *Anilæus* to perswade his brother *Asinæus* to come to the Court. *Artabanus* did this,
C supposing that this his amitie with the two brothers would be a bridle for the Iewes, who otherwise might encroach vpon his gouernments. For, he feared lest if any rebellion should happen, and hee should bee troubled in that warre, *Asinæus* and they of Babylon should grow more strong, both by the voluntary submission of the Iewes, as by force: and thereby should doe him the more mischiefe. Vpon this deliberation he sent *Anilæus*, who easily perswaded his brother, giuing him to vnderstand among other things, what good will the King bare him, and the oath that he had sworne: so that both of them resorted to *Artabanus*, who receiued them very graciously, admiring *Asinæus* vertue, who had so great a courage to exercise his enterprizes, considering especially that he was a man of low stature, and who to looke on seemed to be contemptible: and he told his friends that without comparison, hee had a greater heart then his body.

The yeere of the world, 4003. after Christs birth, 41.

Asinæus and Anilæus are sought vnto by Artabanus for friendship.

D And when as in banquetting he had named *Asinæus*, and shewed him to *Abdagasis* the Generall of his army, signifying vnto him with what valor these brethren were endowed in feats of armes; *Abdagasis* required that it might be lawfull for him to kill *Asinæus*, to the end that he might punish the wrongs he had done to the estate of the Parthians. Neuer (said the King) will I giue my consent to betray a man, who hath committed himselfe to my protection, and hath giuen me his hand, and who buildeth vpon the oath I haue past vnto him in the name of the gods. But if thou be a valiant man in feats of armes, thou hast no need to make me forsweare my selfe, to the end I might doe iustice on him for his outrages committed against the Parthians: but at such time as he and his brother shall depart from hence, assayle him, and ouercome him by thy valour, prouided that I be not priuy to thy attempt. And afterwards calling *Asinæus* to him in the morning:
E It is time (said he) that thou returne homeward, for feare thou prouokest diuers of the Captaines of my Court, which contrary to my will, will endeuour themselues to kill thee. I commit the countrey of Babylon to thy protection and guard, which by thy care and vigilancie shall remaine exempt from all robberies, and other such calamities. Reason it is that I procure thy good, be-
F cause I haue engaged mine honour & faith irreuocably vnto thee, not vpon any light matter, but for things that importune thee as neerely as thy life. This said, he gaue him certaine presents, and incontinently dismissed him. Now as soone as he returned home to his owne fortresse, he fortified the places, both those which before-time he had thorowly defenced, as the other which as yet no man had attempted to strengthen: and in short time he grew to that greatnesse, as no one man of so obscure fortune and beginning attained before him. Neither contented with the honors of
G the Babylonians, he was also held in great account by the Captaines of the Parthians, who were sent to gouerne in the neighbouring Prouinces: yea so much encreased his authoritie with his power, that all Mesopotamia was at his command. In this felicitie and encreasing glory of his, he continued for the space of fifteene yeeres: which neuer began to wane vntill such time as neglecting the ancient study of vertue, and contemning the lawes of his forefathers, both hee and his factious followers being deuoured in pleasure, yeelded themselues captiue to forraine lusts. It fortuned that a certaine Gouernour of those Parthians came into that countrey, accompanied with his wife, not onely enriched and endowed with other perfections, but also admired for her in-

Abdagasis would haue slaine Asinæus: but Artabanus will not permit him.

Artabanus committeth the territories of Babylon to Asinæus charge, and dismissleth him with gifts.

The yeere of the world, 4003. after Christs birth, 41.

comparable comlineſſe and beauty. Whom without euer ſeeing her, only by report of her beauty, *Anilæus*, *Aſinaeus* brother loued entirely: and when as by no one of his allurements he could obtaine her fauour, neither had any other hope to enioy the Lady, he could not bridle his vnruly luſt, but he made warre againſt her husband: and killing the Parthian in their firſt conflict, his wife became his, both in ſubiection and bed-ſeruice, which thing was the originall of many mighty calamities both to himſelfe & towards his brother. For when as hauing loſt her former husband, ſhe was led away captiue, ſhe carried with her the images of the gods of her country, which ſhe highly eſteemed, according as it was the cuſtome of thoſe that inhabited that place, to haue their gods whom they adored in their houſes, whom at ſuch time as they trauell into a forraine countrey, they carry about with them. She therefore brought them with her, and vſed them, according to the faſhion of her country, at the firſt ſecretly: but after ſhe was knowne for *Anilæus* wife, then adored ſhe them according to the cuſtom, and with the ſame ſeruice which ſhe vſed during her firſt husbands daies, ſacrificing to her gods.

Anilæus killeth a noble man of the Parthians, & leadeth away his wife.

Their chiefeſt friends ſeeing this, firſt of all reproued them, for that *Anilæus* committed ſuch things, as were no waies vſed among the Hebrewes, and altogether repugnant to their lawes, for that he had married a woman of a forraine nation, that contradicted and violated their accuſtomed religion: for which cauſe they aduiſed them to beware, leſt in ſubmitting themſelues too much to their vnbridled pleaſures, they ſhould loſe the honor & power they had receiued from God, euen vntill that preſent. But ſeeing their perſwaſions profited nothing, and that *Anilæus* likewiſe had villainouſly ſlaine one of his deareſt friends, who had ſomwhat too freely reproued him (who at ſuch time as he lay a dying, being touched with the zeale of the lawes of his anceſtors, and with griefe againſt his murtherer, wiſhed that *Aſinæus* and *Anilæus* and all their aſſociates might die the like death: they, for that they were tranſgreſſers of the law; the other, for that they ſuccoured not themſelues in that oppreſſion, which they ſuffered for the maintenance of their lawes.) They were ſore diſpleaſed: yet notwithſtanding they contained themſelues, calling to their remembrance that their felicity proceeded from no other cauſe, but from the valour of thoſe brethren.

Anilæus being reprooued for his wifes Idolatry, killeth one of his friends.

But when they vnderſtood that the Parthian gods were adored by this womã, they bethought them that it behoued them not any more to beare with *Anilæus*, in contempt of their laws: for which cauſe, addreſſing themſelues to *Aſinæus* in great aſſemblies, they exclaimed againſt *Anilæus*; ſaying, that he ought, although at firſt he had no power to diſpoſe of himſelfe, yet now at laſt, to correct this error before it ſhould redound to their publike plague: for that both his marriage was diſallowed in all mens eies, as altogether contrary to their countrey lawes, & that the ſuperſtitious obſeruance of the gods, which the woman preſumed to vſe, was an apparant iniurie offered to the true God. But he, although he knew that his brothers fault would breed ſome great inconuenience, both to himſelfe and his followers, yet being ouercome with brotherly affection, he eaſily pardoned his brother, aſcribing his error to the violence of his vnbridled paſſion. But whereas daily more and more he was tired with exclamations, and greater reproofes, at length hee admoniſhed his brother of the matter, chiding him for that which was paſt, and willing him to amend the error hereafter, by ſending home the woman vnto her kinred. Yet did this admonition of his take no effect with him; for that the woman perceiuing that the rumour that was raiſed among the people was for her ſake, and being affraid leſt for her loue ſake *Anilæus* ſhould incurre ſome danger, ſhee poiſoned *Aſinæus*, to the end that her loue being in authority, ſhe might more freely practiſe her impiety. Now when *Anilæus* had gotten the gouernment into his owne hands, he drew out his forces againſt certaine villages belonging to *Mithridates*, one of the chiefeſt among the Parthians, and *Artabanus* ſonne in lawe, which villages hee ſpoiled, and carried away moueables, men, ſheepe, and other riches. When *Mithridates*, who at that time was reſident in thoſe quarters, vnderſtood of the ſpoyle of his villages, he was ſore diſpleaſed, and the rather for that without any occaſion or proffer of iniury, *Anilæus* had aſſailed him in contempt of his eſtate, who was a chiefe Peere of the Countrey: for which cauſe he incontinently aſſembled the greateſt power of horſe and footmen he could gather, to ſet vpon *Anilæus* and his aſſociates. Leading his forces therefore againſt one of his villages, he kept himſelfe in couert, to the end he might fight the next day; which was the Sabbath day, on which the Iewes attempt not any thing. Whereof when *Anilæus* was aduertiſed by a certain Syrian, who dwelt in another village, who had exactly tolde him all *Mithridates* intent, and the place where he intended to banquet with his ſouldiers; after he had made his ſouldiers take their refection, he departed by night, to the end he might charge the Parthians before they might be aduertiſed of his

Anilæus is accuſed before his brother Aſinæus, but he winketh at his fault.

Aſinæus poiſoned by the Parthian woman.

Anilæus draweth his forces into Mithridates countrey, and ſpoileth his villages and taketh him priſoner.

A his comming. He therefore ruſhed in vpon them about the fourth watch of the night, and ſlew thoſe whom he found aſleep, and the reſt being aſtoniſht hereat, were forced to ſaue themſelues by flight: he alſo tooke *Mithridates* priſoner, and cauſed him to be carried away naked on an Aſſe, which is one of the greateſt diſgraces which the Parthians imagine may be offered them. Hauing after this diſgracefull maner carried him into a forreſt, ſome of his familiars perſwaded him to kill him: but *Anilæus* told them incontinently, that they ought to deale with him farre otherwiſe; for that it behoued them not to kill a man, who was one of the chiefeſt among the nobility of the Parthians, and one who was moſt honored in regard of that affinity and alliance he had with the King: that although all that which heretofore had bin offered to *Mithridates*, were inſupportable; yet if they ſhould be the meanes of the ſafegard of his life, he would remit the iniuries, and remunerate them for their mercy in ſauing his life; whereas if they ſhould deale ſeuerely with him, the King would ſeek his reuenge, and make a horrible ſlaughter of all thoſe Iewes that inhabited Babylon: whom they ought to haue compaſſion of, both for that they are of their bloud, as for that if any miſchief ſhould befall them, they knew not whither to retire themſelues; whereas they might be aſſiſted with the flower and picked number of the men of their nation. Hauing thus diſcourſed and debated the matter in the eares of his ſouldiers, his opinion was approued, and they were perſwaded; and ſo *Mithradites* was ſent backe againe.

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Anilæus diſmiſſeth Mithridates.

But no ſooner returned he home vnto his houſe, but that his wife hit him in the teeth, that hee liued but by the mercy of his enemies, notwithſtanding he were the Kings ſonne in law: that he had made no reckoning to puniſh thoſe, who had ſo much iniured him: that he likewiſe contented himſelfe to haue his life ſaued after he had bin priſoner to the Iewes. For which cauſe (ſaid ſhee) recouer thou thy former vertue aud honour, which thou haſt heretofore loſt, or I ſweare by the gods of the King my father, that the bond of marriage which is betwixt thee and me, ſhall be diſſolued.

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Mithridates, vnable to indure theſe vſuall reproches, and on the other ſide, apprehending his wiues hauty courage, from whom he feared to be ſeparated, he aſſembled the greateſt power of men of war that he could poſſible, notwithſtanding it were againſt his will, and led them forth; ſuppoſing himſelf to be vnworthy of life, if he who was by nation a Parthian, ſhould be cowardly put to the worſt by the Iewes. When *Anilæus* vnderſtood that *Mithridates* came forth againſt him with a gteat force, he thought that it would redound greatly to his indignity, if he ſhould lye lurking amidſt his marſhes; and hoping that he ſhould haue no worſe fortune againſt his enemies, then he had at the firſt, and building much vpon his ſouldiers, who were euer wont to get the vpper hand in their encounters, he likewiſe drew forth his army: to them alſo certaine other adioined themſelues, who ſought nought elſe but pillage, and hoped that with their onely preſence they might diſmay their enemy.

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But after they had marched about ninety ſtades, and paſſed thorow a country that was ſcant of water, and were about the heat of the midday trauailed with thirſt: *Mithritades* army came in ſight, and charged them euen at that time; when they fainted for want of drinke, and thorow the extremity of heat; ſo as they could ſcarcely wield their weapons. At that time *Anilæus* ſouldiers encountring with *Mithridates* freſh men, were ſhamefully put to flight: whereby it came to paſſe that a great number of them was murthered, and many thouſand men put to the ſword, But *Anilæus* himſelf, and al thoſe of his company, retired themſelues in great haſte into a forreſt, leauing *Mithridates* Lord and Maſter of the field, whereof he was very ioyfull. Notwithſtanding this diſaſter, an infinite number of lawleſſe men reſorted to *Anilæus*, who ſet little by their liues, prouided there might no limit be propoſed to their vnbridled licentiouſneſſe; ſo that he gathered a greater number of men, then thoſe whom he had loſt: yet were they farre different in valour from the former: for they were men wholly ignorant of warlike diſcipline: notwithſtanding, hee being accompanied with theſe men, went and ſet vpon certaine boroughs of the Babylonians, which were wholly deſtroyed by his rapine and violence. For which cauſe, the Babylonians and his other enemies, ſent vnto Nearda to the Iewes that were there, requiring that *Anilæus* might be deliuered into their hands: whereunto condeſcending not (for although they had a wil to performe their requeſt, yet it lay not in their power to deliuer him) they required that they might liue in peace. And to intreat of the conditions of peace, the Babylonians ſent certaine men to confer with *Anilæus*. They hauing ſuruaied the place wherein *Anilæus* kept, aſſailed both himſelfe & his followers by night, and ſlew all thoſe they encountred with, without reſiſt, and amongſt the reſt *Anilæus*. When the Babylonians ſaw that they were deliuered from the oppreſſion of *Anilæus*, who till that time had been as it were a bridle vnto them, to reſtraine

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A great number of diſſolute perſons flocke to Anilæus, with whom he ſpoileth certaine boroughs of the Babylonians.

The Babylonians require Anilæus, that they may puniſh him: they aſſayle & ſlay him.

and

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and curbe the hatred they conceiued againſt the Iewes, with whom they had oftentimes beene at oddes, by reaſon of the contrariety of their religions, whereby it grew that they oftentimes fell at debate vpon each opportunity, wherein they met.

The Iewes afflicted by the Babylonians, repaire to Selucia.

At that time therfore that *Anilæus* men were diſcomfited, the Babylonians ſet vpon the Iewes on all ſides; who ſeeing themſelues in danger by reaſon of the inſolence of the Babylonians, againſt whom they were too weake to make reſiſt, and on the other ſide vnable to liue amongſt them, they went and dwelt at Seleucia, a City famous in regard of *Seleucus* the ſonne of *Nicanor*, who builded it. In that City dwelt diuers Macedons, diuers Greekes, and a great number of Syrians. The Iewes fled thither, and ſoiourned there about ſome fiue yeers, without any moleſtation: but in the ſixt yeere, when the plague grew rife in Babylon, the Iewes that remained there, were enforced to ſeeke them ſome new habitation; and that remooue of theirs into the City of Seleucia was the cauſe likewiſe of their further miſchiefe, as I will make manifeſt. The Greekes who dwell in Seleucia, are ordinarily at debate with the Syrians, and haue alwaies the vpper hand; but after that the Iewes came to inhabit in that place, in a certain ſedition that aroſe among them, the Syrians had the vpper hand, by the meanes of the Iewes, who ioyned their forces with theirs, who of themſelues were valiant and good ſouldiers.

The Greekes who had beene repulſed in this tumult, ſeeing they had but one only means left them to maintaine their former honour, but to breake that league of friendſhip which was betweene the Syrians and the Iewes, deuiſed in priuate each one with thoſe Syrians, with whom they were acquainted, promiſing to liue in peace and amity with them, whereunto they condeſcended willingly. For the chiefeſt of theſe two nations concluded the peace, which preſently after followed, to the end that on both parts they ſhould ioyne in hatred againſt the Iewes. So that all together charging them at vnawares, they ſlew more then fifty thouſand of them: and all of them were ſlaine, except ſome few, who through the mercy of their friends, and warrantize of their neighbors were ſuffered to eſcape. Theſe retired themſelues to Cteſiphon a City of Greece, that was not farre from Seleucia, where the King ſoiourneth euery yeer, and keepeth the greateſt part of his moueables; hoping in that place through the reuerence of the King they might remain in more ſafety and ſecurity. All the nation of the Iewes that were in theſe quarters ſtood in great feare: For the Babylonians and the Seleucians, with all the Aſſyrians of that country, accorded among themſelues to make a generall war againſt the Iewes; whereby it came to paſſe that they aſſembled themſelues at Nearda and Niſibis, truſting themſelues to the ſtrength of theſe fortreſſes, which were inhabited alſo by men who were expert in armes. See here what the eſtate of thoſe Iewes was, who remained in Babylon.

Fifty thouſand Iewes ſlaine in Selucia.

The Iewes that were ſaued repaire to Cteſiphon.

The Iewes retire into Nearda & Niſibis.

THE NINETEENTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the nineteenth Booke.

1 *How* Caius *was ſlaine by* Chæreas.
2 *How* Claudius *obtained the Empire.*
3 *Diſſenſion betwixt the Senate and the people.*
4 *How* Claudius *aduanced* Agrippa *to his fathers Kingdome, and his Edicts in fauour of the Iewes.*
5 Agrippas *returne into Iudæa.*
6 Petronius *Epiſtle to* Doritas *in the behalfe of the Iewes.*
7 Agrippas *actions vntill the time of his death.*

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

How CAIVS *was ſlaine by* CHÆREAS.

The yeere of the world, 4004. after Chriſts birth, 42.

CAIVS did not only expreſſe and manifeſt his fury towards thoſe Iewes that dwelt in Ieruſalem, and in other neighbouring places; but alſo thorow all the countries both by land and ſea, which were ſubiect to the Roman Empire, filling the whole world with an infinite number of miſchiefes; yea, ſuch and ſo hainous, as the like heereof hithreto haue neuer beene heard of. But Rome in eſpeciall felt the force of his fury, which partooke no leſſe calamity and miſery, then any other city: but eſpecially the Senatours, Patricians, and noble men were plagued. They alſo that were called Roman knights, who in wealth and dignity were next vnto the Senators, for that out of their number ſuch men were choſen, who were to ſupply the Senate, were vexed with intolerable iniuries. For with ignominies they were detracted, with baniſhments and confiſcations weakned, and by ſlaughters wholly exterminated. Hee likewiſe vſurped the Name of God, commanding his ſubiects to dignifie him with more then humane honours; and aſcending the Capitol, which amongſt all the Temples in Rome is moſt religiouſly honoured, he was ſo bold as to ſalute *Iupiter*, and to call him brother. Many ſuch impieties committed he, by which he expreſſed, that his vnbridled and boundleſſe madneſſe did neuer forſake him. Amongſt his other mad pranks that he plaied, this is worthy of memory: for on a time, thinking it to bee too much trouble for him to croſſe the ſea betweene Puteol a city in Campania, and Miſenum another towne ſeated by the ſea-ſhore, in a galley; and otherwiſe eſteeming it a thing correſpondent to his greatneſſe, who was Emperour, to exact that ſuperiority on the ſea, which was anſwerable to his ſoueraignty on the land, betwixt one Cape of the ſea vnto another, for the ſpace of thirty furlongs or ſtades, betwixt which the gulfe had his courſe, hee cauſed a bridge to be built, on which he commanded himſelfe to be drawne in a charriot, as if that way were anſwerable to the dignity of his deity. Hee left not one Temple of Greece whatſoeuer, that he ſpoiled not of thoſe excellent pictures or imagery that was therein; Giuing a commiſſion, that all ſtatues, and whatſoeuer ornaments or gifts, and preſents that were dedicated in any temple, ſhould be brought vnto him; ſaying, that ſuch things as were admirable, ſhould be reſerued for a place of admiration, ſuch as was the City of Rome: with theſe ſpoiles of the Temples decked he his Palace and Gardens, and generally, all his houſes and Palaces that he had in Italy. He was ſo impudent alſo, as to giue direction, that *Iupiter Olympius* ſtatue, which the Greeks had in great eſtimation, and *Phidias* the Athenian caruer had made, ſhould be tranſported to Rome. But *Memmius Regulus*, to whom he directed this commiſſion, executed it not, becauſe the Maſons informed him, that without ſpoiling it they could not remooue it from the place. It is reported alſo, that he was hindered from this execution by ſuch prodigies as are almoſt incredible: which he certified *Caius* of, giuing him to vnderſtand, what the occaſion was that had moued him to diſobey him therein: and whil'ſt he was in danger of death for this his delay, the ſudden and ſucceſſefull death of *Caius* warranted him from the ſame. Yea, ſo far ſtretched his vnbridled fury, that hauing a daughter newly born, he cauſed her to-be carried into the Capitoll, and laid at the feet of the Image of *Iupiter*; ſaying, that that child was common betwixt him and *Iupiter*, leauing the iudgement to all men, which of the two parents was the greateſt. And notwithſtanding all theſe his miſdemeanours, yet did men tolerate him.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 1. Caius tyrãny towards the Iewes.

Caius tyrãny towards the Senators and Patricians.

Caius calleth himſelfe Iupiters brother.

Caius ſpoiled al the temples of Greece.

Caius commandeth Memmius Regulus to trãſferre Iupiter Olympius to Rome.

Caius compareth himſelfe with Iupiter.

He gaue liberty to ſlaues alſo to accuſe their maſters of whatſoeuer crimes they would: which was ſo much the more hatefull, becauſe all things were done by *Cæſars* authority, & to his good liking: ſo that *Pollux*, who was *Claudius* bondman, durſt accuſe him, and *Caius* the Emperour was contented among the Iudges to heare his vncle brought in queſtion for his life, hoping (although it fel out otherwiſe) to pick out an occaſion to put him to death. For hauing filled all the countries of his Empire with falſe accuſations, and all ſorts of miſchiefs, & giuing ſlaues a prerogatiue aboue their maſters; their lords deuiſed many conſpiracies againſt him, ſome for ſpite, and with an intent to reuenge them of thoſe iniuries they had receiued: other ſome pretending by his death to preuent thoſe inconueniences that threatned them. In a word, his death concerned the ſecurity of the lawes, and the ſafety of all men: and had he not been ſpeedily cut off, our nation had almoſt been vtterly exterminated. For which cauſe I thought good to make an exact and ample declaration of euery occurrent, namely, for that the knowledge thereof maketh very much towards the manifeſtation of Gods power and will, which bring conſolation vnto thoſe who

Caius gaue ſlaues free liberty to accuſe their maſters, and countenanced Pollux to accuſe his maſter Claudius

Many conſpiracies againſt Caius.

The yeere of the world, 4004. after Christs birth, 41.

Three conſpiracies againſt Caius. Æmilius Regulus. Caſſius Chæreas. Annius Minucianus.

who are in aduerſity,and keep them within the bounds of modeſty,who ſuppoſe that their proſperity ſhould continue alwaies firme;and although they neglect vertue,thinke that no euill may befall them. Three plots of conſpiracy were intended againſt him, and purpoſed to his vtter ruine, each of them was attempted by men of great reckoning. For *Æmilius Regulus*, who was borne in Corduba in Spaine, was fully reſolued to kill him, himſelfe, or to make him away by the meanes of his confederates. *Chæreas Caſsius*, Colonell ouer a thouſand men, was the chiefe-taine of another band; and *Annius Minucianus* was in no leſſe readineſſe to doe his vttermoſt herein. The cauſe that moued them to accord thus altogether in hatred againſt *Caius*,was,that in reſpect of *Regulus*, he was by nature a deteſter of all iniquity: for he was a man endowed with great magnanimity,and beautified with a liberall ſpirit;ſo as he diſſembled not any of his counſels, but communicated them with many, who either were his friends, or valiant men fit for execution. And as touching *Minucianus*,he was induced to ſeeke his reuenge, through the deſire he had to do iuſtice on him in *Lepidus* behalfe, who had bin one of his eſpeciall friends, and one of the rareſt men that were euer found among the Romane citizens (whom *Caius* had put to death through the feare he had conceiued of him) knowing well that all they,againſt whom *Caius* was incenſed,could not eſcape with leſſe indignity then loſſe of life. As for the third man *Chæreas*, he could not endure the ſhame and reproach of cowardiſe that *Caius* had obiected againſt him, but feared beſides,that his friendſhip and inward familiarity with *Caius* would draw him into manifeſt dangers:for which cauſe and his own ſecurity & honors ſake, he thought good to make him away. Generally,all of them were reſolued to rid the world of *Caius*,& bring an end to his pride and tyrannical power,for their hope was that their attempt ſhould haue good ſucceſſe: which if it happily fel out,their country and common-weale ſhould reape the fruits therof,for whoſe ſecurity and ſafety,it became them to hazzard thēſelues,though it were with loſſe of their heads. But aboue all the reſt, *Chæreas* was egged on with a deſire he had to grow famous,and through the facility & conuenient means he had to finiſh the ſame, becauſe his Colonels roome gaue him moſt ſecure acceſſe vnto him. About that time the Circenſian games were ſolemnized,which is a kind of paſtime which the Romans very willingly behold, and to this intent they reſort to the place of theſe exerciſes, and the common people is wont to demand ſomewhat at their Emperors hands,which they deſire to obtaine; and they,after they haue examined their requeſts, doe neuer refuſe them. Now they required with inſtant and importunate ſupplications, that *Caius* would diſcharge them of their taxations,and moderate the exceſſiue tributes which they paid: but he would giue no eare vnto them,and cauſed thoſe to be apprehended who called vpon the matter moſt earneſtly; ſending his Guard, ſome of them one way, ſome of them another, to put them to the ſword. After he had giuen this commandement, and they who receiued the charge, had fully executed it, a great number of men were ſlaine. The people ſeeing this, ceaſed to exclaime any more, ſetting light by their goods; and ſeeing before their eyes, that their refuſall would be the cauſe of their death. Theſe conſiderations incited *Chæreas* the more to execute his enterprize,to the end he might finiſh his furious and lawleſſe life,whoſe pleaſure was all mens iniurie and preiudice. And very oftentimes was he determined to ſet vpon him whil'ſt he banquetted,yet he deferred to do the ſame,not for that he failed or fainted in his reſolution,but becauſe he expected ſome fit opportunity to hit him home, and ſpeed him to the death. Hee liued Captaine of *Caius* Guard a long time, yet tooke he ſmall pleaſure in conuerſing with him.

The Circenſian games. Caius cauſeth diuers to be murthered, who requeſt mitigation of their exactions.

Chæreas for many cauſes is incited againſt Caius.

But after that *Caius* had appointed him to gather in his tributes, and that money which was confiſcate, he ſeemed to haue leſſe occaſion then before: for at that time he had doubled their paiments, in the execution whereof he followed his owne nature rather then *Cæſars* command, and ſpared thoſe of whom he ought to haue compaſſion for their pouerty ſake. *Caius* was ſore diſpleaſed herewith,and obiected againſt him, that the cauſe why he delayed the bringing in of his money, was his cowardiſe and negligence: And among other outrages that he offered him, as oft as he gaue him the watch-word, as he vſually went to fetch it once a day vpon his watch day,he gaue him the names of women, and other that were full of ignominie, notwithſtanding that he himſelfe was not exempt from note of no leſſe daintineſſe. For in certaine ceremonies which he himſelfe had eſtabliſhed,he attir'd himſelfe like a woman,and was diſguiſed with certaine vailes, whereby hee might the better counterfeit that ſexe, and yet notwithſtanding durſt he obiect this diſhonor to *Chæreas*. As oftentimes as *Chæreas* receiued the watch-word, ſo oftentimes grew he in choler: which was increaſed the more at ſuch time,as he deliuered the ſame to his companions, who openly mocked and ieſted at him. For when it was his turne to receiue the word from *Cæſars* mouth,he ordinarily fitted him with ſuch a one as might moue laughter,

which

A which made him the bolder to conſpire with his confederates, in that hee had iuſt occaſion to be diſpleaſed: among theſe was a Senator, and one that had paſt all honors and offices, otherwiſe an Epicure & louer of delights. Him did *Timidius* accuſe (in that he was his enemy) that he had vſed certaine iniurious ſpeeches againſt *Caius*: and for proofe hereof, he alleadged *Quintilia* for his witnes, a woman amongſt all ſtageplaiers dearly beloued by many, but in eſpeciall, by *Popedius*, by reaſon of her incomparable beauty: and for that ſhe refuſed to beare witnes in a matter falſly obiected againſt him, whom ſhe intirely loued, *Timidius* required, that ſhe might bee examined by torture. *Caius*, prouoked herewith, commanded *Chæreas* with all expedition and diligence to ſee *Quintilia* tortured: and the rather gaue he *Chæreas* theſe commiſſions to kill & torB ment thoſe whom he pleaſed, for that he had conceiued this opinion, that he would acquit himſelfe with more cruelty, to the end he might exempt himſelfe of that reproach of faint-heartednes which was wrongfully inforced againſt him.

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Popedius is accuſed of a crime by Timidius vnto Cæſar.

Whil'ſt thus *Quintilia* was led forth to bee tortured, ſhe trod vpon the foot of one of thoſe who were of the confederacie, giuing him to vnderſtand that he ſhould be of good courage, for that there was no feare that ſhee would bewray any thing in torture, but would endure it with great conſtancy: notwithſtanding, *Chæreas* tormented her cruelly, which he rather performed by conſtraint then of his owne free will. And ſeeing he could inforce nothing out of her, hee brought her back to *Caius* in ſo pitifull an eſtate, that all they that beheld her, had compaſſion on her. *Caius* likewiſe himſelfe was moued, and bethinking him of thoſe paines ſhe had indured, he C deſiſted from the enqueſt and accuſation which was proſecuted againſt *Popedius* and *Quintilia*, and gaue her a certain ſumme of mony, to comfort her againſt the indiſpoſition that might happen by reaſon of her torments, which ſhe had ſo couragiouſly endured.

Caius commandeth Quintiliana to be tortured who cõfeſſeth nothing.

Popedius is abſolued.

This diſpleaſed *Chæreas* very much, as if he had been the cauſe of all thoſe euils that had happned to thoſe two perſons, hauing been ſo great, that to heale them, it behooued *Cæſar* to miniſter a medicine. He conſulted therfore with *Clement*, who was Captaine of the footmen, and *Papinius*, who had the command of the guard, and ſpake vnto them to this effect: We haue (ſaid hee) O *Clement*, imploied our ſelues to the vttermoſt for the Emperors ſafety: for by our prouidence and trauell we haue wrought ſo much, that of all thoſe, who haue conſpired againſt him, ſome of them haue bin ſlaine: the reſt in ſuch ſort tormented & martyred, that *Caius* himſelfe had com- D paſſion on them. But what reward or honour receiue we for all theſe ſeruices? *Clement*, hearing theſe words, held his peace, giuing manifeſt teſtimonie by his looks, and the change of his colour, that he was greatly aſhamed he had ſo long time obeyed the Emperours commandements: and whil'ſt he thought with himſelfe that it was no policy for him to open his mouth againſt *Caius* cruelty, *Chæreas* emboldned himſelfe to diſcouer the calamities and dangers wherin both the city and the whole Empire were plunged, telling him that the common report was, that *Caius* was the cauſe of them: but (ſaid he) thoſe that will narrowly examine the truth, will iudge that I, and *Papinius* that ſtandeth by me, and you, *Clement*, more then we, haue cauſed the Romans torment, and the worlds miſery, for that of our own will we haue bin miniſters of *Caius* commands; and although the means lieth in vs to make an end of thoſe violences that are committed againſt the citizens, and iniuries to the whole world: yet we ſerue him for his guard and hangmen, inſtead of men of warre. And we beare armes, not to maintaine our libertie, and the Roman Empire, but to preſerue him, who keeps their bodies & mindes in ſeruitude: and euery day are we ſoiled in their bloud who are ſlaine and tortured, vntill ſuch time as ſome one ſerue vs with the ſame ſauce, to ſatisfie *Caius* cruelty. For it is not for the good will he beareth vs, that he maketh vſe of vs: but that which is more, we are ſuſpected by him, and he will cauſe vs to be ſlaine, as he hath done others. For his diſpleaſure is not limited by iuſtice, but by his will: wee alſo ſhall ſerue him for a mark to aime at. For which cauſe, it behooueth vs to prouide for the ſecuritie and liberty of all men, and eſpecially to warrant our ſelues againſt thoſe dangers that threaten vs.

Chæreas conferreth with Clement and Papinius.

Clement declared by apparent ſignes, that he thought well of *Chæreas* reſolution, but he counſelled him to make no words of it, for feare the rumour thereof ſhould bee ſpred among the people, and the ſecret ſhould be diſcouered before the execution: and leſt that *Caius* getting an inkling thereof, they ſhould all of them be drawn into danger of death; and in the meane while, it behooued them to hope that ſome good fortune would fall out to their furtherance: and that for himſelfe, his age had taken from him the neceſſary courage that belonged to ſuch enterprizes. It may be (ſaid he) that I may furniſh you with ſome aduice more ſecure then yours is, *Chæreas*: for a more honeſter then it is, who is he that can propoſe? This ſaid, *Clement* returned to his houſe,

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houſe, ruminating with himſelfe vpon thoſe words which hee had both heard and ſpoken. But *Chæreas* waxt fearefull, & conferred with the Colonell, *Cornelius Sabinus*, whom he knew to be a man of reputation, a louer of liberty, and greatly diſcontented with the eſtate about the miſeries of the common-weale; & ſeeing it was neceſſary to attempt that with all expedition which he had intended, hee thought good to impart the matter to him; fearing leſt *Clement* ſhould diſcouer all the conſpiracy, conſidering that delay & procraſtination would bee but an occaſion to hinder the action. When as therefore he perceiu'd him to giue willing eare to all that which hee intended, and that already he was confirmed with no leſſe reſolution then himſelfe was; but in that he knew not with whom he might familiarly cõmunicate the ſame, he ſaid nothing: whereas otherwiſe he was ready, not only to conceale that which he had heard, but alſo declared that which he had in his heart, he was ſo much the more incouraged. For which cauſe, without further delay they went to *Minucianus*, who was conformable vnto them in vertue, good affection, and great courage; & who beſides that, was ſuſpected by *Caius* by reaſon of *Lepidus* death. For *Minucianus* and *Lepidus* were very great friends, & had been aſſociates in the ſame dangers. For *Caius* was feared by all thoſe who had any publike office, ſparing none of them in particular or in generall, but made them all grone vnder the burthen of his fury.

Cornelius Sabinus.

Annius Minucianus.

Now they knew well one another, that all of them were diſpleaſed to ſee the common-weale in that eſtate: but the apprehenſion of the danger ſuffered them not to manifeſt the hatred that each one of them bare to *Caius*, although their ſecret conceit engendred among them a certain amity. For before that time, as often as they mette together, they were accuſtomed to eſteeme *Minucianus* for the moſt honourable man of the company; as in truth, among all the citizens of Rome he was the moſt famous, valiant and beſt eſteemed among them: being therefore aſſembled at that time, he was firſt of all requeſted to ſpeake his opinion. For which cauſe hee asked *Chereas* what the watch-word was hee had receiued that day (for all the city knew very well what mockery *Caius* vſually vſed in giuing *Chæreas* the watch-word) *Chæreas*, notwithſtanding this diſgrace, failed not to anſwer him, relying on the wiſedome of *Minucianus*, & ſaid vnto him;

» But giue you mee for the watch-word Liberty; meane while I giue you thankes for that you
» haue awakened me more ſpeedily then of my ſelfe I haue accuſtomed to bee. You need not now
» any further inforce your ſelf to incite me by your words, ſith both you & I haue vndertaken the
» ſame reſolution. Before we were aſſembled in this place, our thoughts were vnited. Behold here
» my ſword, that is girt vnto my ſide; this ſhall ſuffize for vs both. And if you pleaſe, you ſhall be
» my captaine, and I will march vnder your command, & will follow you vnder aſſurance of your
» aſſiſtance and wiſedome. They, who haue valiant hearts, neuer want armes: for it is a confident
» courage that makes the weapon walk. That which enkindleth me thus to this action, is not the
» conſideration of my particular intereſt: for I haue not the leiſure to think on thoſe dangers that
» threaten me, through the griefe that I conceiue, to ſee the libertie of my countrey changed into
» ſeruitude, and the force of the lawes wholly aboliſhed, and all ſorts of men aſſigned to death by
» the cruelty of *Caius*. It is I that deſerue to be truſted in this execution, and I make you my Iudge,
» ſith you haue the like intention as I haue.

» *Minucianus*, perceiuing with what affection *Chæreas* ſpake, embraced him with all loue; & after he had praiſed him, he exhorted him to continue his conſtancie: then departed they one from the other, with praiers and wiſhes; and at that time there hapned a preſage that confirmed them the more. For as *Chæreas* entred into the Senate, ſome one among the people caſt out a word, that redoubled his courage. Diſpatch (ſaid he) that which thou haſt to do: for God will aſſiſt thee. *Chæreas* was ſome-what affraid, leſt ſome one of his aſſociates had betraied him. But at laſt, he thought it was ſome one of thoſe, who, being priuy to his reſolution, gaue him a watch-word to animate him the more; or that it was God, who, gouerning and obſeruing humane affaires, puſhed him forward. After he had imparted this his deliberation to diuers; ſundry Senatours, knights, and men of war, being aduertiſed hereof, were in armes. For there was not any one that ſuppoſed not that *Caius* death was the greateſt good hap the common-weale could expect. For which cauſe, all of them enforc't themſelues, as much as they could, to aſſiſt that execution with courageous and vertuous reſolution: & as forward were they in affection as in power; in words as in effect, deſiring each of them to be partakers in the diſpatch of a tyrant. For *Caliſthus* alſo, who was *Caius* free-man, & raiſed him to great authority, yea, ſuch as he almoſt equald him, adioined himſelf to them for the feare he apprehended of all men, & for thoſe great riches which he had gathered together, for that he was a man of a corrupt conſcience, & eaſily won by bribes & preſents, doing wrong to all men, & abuſing the power he had, againſt whõſoeuer he pleaſed,

Chæreas, with certain others intend to kill Caius.

Caliſthus, Caius free-man, certifies Claudius that Caius commanded him to poiſon him.

contrary

A contrary to all right and reaſon. Beſides, for that he knew the vnbridled nature of *Caius*, who hauing once conceiued an ill opinion of any man, could neuer afterwards be diſſwaded or reconciled. Amongſt diuers other dangers that he had to apprehend, the greatneſſe of the danger of his riches was not the leaſt, which was the cauſe that made him ſerue *Claudius*, and ſecretly to follow him vnder hope, that after *Caius* death, he ſhould be his ſucceſſor in the Empire, and that at that time he ſhould by him be maintained in the ſame eſtate, which he enioyed: and by this meanes thought he to obtaine his amity and good liking, by giuing him to vnderſtand how *Caius* had commanded him to poiſon him, and how he had inuented infinit delaies to deferre this execution. As for mine own part, I thinke that *Caliſthus* forged this matter. For if *Caius* had
B pretended to kill *Claudius*, he had not beene diſſwaded by *Caliſthus* allegations, who had incontinently receiued his reward, if he had deferred to execute his Maſters command, with all expedition in a matter ſo acceptable to him. So it is, that the prouidence of God would not permit *Caius* to execute that rage againſt *Claudius*; and *Caliſthus* was thereby thanked for a benefit which he no waies deſerued.

The yeere of the world, 4005. after Chriſts birth, 43.

Thoſe that were about *Chæreas* day by day, followed the action very ſlowly, notwithſtanding that he willingly delayed not, but thought all occaſions fit to finiſh his purpoſe in, for that he might aſſaile him at ſuch time as he aſcended vp into the Capitoll, or euen then when he ſolemnized thoſe ceremonies, which he had inſtituted in honor of his daughter, or at ſuch time as hee ſtood in the palace to ſcatter gold, and ſiluer money among the people, by caſting him from the
C toppe of the Palace into the market place, or at ſuch time as he celebrated thoſe myſteries, that were introduced by him. For no man ſuſpected *Chæreas*, ſo diſcreetly had he behaued himſelfe in all things: and he perſwaded himſelfe that no man would haue thought that he ſhould lay violent hands on *Caius*. And although he had done nothing to any effect; yet ſo it is, that the power of the gods was ſufficient to giue him force, and to kill him without drawing weapon. *Chæreas* was ſore diſpleaſed againſt his companions, in reſpect that he feared that they would let ſlip their occaſions; and although they perfectly knew that he trauailed for the maintenance of the lawes, and for the good of them all: yet did they requeſt him to delay a little, for feare leſt in the execution he ſhould in ſome ſort miſcarry, and for that cauſe the City might be brought in trouble, by the informations that would bee made of that act; and that finally when *Caius*
D ſhould be ſo much the better defenced againſt them, they ſhould not know how to ſhew their vertue, when the time required that they ſhould aſſault and ſet vpon him. They therefore thought it good that the opportunity to ſet forward this buſines, ſhould be the time in which the games of the Palace were celebrated, which were ſolemnized in honor of *Cæſar*, who firſt of all diſannulled the peoples authority, and appropriated it to himſelfe. This ſolemnity is celebrated in a Tent before the Palace, where the noble Citizens with their wiues and children remained to behold the ſport, and *Cæſar* himſelfe likewiſe. At that time concluded they that it would be an eaſie
E matter for them, when as ſo many thouſands of people ſhould be ſhut vp in ſo narrow a place; ſo that he, who would ſtep formoſt to giue the ſtroke, might very eaſily be ſuccoured, for that he could haue no force in armes, although his guard ſhould haue the courage and deſire to defend him. *Chæreas* reſolued vpon this, and it was concluded that the firſt day of thoſe ſports that were next at hand, the deed ſhould be done: but their aduenture was greater then their concluſion. For the delay was ſuch, as the third day was almoſt paſt, and hardly could they be drawne to attempt the matter on the third day. At which time *Chæreas* aſſembled all the confederates, and told them that the opportunity of time that ouerſlipt them, accuſed and reproached them of ſlackneſſe in that execution, which had beene ſo vertuouſly reſolued amongſt them: and that it was to be feared, leſt if any ſhould be diſcouered, the whole matter ſhould waxe fruſtrate: by which meanes *Caius* might grow more cruell then he was before. See we not (ſaid he) that by
F how much liberty we take from our ſelues, by ſo much we augment *Caius* tyranny? whereas we ought firſt of all to obtaine ſecurity for our ſelues, and afterwards purchaſe perpetuall felicity to others, the greateſt glory whereof ſhall redound vnto our ſelues. Now they hauing nothing to reply againſt ſo honourable a reſolution, and yet notwithſtanding no waies enforcing themſelues towards the action, but remaining altogether diſmaied without one word ſpeaking, *Chereas* ſpake thus:

Chæreas expecteth the occaſion to aſſaile Caius.

The finall concluſion of the confederates touching Caius death.

Moſt noble and generous Gentlemen, what is the cauſe that we linger and delay in this ſort? See you not that this day is the laſt day of the games, and that *Caius* is ready to depart to ſea? For he hath determined to ſaile into Alexandria, and to ſee Ægypt: verily it will be a ſmall honour for vs, if we ſuffer him to eſcape our hands, to the end that both by land and ſea, he may triumph

The yeere of the world, 4005. after Christs Nativitie, 43.

ouer the Romans vaine boast and negligence. How can we chuse but condemn our selues iustly, and challenge nothing but dishonor, if some Ægyptian supposing that men of free cõdition could not any longer endure his insolence, should put the matter in execution? For mine owne part, I will dreame no longer vpon your consultations, but this very day I will hazard my selfe; and betide me what can, I will sustaine all fortunes with pleasure and courage. For I am a man of that mind, that no danger can be so great or grieuous to daunt me, as that *Caius* should be slaine, during my life-time, and I should be depriued of so deserued an honor, which so worthy an attempt may chalenge. This said, he departed with an intent to attempt and end the matter, and encouraged the rest to do the like; so that all of them were desirous to set hand to the enterprize, without any further delay. The custome was, that the captains of the guard entred the palace with their swords by their sides, and in such equipage they asked the Emperor the watch-word. At that time it fortuned that it was *Chæreas* turne to set the word, when as a great number of people flocked to the palace, to take vp their places to behold the games with great preasse and noise; wherin *Caius* was greatly delighted: for there was no distinction of place either for Senators or Knights, but each one sate together confusedly, men and women, slaues and freemen. *Caius*, ariuing there first, had offered sacrifice in honor of *Cæsar Augustus*, in dignifying whom likewise those sports were solemnized. It came to passe that whilest those beasts were emboweld, that were appointed for sacrifice, *Asprenas* gown, who at that time was Senator, was besprinkled with blood: whereat *Caius* began to laugh; yet notwithstanding, this was a presage for *Asprenas*. For he was slaine that very day that *Caius* was. It is reported that *Caius* at that time, contrary to his own nature, behaued himselfe most affably towards all men, so that all the assistants were astonished to behold the courtesy that he vsed. After the sacrifice was done, he sate him down to behold the pastimes, and had about him the most noble of his friends and familiars. Now was there euery yeere a Theater builded, according to this form and fashion that ensueth: It had two gates, the one towards the open yard; the other opening vpon the porch, by which the actors had their egresse and regresse, without disturbance of those who sate to behold the pastime. There was within the same a certain seuerall room, separated from the rest, where the plaiers and musicians kept. When the people were seated, and *Chæreas* with the captains were neer about *Cæsar*, who sate on the right side of the Theater: *Batibius* one of the Senators, a man very expert in feats of Armes, asked *Cluuitus* priuily in his eare, who sate by him and had in like sort bin Consul, whether he heard any newes? who answering him, that he had heard nothing. On this day (said *Batibius*) shall the tragedy be plaid of a tyrants death. *Cluuitus* made him this reply in *Homers* words:

Whist; lest some Greeke should listen to our talke.

Now whilest some one darted certaine apples and rare and precious birds at the people, *Caius* tooke great pleasure to behold how they stroue one with another round about him, buffeting one another to see who should get the same: but at that present there chanced two presages: for the sport that was represented, was of a Iudge, who was apprehended and crucified, and in the dance they represented *Cynera*, who was slaine with *Myrrha* her daughter: and there was a great quantity of blood gathered to counterfait both the murther of the Iudge that was crucified, as also of *Cynera*. It is affirmed likewise that the day was the very same, whereon *Philip* the son of *Amyntas* King of Macedon, had been slaine by *Pausanias* one of his familiars, at such time as he entred the Theater. Whilest *Caius* was incertaine with himselfe whether he should remaine vntill the sports were finisht, for that it was the last day of them, or rather should resort to the bath, and after he had taken his refection, returne back againe thither, as he had done beforetime; *Minucianus* sitting next vnto him, fearing lest the occasion should be ouerslipt, arose, for that he had seene *Chæreas* depart out of doores, with an intent to goe and encourage him. But *Caius* catcht him by the gown, saying, Whither go you my friend? At which time for the reuerence sake that he bare vnto *Cæsar*, he sate him down againe: but the feare that he had, grew so forcible, that he arose againe; so that *Caius* could not detaine him, supposing that he departed thence to dispatch some important businesse. At that time did *Asprenas* counsaile *Cæsar* to repaire to the bath, telling him that after his refection hee might returne thither againe; all which he did, being desirous that the resolution might take effect. They that were with *Chæreas* were already disposed to take aduantage of the time, and were agreed each of them to stand prepared and in a readinesse, in a place appointed, to the intent to act the tragedy: and the delay was very grieuous vnto them, for that it was already three a clock after noone. So that *Chæreas* seeing that *Caius* lingred so long, intended to go in vnto him and assaile him in his seat: but he conceiued that he could not bring that to passe without great losse and murther of Senators, and Knights that were there present.

Caius sacrificeth to Augustus Cæsar. Asprenas.

The Theater.

Batibius. Cluuitus.

Now

A Now although he had this apprehenſion, yet addreſſed he himſelfe to the execution therof, ſup- *The yeere of the world, 4003. after Chriſts birth, 41.*
poſing that the loſſe that might happen by the death of ſome one, would be well recompenced by the ſecurity and liberty, that would redound vnto all men. When as therefore they were in a readineſſe to enter the Theater, newes was brought them that *Caius* was riſen to come forth; by means whereof there aroſe ſome noiſe. For which cauſe the confederates turned backe into the Theater, and appeaſed the people, telling them that they diſpleaſed and annoyed the Emperour: but the effect was, to draw him aſide from all thoſe, who might yeeld him any aſſiſtance; and ſo to ſet vpon him. Before *Caius* marched *Claudius* his vncle, and *M. Minucianus* his ſiſters husband and *Valerius*, who at that time was Proconſul, who might not any waies be drawne from their
B place, although they had the will, by reaſon of the place and dignity which they held. *Caius* followed after them, accompanied with *Paulus Aruntius*. Now when he was entred into the palace, heleft the ready way where his officers were, and *Claudius* with his aſſociates held: he turned aſideby an vnfrequented way to the baths, vpon purpoſe to ſee certaine young boyes, who were come out of Aſia, and were ſent him out of that country, partly to ſing in thoſe ceremonies that were inſtituted by him, and partly to dance in armes about the Theater; and in that place *Chæreas* came and encountred him, asking him the watch-word: which *Caius* gaue him very reprochfully according to his cuſtome. For which cauſe without any further delay, *Chæreas* aſſayling him both in word and act, drew his ſword and gaue him a great wound, which notwithſtanding Caius ſlaine.
C was not mortal: ſome ſay that *Chæreas* purpoſely wounded him after that ſort, becauſe he would not kill him at once, but to his further torment increaſe the number of his wounds: but I cannot beleeue the ſame, for that in ſuch executions a man hath no leaſure to determine how to ſtrike. And if *Chæreas* had ſuch an intention, I account him the verieſt foole that might be, for that he rather tooke his pleaſure to content his deſpite, then readily to deliuer both himſelfe & others, who by his delay in being of his confederacy might be drawne into hazard. For if *Caius* had not beene ſuddenly ſlaine, hee could not haue wanted meanes of reſcous, and it ſhould ſeeme that *Chæreas* had not pretended to doe ſo much miſchiefe to *Caius*, as to himſelfe and his fellow confederates. And being in this incertainty, whether his enterprize ſhould haue fallen out happily or no, he had without reaſon both vndone himſelfe and loſt the occaſion: whereas hauing happily hit home, he might without a word ſpeaking, warrantize himſelfe againſt thoſe, who would
D offend him. But let each man thinke what beſt pleaſeth him. *Caius* feeling the griefe of the wound (for he was ſtrooken betwixt the ſhoulder and the neck, and his ſword could not pierce further, by reaſon that it hit vpon the firſt bone of the breſt) he cryed not in any ſort, neither called for any of his friends, whether it were that he diſtruſted them all, or that he had ſom other thought, and in lamenting himſelfe he paſt onward. But he was met by *Cornelius Sabinus*, who was already prepared to encounter him, who thruſt him downe vpon his knees: whereupon all of them enuironed him round about, and with mutuall exhortations encouraged one another to do their vttermoſt in murthering him. At length in all mens opinion they agreed on this, that it was *Aquila* that gaue him the deadly wound, that ſeuered his ſoule from his body. But this act ought Aquila gaue Caius his deaths wound: but Chæreas was the author & chiefe actor of the tragedy.
to be attributed to *Chæreas*. For although diuers ſet to their hands in the action; yet was he the firſt, who had bethought him of the action, hauing long time before any of them premeditated the ſame, after what ſort it ſhould be attempted: and he alſo was the firſt that durſt boldly impart it vnto others, and who after they had allowed of his reſolution aſſembled them: and when as euery one was to ſpeake his opinion, hee concluded the ſame very diſcreetly, and had alwaies done farre more then the reſt; ſo that by his earneſt and honourable perſwaſions, he encouraged thoſe that were faint-hearted, ſince at ſuch time as the opportunity preſented it ſelfe, to ſet hand to the execution, he was the firſt that attempted it, and who valiantly ſtrooke and made an eaſie way to the reſt, who found *Caius* calme enough, in that he was a man almoſt thorowly ſlaine. For which cauſe, it is neceſſary, that all that which others haue done, ſhould be aſcribed to *Chæreas* aduice, vertue and diligence.

Thus died *Caius*, being ſlaughtered with many mortall wounds: now when *Chæreas* and his companions had diſpatched him, they perceiued well that it would be impoſſible for them to ſaue themſelues, if ſo be they ſhould returne by the way that they came; ſomuch were they raiſhed with that which they had done. For they drew themſelues into no ſmall danger, by murthering an Emperour, who was cheriſhed and beloued through the folly of the common people, and whoſe death the men of warre would not leaue vnpuniſhed. Now in that the waies were narrow where the murther was done, and they themſelues alſo were hindered by reaſon of the great number of people, and officers and ſouldiers that gaue their attendance that day in gar-

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ding the Emperor, they tooke another way & retired themſelues into *Germanicus* lodging, who was *Caius* father, whom they had lately ſlaughtered. This houſe adioyned vpon the palace. For although the palace was but one, yet conſiſted it of diuers lodgings which were builded by ſeuerall Emperours; whoſe names, whether they had begun or finiſhed the workes, were impoſed on the ſame buildings. When as therefore they were eſcaped from the preaſe, they were in ſafety as long as the inconuenience that had befallen the Emperour was as yet hidden. The firſt report of his death came to the Germans who were of his guard, being a company choſen out of that nation named the Celtique band, for the preſeruation of the Emperours perſon. Theſe men are very prone vnto wrath, and amongſt all other Barbarians, it is a rare thing in them to examine the cauſes of their execution: otherwiſe they are men ſtrong in body, and who in the warres alwaies giue the firſt onſet, yelding great aduantage to thoſe on whoſe ſide they fight. They hauing notice of *Caius* murther, were vehemently aggrieued therat, for that it is their manner to cenſure all things, not according to right, but as they are anſwerable to their own profits: *Caius* in eſpeciall was dearely beloued by them, in that he had obtained their fauour by beſtowing much money vpon them. Their captaine was one called *Sabinus*, who was not aduanced to that eſtate, either for his vertue or the nobility of his anceſtors (for he was but a fencer) but for his mighty ſtrength & huge body. They therfore ran about with their naked ſwords ſearching for *Cæſars* murtherers from houſe to houſe: and meeting with *Aſprenas* at firſt, whoſe gowne (as we haue ſaid) was bebloodied with the blood of the ſlaughtered ſacrifice, which was a preſage that boaded him but little good fortune, they hewed him in pieces. The ſecond was *Norbanus* (who for his nobility and anceſtors might deriue his titles from the nobleſt Citizens, amongſt whom were diuers Generals of Armies) who ſeeing they made no reckoning of his dignity, and being of himſelfe endowed with great force and ſtrength, hee tooke a ſword from one of them which firſt aſſailed him; with whom he grapled, and made them know that he intended they ſhould buy his blood very dearely: and indeed ſo had hee done, but that being inuironed by diuers, who aſſailed him at once, he was beaten downe and ſlaughtered with many deadly wounds. The third was *Anteius*, one of the number of the Senators, who with ſome others met not with theſe men by chance, as the two other had done; but to ſhew the hatred that hee bare vnto *Caius*, & the pleaſure that he tooke to ſee him lie dead, was come out of his houſe, being egged on with enuy to feed his eyes with that ſpectacle. For *Caius* had baniſhed *Anteius* father, whoſe name likewiſe was *Anteius*, and not content therewith, hee had ſent his ſouldiers to kill him. He therefore with great pleaſure beheld the ſlaughtered carcaſſe of this tyrant: but hearing the vprore that was raiſed in euery part of the houſe, he thought good to hide himſelfe; yet might he not auoid the narrow ſearch of the Germans, who were ſo diſpleaſed, that they ſlew al thoſe whom they met with, whether they were guilty or guiltleſſe of the fact. Thus were theſe three made away.

Chæreas with his confederates retireth into Germanicus houſe.

The Germans Cæſars guard

Sabinus with his Germane ſouldiers ſeeketh for thoſe that ſlew Caius.

Aſprenas cut in pieces.

Norbanus.

Anteius.

But after the rumour of *Caius* death was heard in the Theater, euery one was amazed, and could ſcarcely beleeue it. For although diuers of them were very glad, that he was taken out of the world, perſwading themſelues that it would highly profit them; yet did their feare hinder their beliefe. On the other ſide, there were ſome, who deſiring not that any ſuch miſ-hap ſhould befall *Cæſar*, and conceiuing in their thoughts, that it was impoſſible to be done, for that there was no man ſo hardy, as to enterprize the ſame; they ſuppoſed the report to bee vtterly vntrue. Of this minde were certaine women and children, ſlaues and ſouldiers. Theſe, by reaſon they receiued wages at his hand, and tyrannized with him, being his miniſters in all thoſe outrages that he offered to many good citizens, in partaking the bootie and other aduantages that *Caius* drew vnto him. As for the women and children, they were of that opinion, by reaſon that ſuch kinde of people take delight in plaies, ieſts, donations of fleſh, and other ſuch paſtimes, which *Caius* in word pretended to do to gratifie the common people, but in effect it was to haue means to ſatisfie his rage and cruelty. He was alſo gracious among the ſeruants & ſlaues, for that by him they had the liberty to accuſe and contemne their Maſters, and were therein countenanced by *Caius*. For when they falſely accuſed their Maſters, they were eaſily beleeued: and when they diſcouered their Maſters treaſures, in recompence of their diſcouery they were not onely made free by him, but alſo ſent home with rich and ample rewards. For the reward that was aſſigned them, was the eighth part of thoſe goods that were confiſcated. As for certaine of the nobility, although the matter ſeemed true to ſome of them, for that before-time they were priuy to that which the reſt intended, and notwithſtanding they deſired that the enterprize ſhould bee effected: yet kept they all things cloſe, and gaue no ſigne of ioy, nor made any ſhew that they heard that

What ſort of people they were that lamented Caius death.

A that which was reported. For ſome of them feared leſt if they ſhould be fruſtrated of their hope, they ſhould bring themſelues in danger of puniſhment, for that they had diſcouered their intent ſooner then they ſhould haue done. They likewiſe who knew the enterprize and were confederates with the actors; yet did they more cloſely conceale it the one from the other, fearing leſt if they ſhould diſcouer the matter to any one of thoſe, who drew any commodity from *Caius* tyranny, they might bewray them: whereby if *Caius* ſhould be yet aliue, they might incurre the danger of puniſhment. For the voice was, that he had been wounded in certaine places; yet that he was not ſlaine; but as yet aliue, and among his Phyſicians hands, who dreſſed his wounds. No man therefore durſt liberally diſcouer the ſecrets of his heart to his neighbour: for they that B ſpred thoſe reports, were either friends (and for that cauſe were ſuſpected as fauourers of his tyranny) or enemies, and by that meanes in that they were but ſiniſterly affected towards *Caius*, there was no certainty to be gathered of that which they ſaid. There aroſe alſo another report, which abaſhed and beat downe the hearts and hopes of the nobility, namely, that *Caius* ſetting light by the danger wherein he was, and as little alſo by the wounds he had receiued, was come into the market place all bloody as he was, and after that manner declaimed before the people. See here how they that ſpred theſe rumours, preferred their coniectures, which were void of all reaſon; which diſtracted thoſe vncertainly that heard the ſame, according as they were affectioned. This notwithſtanding no man remooued from his place, for feare leſt they ſhould be ſuddenly accuſed, knowing well that they ſhould be cenſured, not according to their thoughts and C affections, but according to the diſpoſition of their Iudges and accuſers.

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Diuers rumors of Cæſars death.

But after that the troupe of Germans had inuironed the Theater with their naked ſwords, all the aſſiſtants expected nothing but death; and as ſoone as any man entred, they were ſeized with ſuch an amazement, as if they had already felt the ſtrokes; ſo that they knew not what to do, hauing no heart to depart from thence: and otherwiſe perſwading themſelues, that if they ſtayed there any longer, it would breed them further danger. Finally, when the ſouldiers were entred into the Theater by force, all the whole aſſemblie cried out, and beſought them, proteſting that whatſoeuer was done, it was beſides their knowledge, whether it were either attempted by conſpiracy, or any other meanes. They therefore moſt humbly intreated them, that they would ſpare them, and not inflict the penalty of the guilty on thoſe that were innocent for their owne parts, D they beſought them to ſearch out thoſe, who had cõmitted the act, if any ſuch thing were committed. And thus ſpake they with teares, beating their breſts, and calling the gods to witneſſe, alledging all that which the preſent danger ſuggeſted them with, and as much as ſuch as pleaded for their liues could proffer. By theſe perſwaſions of theirs the ſouldiers fury was abated; ſo that they began to repent themſelues of that which they had executed in the Theater: for this alſo was a cruelty, as they themſelues (notwithſtanding their barbarous inciuility) ſuppoſed it to be, which was, that the heads of *Aſprenus* and other that were ſlaine, were carried and ſet vpon an Altar. Whereat all the aſſiſtants were moſt grieuouſly diſcontented, remembring themſelues of the dignity of the men, and hauing compaſſion of that which had befallen them, conſidering alſo that they themſelues were not farre off from dangers, being vncertaine whether they ſhould E ſaue themſelues: whereby it came to paſſe, that ſome of thoſe, who had for good cauſe hated *Caius*, durſt not freely reioyce at his death, becauſe they were vpon the point to loſe their owne liues, hauing as yet no appearance of any ſafety.

The German ſouldiers reſort to the Theater.

At length *Aruntius*, a man who was gracious among the people, and was one of the common cryers, who had a ſtrong voice, and by crying ſuch goods as were to be ſold, had gathered ſo great ſubſtance, as that he was accounted one of the richeſt men in Rome, and in great eſtimation amongſt all men in that behalfe, entred the Theater in a mourning habit, and after a lamentable manner: and although he inwardly hated *Caius*, yet for the feare hee conceiued leſt hee ſhould loſe his goods, and in conſideration of the preſent danger, he diſſembled his ioy, wearing all thoſe garments of mourning, and vſing no leſſe lamentation then if hee had bemoaned the F death of his deareſt friend. After this manner came he into the Theater, publiſhing *Caius* death, to the intent that the people might not be ignorant of that which had hapned: after this, he began to repreſſe the rage of the Germans, and commanded their captaines and tribunes to put vp their ſwords, certifying them of the Emperours death, which act of his did manifeſtly ſaue the liues of all thoſe, who were aſſembled in the Theater; and all them likewiſe, whom they could haue met with. For if they had had but the leaſt ſurmize, that *Caius* had as yet beene aliue, there was not any ſort of cruelty which they had not committed. For they bare him ſo great loue and affection, that to warrantize him frõ that miſ-hap, they would haue redeemed him with the loſſe

Aruntius entreth the Theater, and ſignifieth the Emperours death.

The Germans fury awakend by the death of Caius is pacified.

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of their own liues. But as ſoon as they vnderſtood that he was dead, they repreſſed their furious rage, which egged them forward to reuenge: knowing that it auailed them nothing to diſcouer their affections towards him, in that he could yeeld them no requitall. Beſides, the feare they had leſt that in purſuit of their tyrannous murthers, the Senate ſhould be incenſed againſt them, if ſo be the gouernment of the eſtate ſhould be returned into their hands, made them containe themſelues. Thus was the fury of theſe Germans appeaſed for the death of *Caius*.

Chæreas, Minucianus, and Clement conſult about Cæſars death.

Meane-while *Chæreas* (who feared very much leſt *Minucianus* ſhould fall into the Germans hands, and in their fury be ſlaughtered by them) ſought for him among the ſouldiers, enquiring of euery one whether they knew if he were ſlaine or no. Wherupon *Minucianus* and *Clement* were brought vnto him, who in his preſence commended *Chæreas* exploit, and gaue him thanks in the name of the whole Senate, who witneſſed that it was to the generall benefit and good of the common-weale, and that the greateſt perſons were beholding to him, for that hee had neither wanted good aduice in his deliberation, nor courage to execute his reſolution; alledging that the nature of tyranny was ſuch, that being puffed vp with a ſhort pleaſure of vniuſt and intolerable rule, it finally (as being hated by all good men) determined and ended in miſery, as it manifeſtly appeared in that which had befallen *Caius*; who before any thing was either deuiſed, practized or executed againſt him, was already hatefull to all men, and had in ſuch ſort violated all lawes; that his greateſt friends were reſolued to take armes againſt him, who in appearance had depriued him of life, when both in truth and in effect it was he himſelfe, who was the author of his owne ruine.

Arcion a certain Phyſician diſmiſſeth ſome.

Hereupon all they aroſe who were in the Theater, and raiſed great noiſe and trouble in ſeeking to ſaue themſelues. The occaſion was, that a certaine Phyſician called *Arcion*, being called out to goe and dreſſe certaine men that were wounded, making a ſhew as if he went to goe and prepare ſuch things, as were neceſſary for thoſe that were wounded, made thoſe iſſue out with him who ſate neereſt vnto him: but the truth was, that he did it to the end to draw them out of the preſent danger. Meane-while the Senate aſſembled themſelues in the Palace, and the people flocked together to make enquiry after thoſe, who had murthered *Caius*: the people with an intire and ſimple intent, the Senate only to vſe ſome formall proceeding. For *Valerius Aſiaticus*, who had otherwhiles been Conſull, came forth among the people, who were in an vprore; and ſuppoſing it a ſtrange matter that no man knew who had ſlain the Emperor, whileſt euery one enquired who it was that had done the deed: O ſaid hee, would it had been I that had done it. But the Conſuls publiſhed an edict, containing the accuſations that were preſented againſt *Caius*, commanding the people and ſouldiers, who were as yet in the Theater, to retire themſelues to their lodgings. And the people were put in great hope, that they ſhould be eaſed of thoſe taxations, wherewith before time they had been burthened: and the men of war were promiſed honors and dignities, if they would containe themſelues in their accuſtomed order, and ſtirre vp no further trouble. For it was to be feared, leſt if they had been further fleſhed in ſlaughters, the City ſhould haue fallen into ſome great danger through rapines and ſpoiles both of houſes and temples. But by this time all the whole order of the Senate were aſſembled, eſpecially thoſe who were confederates in *Caius* murther; who ſeemed to gather courage, and to ſpeake boldly, as if the gouernment of the eſtate had been fallen into their hands.

The Senate and people enquire after thoſe that ſlew Caius. Valerius Aſiaticus wiſheth he had beene the Author.

CHAP. II.

CLAVDIVS *tooke vpon him the gouernment of the Empire.*

Hedio and Ruffinus, cha. 2.

WHILEST the eſtate of the Empire was thus diſtracted, *Claudius* was ſuddenly fetcht out of his houſe: For the ſouldiers aſſembling themſelues together, and conferring among themſelues what was requiſit to be done, perceiued that it was impoſſible, that ſo many and ſo waighty affairs of the common-weale ſhould be well diſpoſed by a popular gouernment; and that this change alſo would yeeld thē little profit, if ſome of thoſe who were in authority ſhould happen to obtain the ſoueraigne gouernment. Furthermore, that it would be euery way preiudiciall vnto them, if they had not a part of the gouernance, and a hand in the adminiſtration of the common-weale. Whileſt therefore the ſoueraigne authority remained as yet vndiſpoſed, they thought meet to elect *Claudius*, who was *Caius* vncle, for their Emperour; who was a man of that reputation, that none of thoſe, who had been aſſembled in the Senate, was more capable then he was, both in regard of the vertue of his anceſtors, as alſo in reſpect of the

The ſouldiers elect Claudius Emperour.

doctrin

doctrin wherewith he was endowed. Who likewiſe being by them exalted to the dignity of the Empire, would honor them, and with all anſwerable bounty acknowledge their good deſerts. This concluſion of theirs was both admitted, and preſently executed: ſo that *Claudius* was receiued and elected Emperor by the men of war. But *Cnaius Sentius Saturninus* hauing intelligence that *Claudius* was in this ſort elected (who in appearance ſeemed vertuouſly to contradict, but in effect deſired nothing more) preſented himſelfe before the Senate: and being neither amated nor amazed in any ſort, he freely ſpake his minde; and as it became his birth and nobility, he ſpake vnto the aſſembly after the maner that enſueth:

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Cnaius Sentius Saturninus declaimeth in the Senate.

Liberty a precious thing.

You Lords of Rome, although it be an incredible matter, that the liberty which hath ſo long time been vnexpected, ſhould returne and viſit vs; yet ſo it is, that we ſee the excellency thereof; although it be vncertaine how long time the Gods will beſtow it on vs: which is ſuch, that it may reioyce vs for the preſent; what iſſue ſoeuer it may haue hereafter. For to them that know what vertue is, it is no ſmall felicity to liue one houre in freedome of mind, and in a free country gouerned by ſuch lawes, which in times paſt haue made our common-weale to flouriſh. For mine own part, I cannot remember our ancient liberty, for that I was borne after the ſubuerſion thereof: But I infinitly deſire to haue the happy fruition of that which we enioy at this preſent. And I think them alſo very happy, who are borne and brought vp in vertuous ſtudies. I likewiſe ſuppoſe that a ſecond honour next to the immortall Gods is to bee aſcribed to them, by whoſe vertue at laſt though very late euen in this our age, wee haue obtained the felicity to enioy the ſame; which happineſſe would God with our inheritances we might bequeath to our poſterity. For in regard of our ſelues, this day ſufficeth vs both, as well all thoſe that are yong as they alſo who are old. For the aged ſhall forſake this life with more pleaſure, in that they haue had the knowledge of that bleſſing which is annexed to their liberty: and the yonger ſhall be furniſhed with a royall example in admiring and knowing their vertues, by whom we enioy this benefit of freedom. For in regard of the preſent time, there is not any thing that we ought more earneſtly to affect, then to liue vertuouſly. For only vertue is the thing that confirmeth men in their liberty. I cannot ſpeake of the time paſt, but only by hearſay: but for that I haue ſeen with mine eyes, and perceiued by my obſeruation, I know how great miſchiefes tyrannies do ordinarily breed in a politike eſtate: for they vtterly extinguiſh all vertue, and depriue freemen of all that perfect magnanimity that may be in them, and teach both to flatter and to feare, for that the common-weale is abandoned not to the wiſedome of the lawes, but to the fury of intemperate gouernours. For ſince *Iulius Cæſar* bent his thoughts to ouerthrow the popular gouernment in Rome, and violated that happy courſe of law, whereby our ſtate was policied, the common-weale hath been ouerthrowne. For in ſubiecting the law to his good liking, and himſelf to his particular deſires, there is not any kind of miſery and miſchiefe, that hath not ouerthrown our city; ſo that his ſucceſſors haue imploied themſelues to the vttermoſt, and with a certain emulation, to aboliſh the lawes of our country, ſtriuing which of them might deſpoile our common-weale of her nobleſt citizens: for that they haue made their account, that their ſecurity conſiſted in communicating their ſecrets with ſuch as were baſe and abiect; abaſing not only the hauty courages of thoſe men, who were famous for their nobility and vertue, but alſo by ſlaughtering a great number of them by all ſorts of puniſhment: and whileſt each of them laboured to be abſolute in their command, they enforced themſelues to oppreſſe the common-weale.

Liberty purchaſed by vertue.

Tyrannies breed many miſchiefes in common-weales.

Iulius Cæſar.

But amongſt all the reſt, *Caius*, who this day hath loſt the benefit of life, hath wrought greater miſchiefes himſelfe alone, then any other, by inforcing his brutiſh and beaſtly wrath not onely againſt the common citizens, but alſo againſt his owne parents and friends; demeaning himſelfe alike towards all men, and manifeſting his vniuſtice in that he purſued them with moſt iniury, who were moſt innocent: and by this meanes grew hatefull not onely to men, but alſo to the immortall Gods. For it is not enough for tyrants to ſatisfie their concupiſcence, to vſe all ſorts of outrages, to rauiſh both mens wealth and their wiues; but alſo their gaine and glory is, when they may vtterly ruinate both their fortunes and families, who are their enemies. For all liberty is oppoſed againſt tyranny, and it is impoſſible (notwithſtanding al the miſeries that it may be imagined or offered) that freemen ſhould accord with tyrants, how little time ſoeuer it be that they haue exerciſed their tyranie. They alſo know too well with how many miſchiefes they haue entangled their ſubiects (although they haue not the ſpirits to reuenge themſelues of thoſe wrongs that are done vnto them) and being well aſſured into what incombrances they haue drawn them, perſwade themſelues, that they haue but one only meanes left them to warrantize themſelues from ſuſpicions; and to procure their owne ſecurity, which is, to put them to death,

if

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if they may possibly doe it. Sith therefore at this present you are deliuered from so many mischiefes, and are no more subiect, except to one another (which is a pledge of concord for the present, and of security in time to come, and glory vnto him that hath redressed the estate) you shall deale very well and wisely in my opinion to prouide for the common-weale, foreseeing very diligently all that which concerneth the good and profit thereof. It is free for any man to speake his opinion of that which displeaseth him, for that there is no superiour to countermand their sayings, or that is exempt from reproofe if hee offend against the common-weale, or that may threaten with the authority of an Emperor for that shall be said. For what else in these later times hath increased and furthered our ouer-topping tyranny, then their slouthfull feare, who durst in no sort oppose themselues against his lust? For being entangled by a certain kind of pleasure of a quiet life, and accustomed to liue after the manner of slaues, and being afraid also to dye vertuously, and desirous to liue with shame, we are fallen into these scarce sufferable calamities, and into such mischiefes as haue concerned vs too neerely. First of all therfore, you ought to honour those, who haue slaine the tyrant, by dignifying them with as great honors as may be imagined, and especially *Chæreas*. For he only hath bin the man, who by the power of the gods, and through his great wisedome & valour, hath giuen you your liberty. Neither ought you to forget him, but to heape honors on his head, yea especiall fauours, as to the man who first of all consulted, and first of all hazarded himselfe against a tyrant for your liberty. It is an honest and well beseeming action in men of free hearts, to restore and repay condigne kindnes for the benefits that they haue receiued: such is this man in your behalfe, not like to *Brutus* & *Cassius*, who murthered *Cæsar*; for they were the originals of seditions & ciuill wars in this city: and this man by the death of a tyrant, hath not only at once deliuered you of him, but also hath cut off all those mischiefes that arose by him.

An exhortation to maintain liberty.

Chæreas to be honoured for his noble attempt.

Thus spake *Sentius*, and his aduice was entertained with great applause, not onely by the Senators, but the knights also that were there present. Whereupon a certaine Senator called *Trebellius Maximus* arose, and stepping to him, pulled off the ring which *Sentius* had on his finger, wherein was inchased a stone with *Caius* picture in it, which *Sentius* had forgot to pull off: so intent was he about that which he both said and did: and by this meanes the engraued image was broken. Now for that it was late, *Chæreas* demanded the watch-word at the Consuls hands, who gaue him the word Liberty. Thus all of them were astonished at this change, and could scarcely beleeue that which had hapned. For since that time that the popular gouernment had been abolished, the Consuls had neuer giuen the watchword vntill that present time. For before the city was oppressed by tyranny, the Consuls commanded the men of warre. After that *Chæreas* had receiued the word, he gaue it to his souldiers, who subscribed to the Senats authority: of these there were about foure companies, which preferred the lawfull gouernment before a tyranny, who also retired themselues to their chieftaines. As for their parts, the people returned to their seuerall houses, full of ioy, hope, and courage, for that they had regained the gouernment of the state, which belonged vnto them, and not to any particular gouernour. In a word, *Chæreas* was their only hope: He foreseeing that there would some mischiefe follow, if *Caius* wife & daughter should remaine aliue; and that if all his friends and family should not be vtterly extinguished, all those who should bee spared, would serue to no other end, but to the ruine of the common-weale and the lawes: and on the other side, desiring to see a finall end of that which he had begun, and to satisfie that hatred he had conceiued against *Caius*, he sent *Iulius Lupus* one of the captains of the guard, to kill both his wife and daughter, which he did. And the cause why hee gaue this charge chiefly to *Lupus*, was, for that *Lupus* was *Clements* kinsman, who was a confederate in the execution of *Caius*; to the end that partaking after this manner the death of the tyrant, he might be knowne to haue dealt as forwardly for the common-weale, as if from the beginning he had bin a counseller & agent in the conspiracy. Notwithstanding, there were some of his companions of that opinion, that it should be but cruelty to deale with a woman in that sort, for that *Caius* had offended through the corruption of his owne nature, and not by the counsell of his wife; and that all those euils which he committed in the common-weale, by desolating the flower thereof, was his owne offence, not hers.

Chæreas requireth a watch-word at the Consuls hands.

Chæreas sendeth Iulius Lupus to kill Caius wife & daughter.

There were others that accused her to be the cause of all that which *Caius* had committed, alledging that she had giuen him an amorous drinke, by which he was tied and entangled in such sort vnto her, and so led & transported by her loue, that she gouerned all that which concerned the estate of Rome, and the world subiect to Rome; but her defenders preuailed nothing. For finally it was resolued, that she should lose her life.

To

A To finish this tragedy, *Lupus* was dispatcht, who lost no time in the accomplishment of their intent who had sent him, for feare he had to be blamed, and accounted but coldly affectionate towards the good of the common-weale. As soon as therfore he came into the palace, he found *Cæsonia*, *Caius* widow, lying fast by the body of her slaughtered husband, destitute of all that which the law gratifieth those that are dead with, altogether bloody & greatly afflicted, hauing her daughter fast couched by her. Being in this estate, she was heard to vtter no other words, but that she blamed *Caius*, for that he had not giuen credit to that counsell which she had giuen him sooften: which words of hers, were by certaine of them interpreted two waies. For some of them thought that she meant, that she had counselled her husband to giue ouer his cruelty, and B murthers which he exercised against his citizens; & that in his gouernment he should vse a tempered measure with vertue, for feare lest his subiects misliking of his manners, should seeke his destruction. Others tooke it as if she had encouraged *Caius* to set vpon the conspirators and kill them, without any delay; yea, before they had committed any offence, and by that means prouide for his security. They therefore said, that *Cæsonia* blamed *Caius* for that hee had behaued himselfe too carelesly, in that wherein she had counselled him. Such were the words *Cæsonia* spake, and such was the exposition, as diuers men interpreted the same.

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Cæsonia accuseth Caius, for that hee would not giue credit to her counsels.

She seeing *Lupus* comming, shewed him *Caius* body, and besought him with teares and complaints to come no neerer. But perceiuing that he continued in his resolution, & made no account of her words, but did that for which he came, after that she knew the cause of his arriuall, she of- C fred her naked throat vnto him, with a great courage, vsing such supplications as they ordinarily do who despaire of their liues. For she willed him to defer no longer, to finish that tragedy which his companions had begun, & died in this sort courageously by the hand of *Lupus*: and after her was her daughter slain, which was very yong. This did *Lupus* certifie *Chæreas* of with all expedition. This was *Caius* end, after he had liued foure yeers, wanting foure months. Before such time as he obtained the Empire, he was an intemperate & wicked man, and addicted to his pleasure, a fauourer of tale-bearers, exceeding fearefull, and for that cause, when he got the vpper hand of any man, he was ready to kill him. He esteemed this the only fruit of his power, when he abused the same against innocents; and gathered or heaped vp great spoiles and booties by wicked and vniust murthers, rapines and oppressions; lifting himselfe aboue all humane authority, and af- D fecting to be esteemed as a God, suffering himselfe to be transported by the peoples praises. Furthermore, all that which the law condemned and punished, as a thing most detestable, that made he vse of to punish vertue with. He neuer remembred any friendship that had beene done him, how great soeuer it either was or had bin, at such time as he was in his choler, and was apt to inflict punishments in his rage on iust & vpright men. All that which was answerable to vertue, was odious in his eyes: In all things that him listed he had so violent appetites, that it was impossible to contradict him; so that he was not ashamed to vse the vnlawfull company of his owne sister: whereby it came to passe, that the Citizens of Rome began to hate him extremely, for that the like matter had not beene seene nor heard of: of a long time men could not beleeue the same, yet notwithstanding they sufficiently expressed the hatred they bare against the fact he E had committed. It cannot be said of him, that he builded any work beseeming his royall magnificence worthy the mentioning, or profitable either to the present or future world, except some ports that he made neere to Rhegium and Sicilia, for harbour of such ships as came & went into Egypt for corne, which doubtlesse is a goodly and mighty work, and very profitable for such as trauell by sea. True it is, that it was not brought to perfection, but only halfe finished, because the workemen trauelled leasurely. But the chiefe cause thereof was, that he spent his study in vnprofitable matters, and loued rather to consume his substance to feed his owne priuate lusts wherein he tooke great delight, then to erect and build any goodly or famous worke, which might haue redounded to the profit of the common-weale. Otherwise he was a man well spoken, and very expert in the Greek & vulgar Roman tongues, apprehending presently, that which others said: F and although they had spent long time in discouering their minds; yet answered he them vpon the instant, and in affaires of consequence hee had such a mouing perswasion and power, as no man could exceed him, both in regard of his quick spirit & easie apprehension, as of the exercise and paine he had taken. For being *Tiberius* brothers sonne, whose successour also he was, he was enforced to be studious, seeing that *Tiberius*, who was of the same yeeres, was in like manner excellently learned. *Caius* therfore inforced himselfe to imitate the Emperor *Tiberius* whose neere kinsman he was, and surpassed all those that were in Rome at that time; yet notwithstanding, all these great aduantages, which his good instruction had bred in him, could not hinder the

Caius a wicked man.

Caius giuen ouer to lust.

Caius builded a hauen.

Caius an excellent Orator.

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the misfortune that befel him, by the abuse of his authority. So rare a thing it is to see them, who haue liberty to do what they list without punishment, to gouerne themselues with modesty. In the beginning he tooke delight in the friendship of very honest men, to get credit & reputation, thinking to outstrip the most excellent: but after he was giuen ouer to licentiousnes, the affection that he bare them was changed; and in stead thereof, he grew in hatred of them from day to day: whereby they were inforced to conspire against him, and seeke his ruine.

Hedio & Rufinus, cha. 3.

Now, as I haue heretofore declared, *Claudius* vnderstanding of that which had befallen *Caius* his Nephew, and seeing all his house wholly troubled, for this occasion was in such distrust, that he knew not what to do to saue himselfe: but went and hid himselfe in a certain corner, where he was surprized, hauing no other cause to apprehend his danger, except his nobility. For during the time that he liued a priuate man, he behaued himselfe modestly, kindly, and fauourably vnto all men, being well seene in the Sciences, and principally in the Greeke tongue, shunning as much as in him lay, all tumult & train that might breed trouble. When as therfore the people at that time were wholly amazed at the trouble, and the palace was repleniſhed with souldier-like fury and feare, & nothing raigned more in generall then confusion & disorder; the souldiers of the guard, who were the most experienced & hardy amongst the men of warre, consulted amongst themselues what course they were to take. Neither were they much discontented with *Caius* death, in that they supposed that vpon iust occasion, he was done to death: for which cause they rather bethought themselues on that which concerned their estates, and how they might assure themselues in those dangers, seeing the Germans were wholly bent against those, who had slaughtred *Caius*; rather incited thereunto of their owne cruell natures, then of any good affection they had towards the welfare of the common-weale. All which things troubled *Claudius*, and put him in feare of his life, the rather for that he saw *Asprenas* head, and the rest of the nobility that were massacred, carried about to be seen: for this cause he kept himselfe in a certaine place, which was, onely accessible by certaine steps or staires, and hid himselfe therein, because it was obscure. In that place one of the souldiers of the palace, called *Gratus*, being vnable to discerne who he was, in regard of the obscurity of the place, and, supposing him to be some one that desired to be concealed, he drew neere vnto him, to the intent he might the better know him: And when as *Claudius* besought him that he would depart and leaue him, he passed the more onwards, and laying hold of him and drawing him into the light, knew him; crying out to those that followed him; This is *Germanicus*, let vs take hold of him, and create him Emperour. *Claudius* perceiuing that he was ready to be attached, & fearing lest they should put him to death in the like maner as they had done *Caius*, besought them that they would pardon him, protesting vnto them his innocencie, and how he had in no sort been either accessary or agent in that which had bin done. Wherupon *Gratus* beginning to smile, tooke him by the hand, saying, that he had no cause in that sort to suspect his life: For (said he) it behoueth thee to pull vp thy spirits, and to bethink thee how to gouerne an Empire, of which the gods (who haue the care of the whole world) haue despoiled *Caius*, to reward thy vertue with. Arise therefore and take possession of the throne of thine ancestors. This said, he lifted him on his shoulders, for that *Claudius* could not walke on foot, through the feare and ioy that he had conceiued of that which had beene told him.

Vpon these speeches diuers of the souldiers of the guard assembled about *Gratus*: and perceiuing that it was *Claudius*, whom they supposed to be dragged to his death, they had compassion of him as on an innocent, for that they knew him to be a man of milde nature, who all the time of his life intermeddled with nothing, and who in like sort had bin often in great danger during *Caius* life. There were others of them that said, that the iudgement of his matter pertained to the Consuls: whereupon, although a great number of souldiers flocked about him, and the simple people that were vnarmed, fled from them; yet could not *Claudius* goe onward in his way; so weake and feeble felt he himselfe in his whole body. It fortuned likewise, that they who carried his litter, perceiuing his flight, fled away for feare, and left him; so little hope had they that their Master should escape with his life, whom they saw to be thus drawn by the soldiers. Now when *Gratus* & his associats were arriued in the court of the palace, which (as it is reported) is the place which was first of all inhabited in Rome, they began to thinke vpon that which was to be done: thither also there flocked a great number of other soldiers vnto them, who tooke pleasure to behold *Claudius*, enforcing themselues to place him in the Imperiall dignity, in regard of that good affection which they bare to *Germanicus* his brother, whose memory was much honored among all those, who had at any time conuersed with him. Moreouer, they ripped vp how many auaricious acts the Senate had cõmitted, & how great errors the chiefest Senators had defaulted in, before

Claudius against his will drawne vnto the Empire.

The cause that induced the army to make Claudius Emperor.

fore the publike gouernment was changed. Moreouer, they considered vpon the danger & difficulty of their actions then in hand, for that the gouernment being administred by one only man, would bee dangerous for them, if he should obtaine the same by any other meanes; whereas if *Claudius* should enioy the same by their permission & good will, he would haue them in remembrance who had fauoured him, and would recompence them according to their merits. This was the effect of their discourse, which they held among themselues, or when they met with one another. Finally, all of them at length concluded vpon this aduice, and enuironed *Claudius*, and lifting him vp vpon their shoulders, they carried him into the army, to the intent that no man might hinder them to finish that which they intended. There fell a debate also betwixt the Senators and citizens: For the Senate desirous to recouer their former dignity, & enforcing themselues to auoid the seruitude that had befallen them by the out-rage of Tyrants, intended the maintenance of their offered good fortune. Contrariwise, the people enuied them that dignity. And knowing that their Emperors should be as it were certaine bridles, to restraine the auarice of the Senate, and the refuge of the people, they were very glad to see that *Claudius* was aduanced: making their account that if he were created Emperour, they should auoid a ciuill warre like vnto that which hapned in *Pompeius* time.

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Claudius carried on mens shoulders into the army.

Difference betwixt the citizens and Senators.

The Senate knowing that *Claudius* was carried into the army by the soldiers, chose out some of their order, and now sent them as messengers in their behalfe, to signify vnto him that he ought to vse no violence in obtaining the Empire, but rather to remit the charge of the common-weale to the Senate. That he both was and should be one of the Senators, and haue the conduct of the common-weale, and dispose it according to law, perswading him to call vnto his remembrance those grieuous mischiefs, which the former tyrants had wrought in the common-weale, & what dangers he himselfe had also suffered with them, during the raigne of *Caius* their late Emperor. That it should ill become him, who had detested the fury of others tyranny at such time as they vsed outrages, now willingly to be drawne to oppose himselfe against his country. That if he would obey them, and continue to expresse the vertue and constancy of his life, which in times past he led with commendation, he should obtaine those honors which free citizens could affoord him; and in suffring himselfe to be gouerned by lawes, to the end he might haue part in the commandement, and to be commanded in his turne, he should obtaine the praise of vertue. That if he should not be disswaded by the slaughter of *Caius*, wch was fresh in memory, for their own parts they would hinder his proceedings as much as in them lay. They also alledged, that they were furnished with men of warre, with store of armor, and a great number of domesticall seruants, all which they would imploy against him: But ouer and aboue these things, they had farre greater helps, namely their hope, and good fortune, and the gods, who are wont to fight for those who maintaine vertue and goodnes. They solemnly protested also for their own parts, that they were of that mind, that there was nothing more honest and iust, then to fight for their liberty and country. The Embassadors that brought this message, were *Veranius* and *Broccus*, who both of them were Tribunes of the people. They prostrating themselues on their knees before him, humbly besought him that he would not draw the common-weale into ciuill war. And seeing that *Claudius* was inclosed with a great company of men of warre, in respect of whom the Consuls were of no force, they besought him that it would please him to demand the gouernment at the Senates hands, and receiue it from them if he were resolued to be Emperor; for that it would be an act more holy, and coupled with iustice and good hap, if he should obtaine the same with their good will, and not in despight of those, who would vouchsafe it him willingly.

The Senate perswade Claudius to resigne the dignity offered him.

Chap. III.

The sedition that arose betweene the Senate and the people.

Although *Claudius* knew with what presumption the Senate had sent this Embassage, yet did he modestly entertaine the same for the present. But supposing that it stood very little with his security to commit himselfe to their trust, and being encouraged by the exhortation of the souldiers, who promised him their vtmost endeauour, and by the incitation of King *Agrippa*, he determin'd in no sort to let the soueraignty escape out of his hands, in that it was so willingly and freely bestowed on him when he thought least on it. After that *Agrippa* had performed all those duties vnto *Caius* which were requisit for such a one as had bin by him aduanced to honor, and hauing taken his body and laid it in a litter, he brought him out before the souldiers of his guard, and certified them that *Caius* was yet aliue, and for that he found himselfe

Claudius denieth to giue ouer the dignity that was offered him. Hedio & Rufinus, c. 4. l. 3.

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selfe sick of those wounds which he had receiued, he sent to seek for Physicions. But afterward, vnderstanding that *Claudius* was taken by the men of warre, he thrust so much that he got himselfe passage, and came vnto him, whom hee found altogether dismaid, and ready to surrender all things into the Senates hands, and incouraged him, and incited him to take vpon him the gouernment of the Empire which the men of war had offered him. Which done, he departed, and was suddenly sent for by the Senate, whither he resorted altogether perfumed with odors, as if at that time he were returned from some banquet, and had known nothing of that which had happened: Hee therefore asked the Senators what was become of *Claudius*, who certified him of the truth; and besides that required him to giue them his opinion and counsell as touching the present affaires: his answer was, that he was ready to aduenture his life in the behalfe of the Senate; yet by the way he told them that they ought to haue an especiall regard of the common-weale, rather then all the pleasure they could pretend; and that they who would bee Lords of an Empire, had need of armes and men to maintaine themselues, lest being weake and vnfurnished, they should be deceiued in their expectations. The Senate replied that they had great store of furniture, and that they would contribute money; that they had good store of men of war, to whom they would annex their slaues and giue them liberty. But *Agrippa* replied, Would God, graue fathers, that you were able to performe the matters you intend; yet will I not feare to discouer that vnto you, which concerneth you neerely. You know well, that the army which is with *Claudius*, consisteth of such men, who haue beene long time trained vp in feates of armes; and that those that are to fight on your side, are but men gathered together, and such as you couple them with, are the very scum of your slaues, who are both intractable and vntrained. We shall therfore enter fight against expert souldiers, and commit our fortunes to such men as scarcely know how to draw their swords: I rather thinke it meet that we send vnto *Claudius* such men, as may perswade him to giue ouer the Empire. And to performe this message, behold my selfe in a readines to be commanded by you.

Claudius confirmed in his resolutions by Agrippa.

Agrippa telleth the Senat his opinion.

To this effect spake *Agrippa*; And hereunto the Senators accorded, and sent him to *Claudius*, appointing him certaine others to accompany him. As soone as he came to *Claudius*, he secretly discouered vnto him in what perplexity the Senate was, & gaue him instructions to answer and demeane himselfe like an Emperor, and to shew his dignity and power. Wherupon *Claudius* gaue the Embassadors this answer; That he wondred not that the Senat were so vnwilling to be commanded by a soueraigne, in regard of that cruelty which the forepassed Emperors had vsed to their destruction. But for the present, they should taste of his mercy, and feele his moderate rule; and they should liue vnder the gouernment of such a one, who although in name he had the Imperiall authority; yet that in effect he would gouerne all things by their disposition. For which cause he wished them in no sort to distrust him, whom as they themselues could witnes, they haue seen and known to haue dealt vertuously & iustly in many affaires, although the state of times had bin far different. Those that were sent from the Senate hearing these words, returned back again. But *Claudius* instantly assembled his men of war, and exacted an oath of fidelity from them, bestowing on euery one of them who were of his guard in way of largesse, fiue thousand drachmes, amounting to some 25. pound a man of our sterling money. He presented their Captaines also with presents answerable to their qualities, promising to performe no lesse bounty to all the rest of the men of war, in what place soeuer they were. Hereupon the Consuls assembled the Senate in the temple of *Iupiter* the victorious, before day, and some of them hid themselues through the feare they had of that which should be spoken: othersome departed out of the City, and resorted to their country farmes, foreseeing with themselues the issue of all these things: and perceiuing that their hope of liberty was lost, they thought it far better for them to be exempt from danger, and to passe their life in repose, though it were with subiection, then to bee altogether vncertaine of their security & safety, by maintaining the dignity of the Senators: yet about some hundreth of them drew themselues together and no more. Now whilest they were consulting vpon that which they were to doe, they suddenly heard a shout of Soldiers that were assembled round about them, requiring the Senate to chuse them an Emperor, and not to suffer their state to be lost through a multitude of gouernours: and to this effect spake they, lest the gouernment should be giuen to diuers, and not to one. This course of theirs gaue little content to the Senators, both in regard of the losse of that liberty which they expected, as through the good liking they had of *Claudius*; notwithstanding there were some that pretended some hope to bee aduanced both in respect of the nobility of their race, as in regard of their alliance that they had by marriage with the *Cæsars*. For *Marcus Municianus*, a man of himselfe of noble descent, and who had

Agrippa with some others is sent to Claudius.

Clau ius answere to the Embassadors.

The Souldiers oathes taken.

The Souldiers require a Monarch at the Senats hands.

A had married *Iulia Caius* ſiſter, ſtood vp to demand the ſoueraigne gouernment: but the Conſuls reſtrained him, alledging excuſe vpon excuſe. Another *Minutianus* alſo, one of *Caius* tutors withdrew *Valerius Aſiaticus* from thinking on thoſe things: and there had hapned as great a ſlaughter as had euer beene heard of, had any of theſe had the liberty to deſire the Empire, or oppoſe themſelues againſt *Claudius*. For amongſt other, the fencers, who were of no ſmall number, they of the watch, and the ſailers ioyned themſelues together with the men of warre. They therefore that pretended to demand the Empire, gaue ouer their ſuites, partly in the cities behalfe, partly for their owne priuate ſecuritie ſake.

The yeere of the world, 4005. after Chriſts Natiuitie, 43.

Some affect the Empire.

About the day-ſpring *Chæreas* and his companions went forth to debate the matter with the
B ſoldiers: but they ſeeing by the beckening with their hands they would draw them to ſilence, and were vpon the inſtant to fall into diſcourſe, made a great noyſe to cut them off from proceeding any further, for that all of them were earneſtly affected to haue an Emperour & Soueraigne Lord, and required with all expedition that they might haue one proclaimed and knowne. At that time the Senate were ſo diſtracted, both for the maner how they ſhold command, as for the meanes they ought to vſe to cauſe themſelues to be obeied, conſidering the ſouldiers ſet light by them; and thoſe that were confederates in the death of *Caius*, ſuffered not the Senate to obey the ſouldiers. At length *Chæreas* being vnable to conceale his paſſion wherwith he was ſurprized, & hearing that they asked for a Monarch, promiſed that he wold giue them one, if they wold bring him a token from *Eutychus*, who was the wagoner to the greene band, whom *Caius* had loued ex-
C tremely, in ſomuch as he imployed his ſouldiers in ſeruile labours, as to build him ſtables for his horſes, & reproched them with diuers like matters, telling them that he wold bring them *Claudius* head, ſhewing them that it was a matter ill beſeeming them, if after a mad man they ſhould commend the Empire to a foole. Yet none of theſe words could diuert them from their purpoſe: but all of them drew their ſwords, & with diſplayed enſignes marched towards *Claudius* to vnite themſelues with thoſe, who had already bound themſelues by an oath to ſerue him faithfully. So that the Senate was abandoned, & deſtitute of al defence; ſo as there was no diffrence betwixt priuate men & Conſuls. All of them were aſtoniſhed & confuſed, not knowing what to do, becauſe they had thus prouoked *Claudius* diſpleaſure againſt them. And now fell they to reuiling one a-
D nother, in teſtimonie of the repentance they conceiued for theſe their proceedings. Whereupon *Sabinus* one of thoſe who had murthered *Caius*, aroſe and proteſted that he would ſooner cut his own throat, then conſent to the eſtabliſhment of *Claudius*, or behold with his eies the miſery and thraldome of his country: he likewiſe encouraged *Chæreas*, telling him that he had deſerued very little by cutting off *Caius*, if he thought to liue without the liberty of his countrey. To which he anſwered, that he made no account of his life; yet that he intended to ſound *Claudius* mind, & with this reſolution they cõcluded. Meane-while certain of the Senators ſought on euerie ſide to break thorow the midſt and thickeſt of the ſouldiers, to go and do reuerence and homage to *Claudius*: amongſt whom was *Q. Pompeius* one of the Conſuls, whom the men of war accuſed to be one of the principall actors to incite the Senate to recouer their liberty, and they drew their ſwords againſt him. And if *Claudius* had not reſtrained them, they had ſurely diſpatched him: but he
E made him ſit downe by him, and by that meanes deliuered him from the danger. The other Senators, who accompanied him, were not entertained thus honourably; but ſome of them were wounded euen then when they preſſed forth to ſalute *Claudius*. *Aponius* retired himſelfe ſore wounded, and the reſt were in great danger to loſe their liues. But King *Agrippa* drawing neere vnto *Claudius*, deſired him to vſe as much lenitie as was poſſible in him towards the Senators, for that if any miſchiefe ſhould betide them, hee ſhould haue no other perſons to commaund. To the which counſell of his, *Claudius* gaue place, and aſſembled the Senate in the Palace, cauſing himſelf to be carried thorow the citie in the company of his ſoldiers, who marched before him, doing much miſchiefe to the common people. But amongſt thoſe that ſlewe *Caius*, *Chæreas* and *Sabinus* were come out into the ſtreets, notwithſtãding they were forbidden by *Pollio*, whom not
F long before *Claudius* had made Captaine of his guard. And as ſoone as *Claudius* came into the Palace, whither he aſſembled his friends, he pronounced ſentence againſt *Chæreas*. For although his action was accounted both generous and noble; yet was hee condemned for this, becauſe he was perfidious; whereupon hee was adiudged to die, to giue example to others, to the end that Princes and Emperours may hereafter liue in ſafety. He was therefore led to his death with *Lupus*, and diuers other Romanes. It is ſaid of *Chæreas*, that he endured this accident with a great courage, which he expreſſed not onely in that he changed not his countenance, but alſo by the reproches which he gaue *Lupus* who wept. For when as *Lupus* was putting off his cloaths, and

The ſouldiers with diſplaied enſignes repaire to Claudius.

Sabinus rather chuſeth death then to allow of Claudius.

Q. Pompeius the Conſul with others reſort to Claudius.

Claudius is perſwaded by Agrippa to vſe the Senators more mildly.

Thoſe that murthered Caius, are executed.

The yeere of the world, 4005. after Christs birth, 43.

complained of the cold that he felt, he taunted him thus, alluding to his name which was *Lupus*; That neuer any cold did harme to a woolfe. Furthermore, when he came to the place of execution, where a great number of people were gathered together to behold the spectacle, he asked the souldier that was appointed to behead him, if he were a cunning headsman, and whether hee had a new sword, wishing him to vse that wherewith he murthered *Caius*. His death was happy, for hee receiued but one stroke; whereas *Lupus* was faint-hearted, and receiued diuers, because he stretched not out his neck freely. Some fewe daies after, at such time as the Romans solemnized their expiations, and that euery one honoured the memory of his dead friend, they gaue *Chæreas* a part of that honour, and cast his portion into the fire, saying, that was to deface and purge their ingratitude, wherof they were guiltie towards him. Thus ended *Chæreas* his life. But for *Sabinus*, although *Claudius* had not onely absolued him, but also suffered him to exercise his office, as beforetime he had done: yet thought he that he should do amisse & against iustice, if hee falsified his faith to his associates and confederates; for which cause hee shortned his owne daies, thrusting his sword thorow his body to the very hilts.

Sabinus killeth himselfe.

Chap. IIII.

Claudius *confirmeth* Agrippa *in his father Kingdome.*

Incontinently after this, *Claudius* cashierd all those of the souldiers whom hee suspected; and published an edict, by which he confirmed the Kingdome to *Agrippa*, that *Caius* had giuen him, accompanying his bounty with many praises; annexing moreouer vnto his gouernment all that which *Herod* his grandfather had possessed, to wit, Iudæa, and Samaria, which, in that they were as one lawfull inheritance, appertained vnto him. He gaue him also out of his own dominions, Abela and all the countrey about the mount Libanus, that in times past appertained to *Lysanias*. And he caused the alliance that was past betwixt them twaine, to be engrauen and registred in an open place of the city of Rome. He tooke from *Antiochus* the Kingdome that he had, and gaue him in exchange a portion of Cilicia and Comagena. He set *Alexander Lysimachus Alebarcha* at liberty, who had beene his old friend, and sometimes Gouernour in Arabia, and otherwhiles his mother *Antonias* steward, who had been committed prisoner through *Caius* displeasure, and married *Bernice Agrippas* daughter, with his sonne *Marcus*: which after the death of *Marcus*, who died before he was espoused, was afterwards married with her father *Agrippas* allowance to *Herod* his brother, for whom *Agrippa* begd of *Claudius* the Kingdome of Chalcis. At that very time the Iewes, that were in the Citie of Alexandria, mutined against the Greekes. For after *Caius* death the nation of the Iewes, which had beene oppressed during his raigne, and iniuriously dealt withall by the Alexandrines, recouered their former courage, and instantly fell to armes. For which cause *Claudius* gaue commission to the gouernor of Egypt, to pacifie and appease that vrprore. He sent also his letters patents into Alexandria and Syria, at the request of the two Kings *Agrippa* and *Herod*, to this effect: *Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus*, Father of the people, signifieth this that followeth: Vnderstanding that the Iewes inhabitants in Alexandria, and for this cause called Alexandrines, haue at all times enioyed the selfe same priuiledges of the city, which the ancient & first Alexandrines haue had: Which fauours they haue obtained by the largesse of those princes, that were our predecessors, as

» it hath been plainly made knowne vnto vs, as well by letters which haue been written vnto vs, as
» by confirmed decrees: And that since Alexandria hath beene annexed to our Empire by *Cæsar*
» *Augustus*, their priuiledges haue continued in force during the seuerall successions of many of
» our gouernours, which rights of theirs haue neuer beene called in question, no not in that time
» when *Aquila* was gouernour in Alexandria: Since in like sort *Cæsar Augustus* hath not letted
» them, but when the chiefetaine of their nation was dead, they might establish other substitutes
» and gouernours in his place, willing that all of them should yeeld him obedience in obseruati-
» on of their lawes and customes, without constraint or impulsion to doe any thing contrarie to
» their religion: yet notwithstanding the Alexandrines haue mutined against the Iewes, beeing in
» the citie of Alexandria in the time of the Emperour *Caius*, by reason of the folly and frenzie of
» *Caius*, who disgraced & oppressed the nation of the Iewes, because they would not violate their
» religion, nor acknowledge the said *Caius* for a god. Our will & pleasure is, that no one of the pri-
» uiledges of the nation of the Iewes be abolished, by reason of *Caius* frenzie; but my minde is to
» maintaine those which heretofore haue beene giuen them, to the end they may continue and
» liue according to their ancient lawes and customes: Commanding you and euerie one of you

very

Hedio & Rufinus, c.5.al.4. Claudius giueth Agrippa Iudæa, Samaria, and Lysanias countrey. Antiochus King of Comagena. Alexander Lysimachus, Alabarcha.

Herod Agrippas brother created King of Chalcis. Sedition in Alexandria betwixt the Greekes and Iewes. Claudius edict in fauour of the Iewes in Alexandria.

A very carefully to prouide, that after the publication of this our ordinance, they bee in no sort troubled. This was the tenour of that ordinance which was made in fauour of the Iewes in Alexandria.

The yeere of the world, 4005. after christs birth, 43.

But that which was generally made in fauour of those, who were dispersed thorow the whole world, was to this effect: *Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, High Priest, Father of the people, elected Consul the second time, signifieth that which ensueth.* Our well-beloued friends, the Kings *Agrippa* and *Herod*, haue required vs, that we will permit all those Iewes, that liue vnder the Roman Empire, to vse the same lawes and priuiledges which they haue vsed heretofore, as we haue granted to the Iewes that dwell in Alexandria. Which suite of theirs we haue willingly granted, not onely in fauour of those that require the same, but also for that I thinke them worthy such a grace: for whome I haue bin intreated, in regard of the fidelity & friendship they haue alwaies expressed towards the Romans. My pleasure therefore is, that no City eyther Grecian or otherwise, shall deny any priuiledge, from whence they shall be excluded, for that since the Emperour *Augustus* time they haue neuer beene exempted from them. It standeth with reason therefore, that henceforth the Iewes, who liue vnder our Empire, of what place soeuer they be, may obserue their auncient customes, without any contradiction: Giuing them to vnderstand, that hereafter they vse our clemency so much the more moderatly, without neglecting the religion of other nations, in retaining their owne. And our will is, that this present ordinance be published by the magistrates of Cities, Colonies and countries of Italie, and bee sent vnto Kings and forraine Princes, by fit Embassadours, within thirty dayes at the least, to the end that they should be in such sort set vp, that they may be seene and read by all those that passe by.

Claudius edict in the behalfe of the Iewes scattered thorow the whole Empire.

CHAP. V.

AGRIPPAS *returne into Iudæa.*

BY these edicts of *Claudius Cæsar*, which he sent both to Alexandria and other parts of the world, it plainely appeareth how well affected he was towards the nation of the Iewes. And presently after this, after he had dignified *Agrippa* with all kinds of honour, he sent him backe into his Kingdome to gouerne the same, commanding all his Presidents and Lieutenants in his Prouinces, thorow which he was to passe, to giue him a friendly & honorable conuoy. But he hauing wisely and happily dispatched his affaires, returned in all haste. As soone as he came to Ierusalem, he offered his sacrifices of thanksgiuing which he had vowed, without omitting any thing that was commanded by the law. He caused also diuers Nazarites to be pould and offered in gift that chaine of gold that *Caius* had giuen him: which was of the same waight the yron chaine was of wherewith his royall hands were manacled, in memorie of the aduersity he had past, and the testimony of the exchange thereof into better fortune: commanding that it should be hanged vp in the temple, and ouer the chamber of the treasury, to testifie vnto those that should behold the same, that the highest estates are subiect to alterations, and that God can raise men again from obscurity to happy fortune. For this chaine that hanged in the temple, being consecrated to God, manifestly expressed vnto all men, that King *Agrippa* was vpon a very small occasion despoiled of his former dignitie, and made prisoner: and then a little while after that he, being deliuered from his bonds, was raised and exalted to a famous Kingdome; to signifie thereby, that humane affaires are of that nature, that that which is the greatest may be easily ouerthrowne, and that which is declining, may recouer againe his ancient honour and dignity. When as therfore *Agrippa* had duely and deuoutly acknowledged Gods mercies, he deposed the Hie Priest *Theophilus* the son of *Ananus*, and bestowed that honour on *Simon* surnamed *Cantharа* the son of *Boethus*. This *Simon* had two brothers, & *Boethus* was their father, whose daughter had bin married to King *Herod*, as heretofore it hath bin spoken. *Simon* held the Priest-hood with his brethren and his father, in such sort, as beforetime the three sons of *Simon* hie priest, son of *Onias* had done, during the Empire of the Macedonians, as wee haue declared in our former bookes. After the King had giuen order for the priestood, he thought good to recompence the good affection that they of Ierusalem had borne vnto him: for which cause he acquited them of those tributes that euery family paid, knowing well that it became him to shew kindnesse vnto them, who had beene faithfull and well affected towards him. He created *Silas*, who had been his companion in many dangers, Generall of all his army. Not long after, certaine young men that were Dorites vnder the colour of constancy in case of religion, who also had daily expressed in their actions an vnbridled rashnesse, brought the image of *Cæsar* into the temple of the Iewes, and

Claudius sendeth Agrippa into his kingdome.

Agrippa hangeth vp his golden chaine ouer the treasury chamber in the temple.

Simon the son of Boethus placed in Theophilus roome. Hedio & Rufinus, cap. 6.

Agrippa releaseth the tributes to those of Ierusalem.

Silas.

The Dorites place Cæsars statue in the Synagogue of the Iewes, and thereby vehemently offend both Agrippa & Petronius.

The yeere of the world, 4005. after christs Nativitie, 43.

erected it in that place; which insolence of theirs highly offended *Agrippa*, who construed it as an act that tended to the abolition of the religion of their countrey: for which cause, with all expedition he repaired to *Petronius*, who was Gouernour of Syria, and complained against these Dorites, who was no lesse displeased with the action then he himselfe. For he supposed that such breach of religion was the meanes to further impiety, & for that cause he wrote to those which had attempted this innouation, somewhat sharpely, to this effect following.

CHAP. VI.

PETRONIVS *letters written to the Dorites, in the behalfe of the Iewes.*

Alias, cap. 5. P. Petronius writeth to the Dorites, to send the vnto him who haue broken Cæsars edict.

PVblius Petronius, Lieutenant to *Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus*, to the Magistrates of the countrey of Doria, health: Whereas *Cæsar* hath published an edict, by which he permitteth the Iewes to liue according to their lawes and customes, some one amongst you haue beene so presumptuous to contradict the same in effect (although in words you protest that you obey him) and doe all that which you can, to hinder the Iewes from enioying their Synagogue, in so much as in the same you haue planted *Cæsars* image, not onely thereby opposing your selues against the Iewes, but also against the Emperour himselfe, whose image might haue beene better placed in his owne temple, then in a forraine temple: and you haue placedit in their Synagogue; whereas by right euery one ought to bee master of his place, according to *Cæsars* iudgement: For it should be very ridiculous in me to alleadge mine owne iudgement after that of *Cæsars*, who hath granted the Iewes the libertie to liue according to their lawes and customes, and hath commanded that they should conuerse in equall freedome among the Greekes. For these causes I command you, that they, who haue bin so bold as to contemne *Augustus* decree (against whome their owne magistrates haue beene displeased, excusing themselues that this accident hapned not by their motion, but by the fury of the common people) be brought before me by the captaine *Proculus Vitellius*, to yeeld a reason of that which they haue done; exhorting the magistrates, that if they will not be accounted parties in this contempt, they labour to discouer those that are guilty, vnto *Proculus*, & giue order that no sedition or violence be offered thereupon. Which notwithstanding it seemeth that they affect, although we and the most honoured king *Agrippa*, whom I take for my good and speciall friend, labour nothing more then that the nation of the Iewes should not assemble and take armes vnder colour of their defence. And to the end that whatsoeuer *Augustus* hath ordained as touching this matter, may be the better knowne vnto all men, I haue annexed his edict which he published in Alexandria: and although they are sufficiently knowne vnto all men, yet hath the most honoured King *Agrippa* read them vnto me, at such time as I sate in my tribunall seat; concluding according to right, that the Iewes ought not to be excluded nor hindred from enioying those benefits, which are granted vnto them by *Cæsar*: I therefore charge all men, that henceforward they take heed lest they seeke any occasion of mutinie or sedition, and that euery one liue according to his religion. See herehow *Petronius* proceeded in this matter, both to amend that which was past, as also to preuent that which was to come, that none should be so bold to attempt the like. After this, *Agrippa* tooke the Priesthood from *Simon Canthara*, and gaue it againe to *Ionathan* the sonne of *Anani*, whom he esteemed to be more worthy then the other. But *Ionathan* declared that hee was not desirous of this dignitie, for in effect he refused it, saying, O King, I most willingly acknowledge the honour which it pleaseth you to bestow vpon me, and know well that it is a dignitie which of your owne freewill you bestow vpon me; notwithstanding that God iudgeth me vnworthy. It sufficeth me that I haue once beene inuested with the sacred habit: for at that time I wore it with more holinesse, then I can now receiue it at this present; yet notwithstanding if it please you to know one that is more worthy of this honour then my selfe, I will informe you of one. My Liege, I haue a brother, who towards God and you is pure and innocent, whom I dare commend vnto you for a most fit man for that dignitie. The King tooke great pleasure in these his words, and leauing *Ionathan*, he bestowed the Priesthood on *Matthias* his brother, according as *Ionathan* aduised him: and not long after this, *Marsus* succeeded in *Petronius* roome, and tooke vpon him the gouernment of Syria.

Ionathan the sonne of Ananus is restored to the Priesthood and refuseth it, and prayeth that his brother Matthias may ministter therin.

Marsus Prefect of Syria.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

AGRIPPAS *acts vntill the time of his death.*

The yeere of the world, 4005. after christs birth, 43.

Hedio & Ruffinus, cha. 7.

SILAS was made Generall ouer the kings army: and for that he had alwaies been faithfull vnto him, and had neuer forsaken him in any danger that was offered, without partaking the vtmost extremity, but had alwaies aduentured on the greatest perils in respect of his intire and constant resolution; he made his account, that being so firme a friend to the King, hee should also be partaker and companion with him in the honour. For which cause in all things whatsoeuer, he submitted not himself to the King, but chalenged to himselfe a liberty to speake what him listed. For this cause he grew hatefull in the kings sight, for that in particular he boasted of himselfe beyond measure, and oftentimes refreshed the memory of those aduersities the King had past, the rather to expresse how affectionate he had been toward him, and his continuall talke was nothing else but of those trauailes he had endured. Now for that he obserued no measure in this his discourse, the King took it as an iniury intended to his honor, and was offended with the vnbridled licence of the mans prattle. For nothing soundeth more harsh in a mans eare, then the memory of his forepassed misery, and it is but the fault of a foole to rip vp the courtesies he hath emploied on another man. Finally, *Silas* grieuously prouoked the kings displeasure against himself, that rather subscribing to his wrath then his wit, he not only dispossessed *Silas* of his generals roome, but also sent him bound into his countrey in that place to be held prisoner. This notwithstanding, time asswaged his displeasure, and the King drawing himselfe into better consideration, and remembring himself how many trauels *Silas* had endured in his behalf, he reuoked the sentence that he had pronounced. At such time therefore as he was ready to celebrate the festiuall day of his birth, and all his subiects were addressed to take their pleasure, he speedily sent for *Silas*, to the end he might be partaker thereof, and banket with them. But *Silas*, who was of a free nature, supposing that he had iust cause to be displeased, concealed it not frō those who were sent vnto him, but spake vnto them after this maner: To what honour doth the King inuite me at this present, to the intent incontinently to depriue me thereof? For he hath not onely depriued me of those honours which he bestowed vpon me, in acknowledgement of the good affection I haue alwaies shewed vnto him; but he hath altogether spoiled me, and contumeliously intreated me: but if he think that he can restraine me from speaking freely, he deceiueth himselfe. For my conscience knoweth how many hazards I haue deliuered him from, and as long as I breathe, I will ring it in all mens eares, how many trauels I haue endured for his conseruation and honour, in recompence whereof I am at this day in bonds, and shut vp in an obscure prison, which I will neuer forget. Yea and when my soule shall depart out of this body, she shall beare with her the remembranee of those benefits I haue imploied on him. These words spake he with a loud voice, willing them to relate the same vnto King *Agrippa*; who seeing that hee was grounded in an incurable folly, left him in prison.

Silas by too much reuiuing the kings miseries and misfortunes, and tipping vp his owne deserts, groweth into the kings hatred, and is sent prisoner into his country.

Agrippa sendeth for Silas out of prison, who dissembling not his displeasure, is left still in prison.

After this, the King began to fortify the walles of Ierusalem, on the side of the new town, vpon the common charge; increasing them both in length and bredth: and might he haue thorowly finished them, it had bin a fortresse inuincible, by all humane force. But *Marsus* the Gouernor of Syria certified *Cæsar* what the worke was; and *Claudius* suspecting some commotion, wrote expresly to *Agrippa*, commaunding him thence-forward to desist from further building of the walles, according to that forme wherein he began: whereunto he would not disobey. This King *Agrippa* was of nature so ready to exercise liberality, and tooke so great pleasure to vse his magnificence towards all sorts of nations, that the great expences he was at, obtained him great reputation. So that his whole pleasure and delight was, to shew courtesie vnto all men, and to purchase good esteem, being euery way different in nature and disposition from King *Herod* his predecessor. For *Herod* was naturally malicious, extreme in punishing men, and irreconciliable to those with whom he was displeased, manifestly expressing that he loued the Grecians better then the Iewes. For he beautified those cities that belonged to strangers, and gaue them mony, and erected them baths, and sumptuous Theaters, and Temples, and in some of them galleries: but as touching the cities of the Iewes, he bestowed not this bounty on any of them, no not the least reparation or gift that was worthy the speaking of. Contrariwise, King *Agrippa* was very courteous and lowly, & equally imparted his bounty vnto all men. He was courteous vnto strangers, and testified no lesse by the bounty he bestowed on them. To his countrimen he behaued himselfe affably, and in especiall he was mercifull to all those that were in misery. For which cause his

Agrippa fortifieth the wals of Ierusalem. Claudius commandeth Agrippa to desist from building the wals.

Agrippa fauored the Iewes more then Herod.

The yeere of the world, 4005. after Christs birth, 43.

his ordinary court & the place he tooke moſt pleaſure in, was Ieruſalem. He was a diligent obſeruer of the lawes of his country, and liued religiouſly, & with as great piety as was poſſible: neither paſſed there one day wherein he offred not ſacrifice. It happened at one time that a certaine cunning lawyer, who was called *Simon*, & dwelt in Ieruſalem, had aſſembled the people by reaſon of the kings abſence, who for the preſent was in Cæſarea: In which aſſembly he alleadged many things againſt him, that he was a prophane man, and that vpon iuſt cauſe hee was forbidden to enter the temple, in that it was not lawfull nor decent for thoſe that were vncleane, to enter thereinto. Theſe words of *Simons* thus wrongfully vrged againſt him, were ſignified to the King by certaine letters ſent him by the Gouernour of the City: when as therefore he ſate him downe in the Theater, he commanded that very *Simon* to ſit next him, and in peaceable and kind manner he ſpake thus vnto him: Tell me, I pray thee, what thing thou ſeeſt fault worthy, or done contrary to the law, in that which is done heere? *Simon* hauing not any thing to reply, beſought him to pardon him. The King grew friends with him farre ſooner then it could be imagined, reſoluing with himſelfe that mercy doth farre better become a King, then wrath; and that moderation is more requiſite, then haughty courage; ſo as after he had beſtowed certaine preſents on *Simon*, he dimiſſed him. Now although he had many reparations in diuers places; yet honoured he thoſe of Beryth aboue all the reſt, and builded them a Theater ſurpaſſing all other in ſumptuouſnes and beauty: and beſides that, he made them a ſumptuous Amphitheater, and baths and porches: in which hee neither ſpared coſt, neither ſcantled the beauty and greatnes of the workes in any ſort. The dedication alſo of theſe things was celebrated with great pompe and magnificence: he alſo made great ſhewes and plaies in the Theater, in which there were all ſorts of muſicke and recreation. He made alſo diuers turnaments in the Amphitheater, expreſſing in all things the greatnes of his magnificence; and being deſirous to delight the people with a combate, he gathered all the malefactors that he might get, and made two ſeuerall companies of ſeuen hundreth apiece, and brought them together to fight, to the end that in skirmiſhing they might receiue their puniſhment; and beſides, that by this warlike excerciſe he might preſent the people with a paſtime concluded with the puniſhment of wicked men: for each of theſe combatants ſlue one another.

Simon the lawyer backbiteth the king, who craning Pardon is reconciled vnto him.

Alias cap. 6. Agrippa honoreth Beryth with good ornaments.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 8.

After that he had finiſhed theſe aboue-named buildings in Beryth, he reſorted to Tiberias a city of Galilee, and was admired of all the other Kings, ſo that *Antiochus* king of Comagena came to viſit him: the like did *Samſigeran* king of the Emeſenians: *Cotys* king of Armenia the leſſe; and *Polemon* Lord of Pontus: and beſides all theſe, *Herod* Prince of Chalcis and his brother, all whom he receiued and entertained moſt magnificently and amiably, to ſhew his greatneſſe; to the end that all men might perceiue, that he was deſeruedly honoured with the preſence of ſo many kings. And during the time, that theſe Princes were with him, *Marſus* the Gouernour of Syria viſited him likewiſe, whom, to the end he might expreſſe the reuerence he bare to the Romans, he met with, ſeuen furlongs off from the city. This interview of ſo many kings was the originall of that diſcontent that grew betwixt him & *Marſus*; for whileſt he ſate in his litter, he ſent for theſe other kings. But *Marſus* ſuſpected this concord and ſo great amitie, ſuppoſing that this agreement of ſo many Kings, would be no waies profitable or beneficiall to the Romans. For which cauſe he preſently ſent vnto them, charging them with all expedition to returne each of them into their owne countries: which ſtrict commiſſion of his *Agrippa* tooke in ill part, and for this occaſion he conceiued ſcarce kindly of *Marſus*. He tooke the Prieſthood from *Matthias*, and gaue it to *Aelioneus* the ſon of *Cithæus*. After he had raigned three whole yeeres ouer Iudæa, he came to Cæſarea, which in times paſt was called the tower of Straton, and there made he ſports in honour of *Cæſar*, ordaining a certaine feaſt for his conſeruation, to the celebration whereof there were aſſembled a great number of thoſe, who were of eſtate and dignity thorow the whole countrey. On the ſecond day of this ſolemnity, he ſhewed himſelfe being apparelled in a Robe of ſiluer, made with admirable workmanſhip; and came in the ſame to the Theater in the morning: Whereas the firſt reflex of the riſing of the ſun beating vpon his Robe, he ſhined after ſuch a ſort, that all thoſe that beheld him, were ſeized with reuerence and feare. Whereupon certaine ſycophants (which did not a little diſhonour him) exclaimed one on the one ſide, the other on the other, ſaluting him for a God, and in ſpeaking to him, cried out thus: Be mercifull vnto vs: hitherto haue we feared thee as a man, but henceforward we will confeſſe and acknowledge thee to be of a nature more excellent then mortall frailtie can attaine vnto. *Agrippa* reproued them not for vſing theſe words: neither reiected he their palpable and deteſtable flattery. But not long after, he looking vpwards, perceiued an Owle ouer his head perched vpon a cord, and knew the ſame

Agrippa is diſpleaſed with Marſus for ſending away the kings.

Alias cap. 7. Aelioneus the ſonne of Cithæus made high Prieſt. Agrippa is ſaluted in the Theater for a God, and ſpieth the Owle which the German fore-told him of, that fiue daies after he ſhold die.

A fame incontinently, that he was but a meſſage of his misfortune: whereas before-time he had denounced vnto him his felicity, and conceiued thereupon a moſt hearty and inward griefe. And ſuddenly he was ſeized with a terrible griping in his belly, which began with very great vehemency: for which cauſe turning his eies towards his friends, he ſpake vnto them after this manner: Behold him (ſaid he) whom you eſteeme for a God, condemned to die, and deſtinie ſhall apparently conuince you of thoſe flattering and falſe ſpeeches, which you haue lately vſed in my behalfe. For I, who by you haue beene adored as one immortall, am vnder the hands of death. But I muſt willingly entertaine that which God pleaſeth to ſend me: For I haue not liued in obſcurity, but in ſo great and wonderfull felicity, that each one of you haue tearmed and held mee
B happy.

The yeere of the world, 4005. after Chriſts birth, 43.

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Whileſt he ſpake thus, his griefes augmented in ſuch ſort, as he was brought almoſt to his laſt: for which cauſe with all expedition he was conuaied into his royall Palace, and the rumor was ſpred in euery place, that very ſhortly he would be dead. For which cauſe the people with their wiues and children put on ſackcloth, according to the cuſtome of the country, to the end they might ſollicit Gods mercy in the Kings behalf, and all the city was filled with teares and lamentations. The King that lay in an vpper chamber, and looking down into the court, ſaw them lying thus on the earth, could not refraine himſelfe from teares. And after he had for the ſpace of fiue daies without ceaſing been tormented with griping in his belly, he gaue vp the ghoſt in the fiftie fourth yeere of his age, and the ſeuenth yeere of his raigne. For he had raigned foure yeeres vn-
C der the Empire of *Caius Cæſar* (hauing firſt of all gouerned *Philips* Tetrarchy three yeres, to which was annexed the ſigniory of *Herod* in the fourth yeere) and three yeeres vnder the Empire of *Claudius Cæſar*, during which time he gouerned ouer the abouenamed countries: and moreouer ouer Iuda, Samaria and Cæſarea. His reuenue amounted to twelue hundreth myriades, beſides which, he made many loanes. For in that he was very liberall in giuing, he ſpent farre more then his reuenue, and ſpared not any thing to ſhew himſelfe magnificent. Before the people knew of his death, *Herod* his brother Prince of Chalcis, and *Chelcias* the Kings lieutenant and friend, agreed between themſelues to ſend *Ariſto* one of their truſtieſt ſeruants to kill *Silas*, who was their enemy, as if they had beene commanded by the King.

The yeere of the world, 4009. after Chriſts Natiuitie, 47.

1200. Myriades amount to 15. tunnes of gold.

Herod the Prince of Chalcis and Chelcias kill Silas.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 9. al. chap. 8.

Thus died King *Agrippa*, leauing behind him a ſon called *Agrippa*, ſeuenteene yeeres old; and
D three daughters, one of which that was called *Bernice*, was married to *Herod* his fathers brother, when ſhe was ſixteene yeeres old. The two other were *Mariamme* and *Druſilla*: this *Mariamme* being of the age of ten yeeres, was promiſed in marriage by her father, to *Iulius Archelaus Chelcias* ſonne: and *Druſilla* which was ſixe yeeres old, was promiſed alſo to *Epiphanes*, ſon to the King of Comagena.

Agrippas children liue.

After *Agrippas* death, they of Cæſarea and Sebaſte forgot themſelues of thoſe benefits they had receiued from him, and vſed him no leſſe deſpitefully, then as if he had been their vtter enemy. For they reprochfully abuſed him after his death, and reuiled him in ſuch ſort, as it is vnſeemely to report the ſame. Furthermore, all the men of warre, who were at that time many in number, went vnto the Kings lodging, and with one accord ſeized the ſtatues of the Kings daughters, and
E carried them to the brothell-houſe; where, after they had placed them, they vttered all the indignities they could poſſibly, practicing ſuch ſhamefull matters, as they may not be expreſſed. Beſides this, reſting themſelues in the publike places, they banqueted in the open ſtreet, wearing chaplets of flowers on their heads, and perfuming themſelues with odours to ſacrifice to *Charon*, drinking to one another for ioy that the King was dead. Thus expreſſed they their ingratitude not only towards their King *Agrippa*, who had beſtowed ſo many liberalities on them; but alſo towards *Herod* his grandfather, who had builded their Cities, and to his extreme charge erected their ports and temples. At that time *Agrippa*, the deceaſed *Agrippas* ſon was at Rome, and was brought vp vnder the Emperor *Claudius*. When *Cæſar* vnderſtood how thoſe of Cæſarea and Sebaſte had iniuriouſly dealt with *Agrippa*, he was ſore diſpleaſed, and mooued with their ingra-
F titude: and his purpoſe was, to ſend the yonger *Agrippa* with all expedition to take poſſeſſion of the kingdome of his father, and therewithall to diſcharge himſelfe of his oath: but diuers of his freemen & friends, who were in great credit with him, diſſwaded him from the ſame, alleadging that it would be a dangerous matter to commit the greatneſſe of ſuch a Kingdome to a young man, who ſcarcely had as yet attained to the age of eighteene yeeres: and for whom it was impoſſible to ſupport the care of ſo great a Kingdome, conſidering that if he were at mans eſtate, he ſhould finde himſelfe ouerburthened with the charge of a Kingdome. This aduice of theirs was allowed by *Cæſar*, and for this cauſe hee ſent *Cuſpius Fadus* to gouerne Iudæa, and the whole realme;

The Cæſareans and Sebaſtians reuile Agrippa being dead.

Agrippa Agrippas ſon.

Claudius intendeth to ſend young Agrippa into his fathers kingdome, but is diſſwaded, and ſendeth Cuſpius Fadus for Preſident into Iudæa, and thoſe parts.

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realme; honoring his dead friend in this, in that he would not suffer *Marsus*, who had beene his enemy, to enter into his kingdome. He gaue especiall commission also, that *Fadus* should sharply punish those of Cæsarea and Sebaste, for the outrages they had offered to his deceased friend, and the excesse that was committed against his daughters, who were yet liuing; commanding him to transport the companies of the Cæsareans and Sebastens, and the fiue Roman legions into the country of Pontus to serue in that place, and to take those Romane souldiers that bare armes in Syria, to serue in their place: yet notwithstanding this commandement of his, they were not displaced. For they sent Embassadors to *Claudius* to appease him, and by this meanes they obtained the fauour to remaine in Iudæa. After this they gaue an entrance to those most grieuous mischiefes and calamities that befell the Iewes: for they spred the seed of the war, which was awakened vnder *Florus* gouernment. And for that cause, after that *Vespasian* had obtained the victory, as it shall be hereafter declared, he caused them to depart out of that prouince, and made them seeke their habitation elsewhere.

The Iewes themselues were the cause of those wars which began vnder Florus.

THE TVVENTIETH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the twentieth Booke.

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2 *How* Helena *Queene of Adiabena and her sonnes embraced the religion of the Iewes.*
3 *The Gouernour* Tiberius Alexander *punisheth the sonnes of* Iudas *of Galilee.*
4 *How a great number of the Iewes were slaine about the temple.*
5 *The sedition of the Iewes against the Samaritanes.*
6 *The actions of* Fœlix, *President of Iudæa.*
7 *The gouernment of* Porcius Festus *in Iudæa, and of certaine murtherers.*
8 Albinus *gouernment.*
9 *How* Florus, *who succeeded* Albinus, *inforced so many iniuries against the Iewes, that they were constrained to fall to armes.*

CHAP. I.

The dissension betweene the Philadelphians and the Iewes: and of the Ephod which was the sacerdotall stole.

Hedio and Ruffinus, ca. 1. Cassius Longinus Prefect of Syria.

AFTER King *Agrippas* decease (as we haue heeretofore declared in our former Booke) the Emperor *Claudius* sent *Cassius Longinus* to succeed *Marsus* in the gouernment of Syria, whom he displaced of that honor in memory of *Agrippa*, who during his life-time had oftentimes required by his letters, that he should not suffer *Marsus* to gouerne the estate of Syria. As soone as *Cuspius Fadus* came into Iewry to take charge of that country, which he was to gouerne vnder *Cæsar*, he found the Iewes that dwelt on the other side of Iordan in an vproare, who had taken armes against the Philadelphians, about the limits of a certaine village called Mia, which was stored with valiant men at armes. Now had those who inhabit beyond Iordan, armed themselues in this maner, without the consent of their Gouernors; and had slain a great number of the Philadelphians. Which when *Fadus* vnderstood, he was sore displeased, for that they had not reserued the cause to his hearing, and opened their griefes they had conceiued against the Philadelphians, but were so bold, of their owne authority, and without feare, to betake themselues to their weapons. Hauing therefore apprehended some three

Fadus punisheth the Iewes for their insurrection against the Philadelphians.

of

of them who had beene principals and authors of the ſedition, he commanded them to priſon, and executed one of them called *Annibas*, and baniſhed the other two whoſe names were *Amaram* and *Eleazar*.

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Annibas executed, Amaramus and Eleazar baniſhed.

Anon after this, *Tholomæus* the Archthiefe was alſo taken, and brought vnto him, who commanded him to be executed, in that he had done many robberies in Idumæa and Arabia; and by this meanes all the country of Iudæa was cleared of all theeues, by the care and prouidence of *Fadus*. After this he ſent for the High Prieſts, and the Gouernours of Ieruſalem, commanding them, according to the Emperors direction, that they ſhould deliuer vp into the Caſtle of Antonia the long and ſacred robe, which the High Prieſt only was accuſtomed to weare; to the end that it might be at the Romanes diſpoſition, as in times paſt it had been. This command of his they durſt not contradict, yet notwithſtanding, they required *Fadus* and *Longinus* (who at that time was come to Ieruſalem with a great power, for feare the Iewes, by reaſon of this iniunction, ſhould grow to rebellion) firſt, that it might be lawfull for them to ſend their Embaſſadors vnto *Cæſar*, to beſeech him that the Sacred Robe might remaine in their cuſtody. Secondly, that it might pleaſe them to expect the anſwer which *Cæſar* would returne vpon this their requeſt. *Fadus* gaue them this anſwer, that he permitted them to ſend their Embaſſadors to Rome, prouided, that beforehand they deliuered him their children for hoſtages. Which when they had readily performed, the Embaſſadors were ſent away. Now when they came to Rome, the yonger *Agrippa* (who was his ſonne that lately died) knowing the cauſe of their comming, and being ordinarily accuſtomed to attend vpon *Cæſar* (according as we haue heretofore declared) beſought *Cæſar*, that he would grant the Iewes their requeſt, as touching the ſacred robe, and that it might pleaſe him to ſignifie no leſſe vnto *Fadus*. On this his petition *Claudius* gaue the Embaſſadors audience, and told them that he fauoured their ſuit, willing them to be thankfull to *Agrippa*, vpon whoſe ſuit he reſpected them, and allowed of their demands; and beſides this anſwer, he deliuered them a letter to this effect:

The Iewes deliuer pledges, to the intent they might be permitted to ſend letters to Cæſar.

Claudius vpon the yonger Agrippas motion, granteth the Iewes liberty to haue the cuſtody of the High Prieſts veſtments.

Claudius Cæſar Germanicus, Conſeruer of the people, Conſul created the fift time, Emperor the fourth time, Father of the country the tenth time, to the Magiſtrates of Ieruſalem, the Senate, people, and all the nation of the Iewes; Health. Being required by our welbeloued *Agrippa*, whom I both haue, and at this preſent doe bring vp with me, and whom I know to be moſt deuout; I haue heard your Embaſſadors, who were admitted to my preſence by his meanes, and haue receiued their thanks for the benefits I haue beſtowed on your nation: I haue alſo willingly inclined to that inſtant and expreſſe requeſt you haue made vnto me; and it is my pleaſure, the Sacred Robe of the High Prieſt, and the holy Miter remaine in your cuſtody, in ſuch maner, as our moſt deare and right honored friend *Vitellius* heretofore ordained: To which demand of yours I vouchſafe my allowance: firſt in regard of mine own piety, and for that I deſire that euery one ſhould ſerue God according to his own religion: for that I am reſolued, that in ſo doing, I ſhall gratifie King *Herod* and yong *Ariſtobulus*, whoſe piety towards me I am priuy to, and whoſe good affection towards you I can witneſſe, with whom I haue had diuers occaſions of friendſhip, both in regard of their vertue, as for the honor that I beare vnto them. I haue alſo written to this effect to *Cuſpius Fadus* mine Agent: The names of thoſe who haue receiued my letters, are *Cornelius* the ſon of *Ceron*, *Trypon* the ſonne of *Theudion*, *Dorotheus* the ſon of *Nathanael*, and *Iohn* the ſon of *Iohn*. Giuen the eight and twentieth of Iune, in the yeere wherein *Rufus* and *Pompeius Siluanus* were Conſuls. At that ſame time *Herod*, who was *Agrippas* brother that had lately deceaſed, to whoſe hands in times paſt the gouernment of Chalcis had beene committed, required the Emperour *Claudius* to grant him the power ouer the temple, and the ſacred veſtments and neceſſaries, and the authority of chooſing the High Prieſt. All which he obtained, and from that time forward vntill the end of the warre of the Iewes, this power remained in all his ſucceſſors. According to this authority *Herod* depoſed *Canthara* from the Prieſthood, and gaue the ſucceſſion thereof to *Ioſeph* the ſonne of *Caneus*.

Alias cap. 3. Claudius Epiſtle to the Iewes.

Alias chap. 9. Herod prince of Chalcis, hath authority granted him to create the High Prieſt.

CHAP. II.

How HELENA *Queene of Adiabena and her ſonnes embraced the religion of the Iewes.*

Hedio & Ruffinus, c. 2. al. 5.

AT that time *Helena* Queene of Adiabena, and her ſonne *Izates* conformed themſelues to the religion of the Iewes, vpon this occaſion that enſueth: *Monobazus* King of Adiabena, who was alſo cald *Bazeos*, being ſurprized with the loue of his ſiſter *Helena* eſpouſed her,

Monobazus the King of Adiabena begetteth two ſonnes on Helena his ſiſter Monobazus and Izates.

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her,& got her with child. Vpon a time it hapned, that sleeping with her, he laid his hand on her belly, whilst she lay asleepe: and him thought, that he heard a voice that commanded him to take away his hand from off her belly, lest he should crush the fruit that was therein, which by Gods prouidence should haue a happy beginning, and no lesse fortunate ending. *Monobazus* was sore moued at this voice, and as soone as he awoke, he told it to his wife; and afterwards when the child was borne, he called him *Izates*: Besides, he had another elder sonne by the same wife, who was called *Monobazus*, according to his owne name. And he had also other sons by his other wiues: yet notwithstanding *Izates* was most manifestly his best beloued, and so cherished by him, as if he had beene his only begotten sonne. For which cause, his other brothers enuied him: which increased their hatred, for that al the rest of them were aggrieued, because *Monobazus* made most account of *Izates*. The father manifestly perceiued all this, yet did he pardon them, knowing that they did it not for malice, but for the desire that euery one of them had to be best esteemed by his father. Notwithstanding, being affraid lest some mis-hap should betide *Izates*, by reason of the hatred his brethren bare vnto him, he gaue him many great gifts, and sent him to *Abemerigus*, who raigned at that time in a fort called Spasinus, committing his sons life into his hand. *Abemerigus* also intertained him with kind affection, and loued him in such sort, that in processe of time he gaue him *Samacha* his daughter to wife; and for her dowrie he gaue him a countrey of great reuenew.

Izates sent to Abemerigus, marrieth his daughter Samacha.

Cæron very fruitfull in Amomum, in which the reliques of Noes arke are to be seene.

Monobazus being old, and seeing he had no long time to liue, desired before his death that his sonne might come and visit him; hee therefore sent for him & receiued him very louingly, giuing him a countrey which he called Cæron, which bringeth forth great aboundance of excellent Amomum. In this place was the remainder of the Arke, in which *Noe* was saued, during the Deluge; which remnants are to be seene at this day, if any man haue a desire to behold the same. *Izates* remained in that place vntill his fathers decease. But on the very day of his death, *Helena* sent for all the Lords and Gouerners of the Kingdome, and Captaines of all the Army, and vpon their assembly she spake vnto them after this manner:

Izates was made King by his motner Helena, and the nobility, and Momobazus gouerneth the kingdome till his comming.

"I suppose (said she) that you are not ignorant of my husbands minde, who hath desired that "*Izates* might be King in his stead, & hath esteemed him most worthy of such an honour: yet expect I your iudgement in this point. For he that receiueth the soueraignty, not from one mans hand, but from many, & hath the same confirmed vnto him by their consent, is happy. She vsed this discourse vnto them to trie what their intent was, who were there assembled. They vnderstanding her mind, prostrated themselues first of all vpon the earth before the Queene, according to the custome of their countrey; and afterwards answered her, that they approued the Kings election, and tooke pleasure to obey *Izates*, whom his father deseruedly, and to all their contents and the desire of the common people had preferred aboue the rest of his brethren: alledging "moreouer, that they would put his brethren and kinsmen to death before his comming, to the "end that he might enioy the Kingdome with all security: for by their deaths all the feare that "might grow by their hatred and enuie might be extinguished. Hereunto the Queene answered; "that she gaue them thanks, for the fauour they bare vnto her and her sonne *Izates*: notwithstanding she required them to suspend their iudgements touching the death of his brethren, vntill "such time as *Izates* himselfe should giue his consent thereunto. They seeing they might not obtaine the liberty to put them to death, gaue counsaile that they should be kept prisoners vntill his comming, to the end, at leastwise for their owne parts, that they might be out of danger; and that moreouer, vntill his comming there might one be appointed to gouerne the estate, whom she should esteeme most trustie and faithfull vnto him. Whereunto *Helena* condescended, and made his elder brother *Monobazus* King, and set the Diademe on his head, and gaue him his fathers seale ring, with that robe which they call Sampsera; exhorting him to gouerne the kingdome vntill his brothers arriuall. *Izates* hauing certaine notice of his fathers death, resorted thither speedily, and receiuing his brother *Monobazus* willing surrender, tooke vpon him the gouernment of the kingdome.

Izates and his mother Helena learne the true seruice of God according to the maner of the Iewes.

During such time as *Izates* soiourned in the fortresse of Spasinus a certain merchant, who was a Iew, called *Ananias*, hauing accesse to the Kings wiues, taught them the manner how to serue God, according to the religion of the Iewes: and *Ananias* by their meanes growing acquainted with *Izates*, taught him the like, and accompanied him into Adiabena: being drawne thereunto by his earnest entreaties, at such time as *Izates* resorted thither vpon his fathers sending for. It chanced also in like sort that *Helena* was in like manner instructed by another Iew, and retained the rites and religion of the Iewes.

After

After that *Izates* came into his Kingdome, and knewe that his brethren and kinsfolke were imprisoned, he was much grieued Conceiuing therefore with himselfe that it would be a great impiety in him to suffer them to be slaine, or kept bound in prison; and that on the other side, it were a dangerous matter for him, if being at liberty they should remember the euill they had indured: for this cause hee sent some of them to Rome for hostages with their children vnto the Emperour *Claudius*, and the rest vnto *Artabanus* King of Parthia. Afterwards when he was thorowly assured that his mother was wholly addicted to the religion of the Iewes, hee endeuoured himselfe the more to shew himselfe zealous therein: and supposing that he could not be a perfect Iew, except he were circumcised, he prepared himselfe to bee circumcised. Which when his mother vnderstood, she laboured to her vttermost to hinder his resolution, certifying him that in so doing, hee should bring himselfe in great danger; for that in being King, he would draw himselfe into the dislike of his subiects, if they should haue notice that he was addicted to a new religion, and to strange ceremonies, and that they would not endure, that in being a Iew, hee should be their King: so she for a while by her disswasion restrained him from his desire. But the King required counsell of *Ananias*, who, according with *Helena* in the course of her dislike, threatned *Izates*, that if he would not obey his mother, he would forsake him, & depart from him, for that he feared, lest if the matter should be publikely knowne, he should suffer some punishment, as being the only author and instructer of the King in vndecent matters; that otherwise he might serue God, although he were not circumcised; since he had resolued to liue according to the institution and lawes of the Iewes, and that God would pardon him: for in this, true religion consisteth, more then in the circumcision of the body, though he were not actually circumcised, since the necessitie and feare of his subiects ouerruled him. By which words the King for that time was wonne to affect the same no further. But some little whiles after (for he was not wholly altered in that affection which he had) another Iew called *Eleazar*, comming from Galilee, and accounted a man of great experience in the doctrine of our religion, perswaded him to bee circumcised. For, comming one day vnto him to salute him, he found him reading of the bookes of *Moses*, and sayd vnto him; O King, contrary to your knowledge you offend the law, and God like-wise; for it sufficeth you not, that you vnderstand the same, but the chiefest matter you are tyed vnto, is to doe that which the lawe commandeth: how long therefore will you remaine vncircumcised? And if as yet you haue not perused the law as touching this point, read it now, to the intent you may know what impiety it is to omit it.

The yeere of the world, 4009. after christs birth, 47.

Izates sendeth his brothers to Claudius Cæsar & Artabanus.

Izates is disswaded by Helena his mother and Ananias from circumcision.

Eleazar perswadeth Izates to bee circumcised.

After the King had heard this, hee would no longer deferre his circumcision: for which cause withdrawing himselfe into another chamber, he called a surgeon vnto him, who acted that which he required, and afterwards calling his mother and master *Ananias* vnto him, he certified them what had past: whereupon they grew strangely amazed, fearing lest the King should growe in danger of the losse of his Kingdome, if this action of his should come to light; for that his subiects would not endure that such a man that followed a contrary religion should be their King: they feared also, lest they themselues should be in danger, for as much as the cause of all this matter would bee imputed to them. But God by his prouidence preuented lest any of those things which they feared should come to effect: for hee deliuered *Izates* himselfe and his children likewise out of many dangers, yeelding them his assistance in their doubtfull and desperate estates, declaring in effect that those that onely put their trust in him, and depend vpon his prouidence, are neuer depriued of the fruit of their piety. But of these things will we speake hereafter.

They that rely on God, & put their confidence in him, doe alwaies reape the reward of their piety.

When *Helena* the Kings mother perceiued that the estate of the Kingdome was in peace, and that by all mens opinion, both home-bred and strangers, her sonne was reputed happie by the good will of God, she was seized with a desire to go and visit the Citie of Ierusalem, and adore God in that temple, which was so much renowmed thorow the whole world, & offer sacrifice of thanksgiuing therein; for which cause she besought her son that he would suffer her to performe her vowes: who willingly condescended to her desire, and furnished her royally with all things that were necessary for such a voiage; giuing her a great masse of mony with her, and bringing her onward on her way many daies iourney; so that at length she arriued in Ierusalem, to the great aduantage of the inhabitants of that city. For at that time the city was oppressed with a grieuous famine, so as many died for want of food; for which cause Queen *Helena* sent her seruants some into Alexandria to buy a great quantity of corne, the rest into Cypris to buy dried figs, who returned with all expedition they might: whereupon *Helena* distributed the victuals among the poore, leauing a singular memory of her beneficence among the whole nation. Her sonne *Izates* also vnderstanding of this famine, sent a great summe of money to the Gouernour of Ierusalem. But hereafter

Helena the Queene of Adrabena resorteth to Ierusalem. Alias, cap. 6.

after will I declare what other benefits the King and Queene haue beſtowed vpon our nation.

The yeere of the world, 4009. after Chriſts Natiuitie, 37.

Now *Artabanus* King of Parthia, perceiuing that the Princes of his Kingdome had conſpired againſt him, reſolued with himſelfe to go vnto *Izates*, for the ſecuritie of his life and perſon, hoping by his meanes, if it were poſſible, to recouer his Kingdome. He therefore retired thither, and brought with him about one thouſand men of his kinsfolke and houſhold ſeruants. And by the way he met with *Izates*, whom he knew verie well by his royall traine, notwithſtanding he were vnknowne vnto him by countenance. Drawing therefore neere vnto him, he firſt of all humbled himſelfe on his knees, according to the cuſtome of the countrey, and afterwards ſpake vnto him after this manner:

Artabanus retireth himſelfe to Izates and requireth his aſsiſtance.

» Drad King, forſake me not, who am thy ſeruant, neither reiect thou my prayers. For being
» deiected by the meanes of my misfortunes, and of a King become a priuate man, I haue neede of
» thy ſuccour. Conſider therefore the inconſtancie of fortune, and thinke with thy ſelfe, that by
» prouiding for mee, thou ſhalt prouide for thy ſelfe. For if thou makeſt no reckoning of the
» wrong that is done vnto me, diuers men will grow audacious to enterprize vpon other Kings.

Theſe words pronounced hee with weeping teares, and with lookes lowely fixed vpon the ground. When *Izates* had heard *Artabanus* name, and ſaw his humble and ſubmiſſiue eſtate, he leapt incontinently from his horſe and ſaid vnto him: King, be of good courage, and let not thy preſent and perplexed condition diſmay thee, as if thy misfortunes were irrecouerable. For this ſorrow of thine ſhall ſodainely bee changed, and thou ſhalt finde a better friend and allie, then thou hopedſt for at this time. For either will I repoſſeſſe thee of thy Kingdome of Parthia, or I will loſe mine owne gouernment. This ſaid, he cauſed *Artabanus* to get vp on horſebacke, & walked by him on foote, yeelding him this honour, as to a greater King then himſelfe. Which when *Artabanus* ſaw, hee was diſcontented, and ſware by his fortune and honour to come, that he would ſet foot on ground, if he would not get vp on horſeback and ride before him: whereunto he obeyed, and mounting vpon his horſe againe, he conducted him to his Palace; yeelding him all the honour that was poſſible, both in his ſittings and banquets, as in his aſſemblies, not reſpecting his preſent eſtate or condition; but his former dignitie: conſidering with himſelfe, that ſuch caſuall misfortunes and changes are incident to all men. Furthermore, he wrote vnto the Parthians, perſwading them to receiue their King *Artabanus*, aſſuring them on his faith and oath, that hee would obtaine a free pardon for all that which was paſt, and to that intent he offered himſelfe to bee an arbitrator betweene them. The Parthians gaue him this anſwer, that they wold not refuſe to entertain him, but that they could not: for that one who was called *Cinnamus*, was aduanced in his place and dignitie, and that they feared leaſt a ſedition ſhould happen amongſt them. *Cinnamus*, who was a noble and honourable minded man, knowing that their intent was ſuch, wrote himſelfe vnto *Artabanus*, who had nouriſhed and brought him vp, exhorting him to returne vpon his faith, and to receiue againe his owne Kingdome. *Artabanus* vpon this motion gaue credit to his words, and returned backe againe. Whereupon *Cinnamus* came foorth and met him, and proſtrating himſelfe before his feete, called him King; and afterwards taking the diademe from off his own head, he ſet it vpon *Artabanus* head, who by this means was reſtored to his former eſtate by *Izates* mediation, after he had beene driuen out of his Kingdom by his chiefeſt nobilitie. And hee did not forget the fauours which hee had receiued at *Izates* hands, but did him all the honour that poſſibly hee could imagine: For hee permitted him to weare the ſtraight Tiara, and to ſleepe vpon a gilded bed, which is a priuiledge that belongeth onely to the kings of Parthia. He gaue him alſo a goodly and great countrey which he had taken from the King of Armenia. This countrey was called Niſibis, where in times paſt the Macedons had builded the Citie of Antioch, by them called Mygdonia.

Izates comforteth Artabanus, & promiſeth him his aſsiſtance.

Izates writeth to the Parthians, & perſwadeth them to receiue their King.

Cinnamus reſtoreth the Kingdome to Artabanus.

Izates receiueth great honours and gifts at Artabanus hands.

Antiochia & Mygdonia builded by the Macedõs.

Preſently after *Izates* was in this ſort honoured, *Artabanus* died, leauing his Kingdome to his ſonne *Vardanes*; who repaired to *Izates*, praying him to ioyne with him in that war which he intended to wage againſt the Romans: but he preuailed not with him. For *Izates* knowing the Romans force and good hap, imagined that hee vndertooke a matter beyond his power. Furthermore, he had ſent fiue of his young ſonnes to Ieruſalem to learne our tongue and diſcipline, and his mother likewiſe to adore in the temple, for which cauſe hee the rather held backe & diſſwaded *Vardanes* from enterprizing againſt the Romans, whoſe power and puiſſant conqueſt he ordinarily reckoned vp vnto him, to the end he might diſmay him, & by theſe his allegations cauſe him to giue ouer his purpoſed intent of war againſt them. But the Parthian was diſpleaſed with this his perſwaſion, and for that cauſe denounced a preſent warre againſt *Izates*. But this his enterprize had but a fruitleſſe iſſue: for God cut off all his hopes. For the Parthians vnderſtanding what

Vardanes, after his fathers death, laboureth to perſwade Izates to make warre againſt the Romans, but hee preuaileth not.

A what *Vardanes* intent was, and how he was resolued to vndertake a warre against the Romanes, slew him, and gaue the kingdome to his brother *Gotarza*, whom not long after this, his brother *Vologesus* slew by treason, restoring to his two brothers by the mothers side these Prouinces, that is to say, the kingdome of Media to *Pacorus* who was the eldest, and Armenia to *Tiridates* who was the younger.

The yeere of the world, 4009. after Christs birth, 47.

After Vardanes was slain, the kingdome is committed to Gotarza. Vologesus King of Parthia.

When *Monobazus* King *Izates* brother and the rest of his kinsfolke saw how happily all things succeeded to *Izates*, and how in respect of his piety towards God, he was honoured and reuerenced by all men, they also resolued themselues to forsake their religion, and to serue God after the manner of the Iewes. But this intent of theirs was discouered. Whereupon the chiefest among them grew displeased; yet did they not manifest their despite, but kept it hidden in their hearts, seeking some fit occasion to reuenge themselues as soone as they might. They wrote also to *Abias* King of Arabia, and promised him great summes of money, if he would take armes against their King, promising him that vpon the first charge, they would forsake him, for that they desired to be reuenged on him, who was growne in hatred of their religion. Hauing therefore confirmed their promise with an oath, they incited him to make haste. The King of Arabia performed that which they required, and marched forth against *Izates* with a great power. And when as the first charge was ready to be giuen, and before they came to handy-strokes, all *Izates* souldiers forsooke him; and turning their backs to their enemies, fled in great disorder, as if they had beene surprized with a Panicke feare; yet was *Izates* no waies dismaied, but hauing discouered that it was the treason and conspiracy of his greatest Peeres, he retyred himselfe also into his campe, where he enquired of the cause that they pretended. After he knew that they had complotted with the Arabian, he caused the conspirators to be put to death: and the next day after went out to fight, and slew a great number of his enemies, and constrained the rest to betake them to flight. Hee pursued their King also into a fort called *Arsam*, which he battered and assaulted with such spirit and diligence, that he tooke the same with a great quantitie of booty that was therein, and returned to Adiabena with great triumph: but hee tooke not *Abias* aliue; for hee himselfe had preuented his captiuitie with his death. The Lords of Adiabena seeing themselues frustrated of their former hopes, in that by Gods hand they were deliuered into the hands of their King, could not containe their displeasure, but practised further mischiefe: for they wrote their letters to *Vologesus* King of Parthia, desiring him to kill *Izates*, and to bestow another King vpon them who was a Parthian, for that they hated their King, who had abolished their religion, and had embraced a strange law. The Parthian vnderstanding hereof, prepared himselfe for the warre: and hauing no iust colour or pretext to enforce the same, he sent a messenger vnto him to redemand those honours which his father had giuen him; which if he refused, hee denounced warre against him. *Izates* was not a little troubled in his minde, when hee vnderstood this message: For he thought that if he should restore the gifts, he should offer himselfe great preiudice, for that it would be imagined that he did it for feare: knowing on the other side, that if the Parthian should recouer that which he redemanded, yet would he not be in quiet, he therfore commended his cause to God, trusting that he would take care of him. And building vpon this, that the greatest good he might haue, was to haue God to helpe, he shut his wiues and children in a strong Castle, and his corne in his strongest towers: and afterwards burned all the hay and forrage; and hauing after this manner prouided for all things, he expected the approach of his enemie. The Parthian came onward sooner then he was expected, with a great power of horsemen and footmen. For he marched forward in all haste, and encamped neere vnto the floud that separateth Adiabena from Media. *Izates* likewise encamped not farre from thence, hauing with him about sixe thousand horsemen. To whom the Parthian sent a messenger to giue him to vnderstand how great his power was, which extended from the riuer of Euphrates as farre as Bactria, recounting vnto him what Kings he had vnder his subiection, threatning him to punish him very seuerely, in that he behaued himselfe so vngratefully towards his benefactors, yea in such sort as the god whom he adored, might not deliuer him out of the Kings hands. Hereunto *Izates* answered, that he knew well that the Parthian farre exceeded him in power, but that hee was farre better assured that Gods power extended beyond all mens contradiction. And hauing returned him this answer, he betook himselfe to his prayers, & prostrating himselfe vpon the earth, and casting ashes on his head, and fasting himselfe, his wiues and all his children, he called vpon God, and prayed, after this manner: O Lord Almighty, if I haue not vainely submitted my selfe to thy protection, but haue entirely chosen thee for mine onely and true God, be thou my helpe and assistance, and not only deliuer mee from mine enemies, but also abate and controule their

The Lords of Adiabena perswade Vologesus to kill Izates.

Izates calleth vpon God, who sendeth the Dahans and Sacans into Parthia, vpon whose arriuall Vologesus returneth.

pride, who haue not beene affraid in their vnbridled language, to prophane thy holy and ſacred name, and vtter blaſphemous ſpeeches againſt thy power. Thus prayed he with ſighes and teares; and God heard him: For incontinently, and the very ſame night, *Vologeſus* receiued letters, by which he was certified that a great numbe of Dahans and Sacans taking opportunitie by his abſence, were entred into the kingdome of Parthia, and ſpoiled the whole countrey; for which cauſe hee returned backe into his countrey without any further trouble. And thus *Izates* by Gods prouidence was warranted from the Parthians threats.

The yeere of the world, 4010. after chriſts birth, 48.

Izates deliuereth vp the kingdome to his brother Monobazus, and dyeth.

Not long after this, at ſuch time as he had liued fiftie fiue yeeres, and raigned foure and twentie, and left behinde him foure and twentie ſonnes, he dyed, and appointed his brother *Monobazus* to ſucceed him in the kingdome, requiting hereby his faith and loyaltie, in that during the time of his abſence, and after the death of his father, hee had faithfully ruled and gouerned the kingdome to his vſe. His mother *Helena* hearing newes of his death, lamented very grieuouſly as reaſon would, in that ſhe being his mother was depriued of a ſonne that ſo zealouſly honoured and feared God. Yet notwithſtanding ſhee was comforted, when ſhe vnderſtood that her eldeſt ſonne was to ſucceed him in the kingdome; and haſted herſelfe with all diligence to goe and meete him. As ſoone as ſhee arriued in Adiabena, ſhee liued not long time after her ſonne *Izates*. Whereupon *Monobazus* tooke both her body and his brothers bones, and ſent them to Ieruſalem, commanding that they ſhould bee buried in three Pyramides which *Helena* had builded, ſome three ſtades or furlongs from Ieruſalem. But hereafter will we recite the acts and geſts of *Monobazus* during his raigne.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 5. al. 8.

Theudas perſwadeth the people, that with a ſword he will cauſe Iordan to diuide it ſelfe, & yeeld them paſſage: hee with his followers are ſlaine.

But during *Fadus* gouernment in Iudæa, a certaine Magician called *Theudas*, perſwaded a great number of the people to take all their goods and ſubſtance, and to follow him to the floud Iordan; for he ſaid he was a Prophet, and told them that the riuer ſhould diuide it ſelfe into two parts vpon his commandement, and yeeld them free paſſage. By theſe words of his he deceiued diuers of them. But *Fadus* would not permit that ſuch a fury of theirs ſhould breed them any commodity: but hee ſent a troupe of horſemen, who charged them on the ſudden, and ſlew a great number of them; and tooke diuers of them priſoners aliue, amongſt whom was *Theudas*, whoſe head was ſtricken off, and was afterwards carried to Ieruſalem. This is that which befell the Iewes vnder *Fadus* gouernment.

CHAP. III.

The Gouernour TIBERIVS ALEXANDER *puniſheth the ſonnes of* IVDAS *the Galilean.*

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 5. al. 8.

Tiberius Alexander gouernour of Iudæa.

AFTER *Fadus*, ſucceeded *Tiberius Alexander*, the ſonne of that *Alexander* who had beene Gouernour of Alexandria; a man of as great riches as any one of his time and place, who ſurpaſſed likewiſe his ſonne *Alexander* in pietie and ſeruice of God, who forſooke the religion of his forefathers. In that time there happened a great famine in Iewry, during which, Queene *Helena* ſent huge ſummes of money into Ægypt, and bought corne and diſtributed the ſame to thoſe that were in want, according as I haue foreſpoken. At the ſame time *Iames* and *Simon* the ſonnes of *Iudas* of Galilee, who had buſied themſelues to incite the people to reſiſt the gouernment of the Romanes, were put to death at ſuch time as *Cyrenius* valued each mans goods, as we haue heretofore declared. Theſe did *Alexander* command to bee crucified *Herod* King of Chalcis tooke away the ſoueraigne Prieſthood from *Ioſeph* the ſonne of *Camydas*, and transferred it to *Anias* the ſonne of *Nebedæus*. After *Tiberius Alexander*, ſucceeded *Cumanus*. Then dyed *Herod*, who was brother to King *Agrippa* the Great, in the eighth yeere of *Claudius Cæſar*. He left behinde him three ſonnes; *Ariſtobulus* whom hee had by his firſt wife: *Bernicianus* and *Hircanus* by *Bernice* his brothers daughter. *Claudius Cæſar* gaue the kingdome belonging to him, to *Agrippa* the younger. During the time that *Cumanus* gouerned, there hapned a ſedition in Iudæa, whereby diuers Iewes miſcarried. The cauſe of all which accidents I will rip vp from the originall.

Iames and Simon the ſons of Iudas of Galilee crucified.

The yeere of the world, 4011. after chriſts birth, 49.

CHAP. IIII.

How a great number of the Iewes were ſlaine about the Temple.

The yeere of the world, 4011. after Chriſts Natiuitie, 49.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 9. al. 10.

AT the time of the feaſt of Paſcha (during which time we are accuſtomed to feed on vnleauened bread) a great number of people aſſembled themſelues from all parts to the Citie of Ieruſalem. Whereupon *Cumanus* fearing leſt by this occaſion there ſhould ariſe ſome commotion, he gaue order that a company of his ſouldiers ſhould be armed, and ſhould keepe their guard in the porches of the Temple, to the end that if any trouble ſhould happen, they might repreſſe it. Thoſe gouernours, who had beene his predeceſſors, had done the like in ſuch manner of aſſemblies. It came to paſſe on the fourth day of the feaſt, that a certaine ſouldier diſcouering thoſe priuities which were vndecent to be ſeene, ſhewed them before the people: wherewith they that beheld the ſame, were ſore diſpleaſed, and prouoked, ſaying, that the diſhonour was not done vnto them, but to God, to whom it rightly appertained. And ſome of them of beſt reſolution caſt out certaine ſpeeches againſt *Cumanus*, ſaying, that the ſouldier was ſet on by him. Which when *Cumanus* vnderſtood, he was in like manner grieuouſly offended in regard of thoſe iniuries: yet exhorted he thoſe, whom he ſaw too forward in raiſing factions, to keepe the peace, for feare leſt a ſedition ſhould grow during the time of the feaſt; and ſeeing they would in no ſort obey him, but contrariwiſe they ceaſed not to iniure and reuile him, hee commanded that all the forces he had ſhould be in armes, and retire themſelues into the fortreſſe of Antonia that was neere vnto the Temple, as we haue heretofore declared. The people, ſeeing the armed ſouldiers, were affraid, & began to flie: but becauſe the places thorow which they iſſued, were but narrow, they imagined that they were purſued by their enemies; ſo that they thruſt on one another in their flight, and diuers of them were thronged to death. In this mutiny there dyed twentie thouſand men: and after this, in ſtead of a feaſt, there was nothing but mourning; and without bethinking themſelues of their prayers and ſacrifices, all of them began to weepe and lament. So great miſchiefe ſprang from the inſolence of one ſouldier. This firſt lamentation was ſcarcely finiſhed, before a ſecond ſucceeded the ſame. For ſome of thoſe who had a part in this mutiny, being about ſome hundreth ſtades from the Citie, robbed one *Steuen* that was *Cæſars* ſeruant in the high-way, and tooke from him all that which he had. Which when *Cumanus* vnderſtood, he preſently ſent ſome of his ſonldiers to ſpoyle thoſe villages, which were neereſt to the place where the fact was committed, and to bring the chiefeſt inhabitants thereof in bonds vnto him. In this pillage a certaine ſouldier found a booke of the law of *Moſes* in one of theſe villages, which he tooke & brought, and before them all tore it in pieces, with hainous blaſphemies and vile ſpeeches againſt the Law and whole nation. The Iewes vnderſtanding hereof, ſuddenly aſſembled themſelues in great numbers, and ran to Cæſarea where *Cumanus* kept for that preſent, requiring him that he would reuenge not their cauſe, but Gods, whoſe Law was on that ſort diſhonoured; ſignifying vnto him, that it was impoſſible for them to liue, ſo long as their law was thus contemned. *Cumanus* fearing leſt a ſecond mutiny and vprore ſhould be raiſed among the people, by counſell of his friends cut off the ſouldiers head, who had committed that outrage againſt the law, and by this meanes appeaſed the ſedition that was ready to take head.

In the feaſt of Paſcha, a certaine ſouldier ſhewing his priuy members, mooueth a ſedition among the people, whereby twentie thouſand Iewes loſt their liues.

Steuen, Cæſars ſeruant, robbed in his iourney, for which cauſe Cumanus ſpoileth the villages neere to the place where the robbery was done.

A certain ſouldier teareth the bookes of Moſes law, & therefore is beheaded by Cumanus cõmandement.

CHAP. V.

The ſedition of the Iewes againſt the Samaritanes.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 10. al. cap. 12.

THere hapned alſo an enmity betwixt the Samaritanes and the Iewes, vpon this occaſion. They of Galilee, who reſorted to the Citie of Ieruſalem at the times of our ſolemne feaſts, were accuſtomed to paſſe thorow the countrey of the Samaritanes. And at that time it hapned, that their way lay thorow a borough called Nais, ſituate in a great champaine field: where a quarrell ariſing betwixt diuers inhabitants of the place, and certaine paſſengers, a great number of the Galileans were murthered. Which when the Magiſtrates of Galilee vnderſtood, they reſorted to *Cumanus*, requiring him to execute iuſtice on thoſe that had murthered their countrymen: but he being corrupted with money by the Samaritanes, made no account of their complaint. The Galileans being prouoked by this contempt of his, perſwaded the common people of the Iewes to betake them to their weapons, and maintaine their libertie; telling them that ſeruitude is of it ſelfe tedious; but that when it is accompanied with outrages, it is intole-

Certaine Samaritanes kill diuers Galileans in their way to Ieruſalem.

The yeere of the world, 4014. after Chriſts Natiuitie, 52.

rable. But their gouernours laboured to pacifie them, promiſing them to deale ſo effectually with *Cumanus*, that he ſhould take puniſhment of the murtherers: but they gaue them no audience, but fell to armes, requiring *Eleazar* the ſonne of *Dineus*, to be their chieftaine. This *Eleazar* was a thiefe, who for many yeeres made his abode in the mountaines: They therefore ſpoyled and burnt certaine villages of the Samaritanes. After that the report of all that which had paſſed, came to *Cumanus* eares, hee tooke a company of the ſouldiers of Sebaſte, with foure bands of footmen, and armed the Samaritanes likewiſe to goe and make warre againſt the Iewes; whom they tooke, and ſlew many of them, and led more of them away priſoners. When the chiefeſt gouernors in Ieruſalem ſaw into what an infinity of miſchiefs they were falne, they cloathed themſelues in ſackcloth, and caſt aſhes on their heads, exhorting thoſe that were mutinous, to forethinke themſelues of the ruine of their countrey, the danger the Temple was in to bee burned, the ſeruitude both of themſelues, their wiues and children, to prophane and ſtrange nations; and deſired them to change their aduice, and to lay aſide their weapons, and ceaſe to offer violence, to the end that they might hereafter liue in quiet, and that euery one of them would retire themſelues peaceably to his owne habitation. By which words in the end they being perſwaded, returned home, and betooke them to their buſineſſe. The theeues alſo retired themſelues againe into their ſtrong holds, and from that time all Iudæa was repleniſhed with thefts. The gouernours of Samaria reſorted to *Numidius Quadratus* gouernour of Syria, who dwelt at that time in Tyre, to accuſe the Iewes for that they had fired their villages, and ſpoiled them; telling him that their loſſe did not ſo much trouble them, as for that they ſaw the Romanes were contemned by the Iewes: who notwithſtanding ought to appeare before them as their competent Iudges; yet natheleſſe that they aſſembled themſelues in ſuch ſort, as if the Romanes were not their ſuperiours. For which cauſe they addreſſed themſelues to him, to the end they might haue redreſſe of thoſe wrongs which they had receiued by them. This is that wherewith the Samaritanes charged the Iewes: who anſwered to the contrary, alledging that the Samaritanes themſelues had beene the authors of that mutiny and vprore; and that *Cumanus* being wholly corrupted by their money, had ſmothered the matter, and done no iuſtice on the murtherers. When *Quadratus* heard this, he reſerued the iudgement till another time, telling them that he would giue ſentence in the matter at ſuch time as he came into Iudæa, and had examined the truth of both ſides; ſo that they returned without doing any thing.

The yeere of the world, 4014. after Chriſts Natiuitie, 52.

The Galileans in reuenge of their iniuries, burne certain villages of the Samaritanes and ſpoile the ſame.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 8. al. 12.

The Samaritanes accuſe the Iewes before Numidius Quadratus.

The Iewes lay the burthen of the warres on the Samaritanes and Cumanus.

Anon after, *Quadratus* came into Samaria, where he heard that the Samaritanes had beene the authors of the trouble: and on the other ſide, knowing that ſome Iewes likewiſe intended ſome inſurrection, he cauſed them to be crucified, whom *Cumanus* had left in priſon. From thence he tranſported himſelfe to Lydda, which is a borough of no leſſe bigneſſe then a Citie: in which place he ſitting on his tribunall ſeat, heard the Samaritanes the ſecond time, & diſcouered by the report of a certaine Samaritane, that one *Dortus* one of the principalleſt among the Iewes, and foure other his confederates induced the people to rebell againſt the Romanes. Theſe did *Quadratus* cauſe to be executed. As for *Ananias*, who was the high Prieſt, and the Captaine *Ananus*, he ſent them bound to Rome, to render an account to the Emperour *Claudius* of that which they had done. Moreouer, he commanded the chiefe gouernours both of the Samaritanes and Iewes, that they ſhould ſpeedily repaire to Rome; whither *Cumanus* and Captaine *Celer* ſhould conduct them, to the end they might be iudged by *Cæſar* himſelfe, vpon the information taken on both ſides: And fearing leſt the common people of the Iewes ſhould breake out into ſome rebellion, he repaired to the Citie of Ieruſalem, to giue order that the Iewes ſhould attempt to raiſe no new ſtirres: but when he came thither, he found all in peace, and buſied in the celebration of the feaſt, and offering ſacrifices to God, according to their accuſtomed ceremonies. Being therefore aſſured that no man would innouate or rebell in that place, he left them to their ſolemnities, and repaired to Antioch.

Dortus with foure other are crucified. Ananias, Ananus, Cumanus, Celer, & ſome other are ſent to Rome.

But the Iewes that were ſent to Rome with *Cumanus*, and the principall Samaritanes had a day aſſigned them by the Emperour to decide the differents that were betweene them: *Cumanus* and the Samaritanes laboured all that they might by the mediation of *Cæſars* friends and freemen, to haue the vpper hand of the Iewes, and indeed the day had beene theirs, if young *Agrippa* had not beene in Rome. For hee ſeeing that the matter was handled to the diſaduantage of the Iewes, beſought *Agrippina* the Emperors wife, that ſhee would labour her husband in ſuch ſort that he would be pleaſed to take full knowledge of that which was done, and that afterwards he ſhould execute due iuſtice on thoſe whom he found guiltie of that ſedition. *Claudius* fauourably gaue eare to this requeſt: and hearing the whole matter, he found that the Samaritanes were the firſt

Alias, cap. 13.

Agrippa mooueth Agrippina to intreat Cæſar to heare the cauſe of the Iewes.

A first authors of all those mischiefes,and caused them to be put to death who came before him to plead,and banished *Cumanus:* he gaue order also that Captaine *Celer* should be sent backe to Ierusalem,and that there in sight of all the people he should be dragged about the City, vntill he died. Furthermore, he sent *Claudius Fœlix*, *Pallas* brother,to gouerne Iudæa.

The yeere of the world, 4015. after Christs birth, 53.

In the twelfth yeere of his raigne, he gaue *Agrippa Philips* Tetrarchy,with Batanea; and besides that,annexed therunto Trachonitis and Abila,which in times past appertained to *Lysanias* Tetrarchy, taking from him the Prouince of Chalcis, which he had gouerned for the space of foure yeers. After that *Agrippa* had obtained this gift at *Cæsars* hands,he married his sister *Drusilla* to *Azizus* King of the Emesenians,who consented to be circumcised,because *Epiphanes* King

Hedio & Rufinus,chap.9. al. 14.

Claudius Fœlix Gouernor of Iudæa.

B *Antiochus* son would not giue eare vnto the marriage,for that he refused to entertaine the religion of the Iewes,although in times past he had promised his father no lesse. He gaue *Mariamme* also to *Archelaus Chelcias* sonne, who by her fathers consent was before-time promised him, on whom he begat a daughter called *Bernice*. A little after this,the marriage of *Azizus* and *Drusilla* was broken off,on this occasion following: At such time as *Fœlix* gouerned Iewry, he saw *Drusilla*,and was surprized with her loue,for that she surpassed all other women in beauty. He therefore sent a certaine Magician called *Simon*, who was borne in Cypris, and one of his greatest friends among the Iewes,who perswaded her to forsake her first husband,& to marry with *Fœlix*, giuing her to vnderstand, that she should be happy, if she refused not this match. She vnadui-

Drusilla.

Mariamme.

Fœlix getteth Drusilla from her former husband.

sed,and resolued to rid her selfe from the enuious affection, which her sister *Bernice* bare to-

C wards her(who hated her in regard of her beauty, and for this occasion ceased not to iniure her) she condescended to forsake the religion of the Iewes,and to marry with *Fœlix*, by whom shee had a son who was called *Agrippa*. His death hereafter will I declare, and how in the Emperour *Tiberius* time he died,and was burned in the fire of the mountaine Vesuuius with his wife. *Bernice* remained a widow,very long time after *Herods* death,who was both her vncle and her husband, and the report was that she had the company of her brother. Finally,she wrought so much,that *Polemon* King of Cilicia caused himselfe to be circumcised, to the end he might espouse her,purposing by that meanes to make it knowne how falsely she had bin accused. Whereunto *Polemon* gaue eare,because she was rich. But this marriage continued not any long time. For *Bernice* thorow her impudency, as it is reported, abandoned *Polemon*, who giuing ouer that marriage for-

Polemon king of Ciciliamarrieth Bernice.

The yeere of the world, 4018. after Christs birth, 56.

D sooke also the religion of the Iewes. At the same time *Marriamme* hauing refused *Archelaus* her husband,married with *Demetrius* one of the chiefest Iewes that were in Alexandria, both in regard of his descent,as also his riches, who at that time also exercised the office of Alubarcha, that is to say, the Gouernour of Arabia. She caused the son she had by him to be called *Agrippinus*. But of all this, will I speake more exactly hereafter.

Mariamme scorning Archelaus, marrieth Demetrius. Hedio & Rufinus,chap. 10. al. 15.

The Emperour *Claudius* died after he had raigned thirteene yeeres, eight months and twenty dayes. Some say, that he was poisoned by *Agrippina* his wife,the daughter of *Germanicus Claudius* brother, which was first married to *Domitius Oenobarbus*, one of the greatest men of Rome: after whose death and long widdowhood, she was finally married to *Claudius*, into whose house she brought her sonne called *Domitius*, by his owne fathers name. *Claudius* had before-time

E put *Messalina* his wife to death, for the iealousie that he had of her: although he had had children by her, namely *Brittanicus* and *Octavius*. He had *Octauia* also by his first wife *Pætina*, which was elder then her brethren, and was married to *Nero*, whom *Claudius* so named, and adopted for his sonne. *Agrippina*, fearing lest *Brittanicus*, growing to mans estate, should succeed his father in the Empire,and desirous to make her owne sonne Emperour,as it is reported: she left nothing vnattempted that might bring her husband to his death;and presently sent *Burrus*, who was Generall of the army,with certain other Captains,and those of greatest power among his freemen, to bring *Nero* into the field, and to proclaime him Emperour. Hee being thus established in the Empire,caused *Britannicus* to be secretly poysoned;and not long after this he openly caused his mother to be put to death,yeelding her this recompence, not only for that she had born

Agrippina, Messalina,and Pætina,Claudius wiues.

Nero Emperour.

F him in her womb,but also because by her policies he had obtained the Empire. He likewise murthered *Octauia* his wife,and diuers other noble men, vnder colour of some conspiracy intended against him. But I will no further prosecute this matter,for that there are diuers who haue composed *Neros* History, of whom some haue no regard of the truth, but haue spoken at their pleasure,for that he had beene their benefactor: other some transported with hatred and despite against him, haue not beene ashamed to publish such impudent lies against his renowne, as they deserue to be condemned. Neither doe I wonder that they haue inuented so many lies against *Nero*, considering that in those Histories which they wrote as touching the precedent Em-

The yeer of the world, 4019. after Christs birth, 57.

Nero a tyrant.

Neros tyranny.

The yeere of the world, 4019. after Christs birth, 57.

perours, they haue not ſtudied to ſpeake truth, although they had not any occaſion to hate them; G conſidering that they liued a long time after their death. But let theſe contemners of truth write as them liſteth, for that they ſeeme to take delight in that licence. For mine owne part I am intended to write nothing but the truth: neither ſtand I much on that which concerneth not the matter which I intreat of, purpoſing in all truth and diligence to declare that which hath befalne our nation of the Iewes, without omitting of either their misfortunes or follies, that haue proceeded with them. I will therefore returne to the diſcouery of our affaires. *Azizus* King of Emeſene being dead the firſt yeere of the Emperour *Neros* raigne, his brother obtained the kingdome: *Ariſtobulus* the ſonne of *Herod* King of Chalcis, had the gouernment of the Signory of the leſſer Armenia from *Neros* hand. *Cæſar* gaue *Agrippa* a certaine portion of Galilee, com- H manding thoſe of Tiberias and Tarichæa to liue vnder him. Beſides this, he gaue him Iulias ſituate beyond Iordan, with fourteene boroughs neere adioyning thereunto.

CHAP. VI.

The acts and geſts of Fœlix, *Gouernour of Iudæa.*

Alias, cap. 16. Fœlix puniſheth the theeues, and Magicians, & other ſeducers of the people. Eleazar the ſon of Dinæus ſent to Rome.

BVT the affaires of Iudæa grew daily worſe and worſe. For the countrey was repleniſhed againe with theeues, and enchanters, who deceiued the common people. *Fœlix* apprehended many of them daily, and cauſed them to be executed and put to death. He tooke *Eleazar* alſo the ſonne of *Dinæus*, who was captaine of thoſe outlawes and theeues that ranged in I the countrey, and ſurprized him by a ſubtilty. For *Fœlix* had giuen him his word, that he ſhould in no ſort be endangered: Whereupon hee came and ſubmitted himſelfe, and was preſently fettered and ſent to Rome. And for that hee had conceiued a diſpleaſure againſt *Ionathan* the high Prieſt, who had diuers times admoniſhed him to vſe more circumſpection in the gouernment of Iudæa, for feare he ſhould be blamed by the people, for that he had required *Cæſar* that *Fœlix* might be admitted to the gouernment, he thought it not amiſſe to cut off *Ionathan*, who continually ſollicited and vexed him. For this cauſe, he perſwaded and bribed a certaine man called *Dora*, who was borne in Ieruſalem, and was one of thoſe in whom *Ionathan* repoſed his moſt truſt, to bring in certaine theeues to murther *Ionathan*, who willingly liſtned to his demands; and deſirous to gratifie the Gouernor, by this meanes that enſueth brought that to effect which he had K intended. There were certaine theeues that came vp to Ieruſalem, vnder colour to adore God, who carrying their ſwords cloſely hidden vnder their garments, accoſted *Ionathan* & ſlew him. Now for that this murther was let ſlip, and not puniſhed; from that day forward the theeues reſorted boldly to the ſolemne feaſts, hauing their weapons hidden vnder their garments, and thronging in among the people, ſlew ſome of thoſe who were their aduerſaries; and otherſome to pleaſure thoſe, who had hired them with ready money to rid them of thoſe they miſ-liked. And theſe outrages committed they not onely in other parts of the Citie, but in the Temple likewiſe, where they ſlaughtered ſome who little ſuſpected that any impiety ſhould be cõmitted in that place. For mine owne part, I thinke that God hath deſtroyed our Citie in deteſtation of that impietie: and for that he accounted the Temple for an impure manſion place, he hath ſent I vs the Romanes, who haue ſet fire on the ſame to purge the Citie, and make vs ſlaues with our wiues and children, intending thereby to teach vs wiſedome by our owne miſeries. Thus was the Citie filled with theſe thefts and murthers. And as touching the enchanters and deceiuers, they perſwaded the common people to follow them into the deſart, promiſing them to ſhew them ſignes and miracles done by the power of God: whereunto diuers gaue eare, and at laſt ſuffered the penaltie of their folly. For *Fœlix* recalling them backe againe, puniſhed them.

Fœlix conſpireth againſt Ionathan.

Butchery.

The deceitfull Magicians.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 12. al. cap. 17. A falſe prophet draweth the Iewes to the mount Oliuet.

At that ſame time there came a certaine man from Ægypt to Ieruſalem, who tearmed himſelfe a prophet, who incited the common people to follow him to the Mount called Oliuet, ſituate not far off from Ieruſalem, and onely diſtant ſome fiue furlongs from thence, telling them from thence that he would make them ſee the wals of the Citie fall vnto the ground, by which M way he promiſed them to giue them entry. Which being reported to *Fœlix*, he cauſed his ſouldiers to arme themſelues, and departing out of Ieruſalem with great ſtore of horſe and foote, he ſet vpon them, and ſlew foure hundreth of them, and tooke two hundreth aliue: as for the Ægyptian he eſcaped out of the skirmiſh, and no man knew what became of him. The theeues alſo incited the people anew to make warre againſt the Romans, telling them that they ought not to yeeld them obedience; and they burned and ſpoiled diuers of theſe boroughs which oppoſed themſelues againſt them. It chanced alſo that the Iewes, which inhabited Cæſarea, mutined againſt

A againſt the Syrians that were in the ſame City, in that they ſtroue to haue an equall authority in the gouernment of the ſtate as wel as they. The Iewes pretended the title of ſuperiority, becauſe that *Herod*, who was a Iew, had builded the city of Cæſarea: on the other ſide, the Syrians auowed the Iewes ſayings to be true; but they replyed alſo that Cæſarea was in times paſt called the tower of Straton, and that at that time there was not one Iew that inhabited the ſame. Which when the Gouernours of that countrey heard, they laid hands on the authors of this ſedition, as well of the one as of the other party, and gaue them the baſtinado, pacifying by this meanes the trouble for a little ſpace. For the Iewes once more being puffed vp with their riches, and contemning the Syrians, iniuriouſly reuiled and prouoked them: on the other ſide, the Syrians being B weaker in ſubſtance, but as great in heart (by reaſon the greateſt number of thoſe that bare armes with the Romans were Cæſareans & Sebaſtens) at ſome times brake out into opprobrious ſpeeches againſt the Iewes, and at length the quarrell grew to that heat, that they caſt ſtones one at another: ſo that on both ſides diuers of them were both ſlaine and hurt; yet had the Iewes the vpper hand. *Fœlix* perceiuing that this debate might breed a war, came on betweene them, requiring the Iewes to deſiſt from further violence, and commanding his ſouldiers to beate down thoſe who would refuſe to obey him: by which meanes a great number were ſlaine, and diuers taken priſoners. Moreouer, he gaue his ſouldiers liberty to ſpoile, and rob diuers very rich houſes. The other Iewes, who beſides their authority were renowned for their moderation, fearing leſt the like miſery ſhould befall them, beſought *Fœlix* to ſound a retreat, and to call in his ſoul- C diers, and to ſpare that which as yet remained, being ſore grieued at that which had hapned: to which *Fœlix* condeſcended. At that ſame time King *Agrippa* gaue the Prieſthood to *Iſmael*, the ſonne of *Phabeus*. There aroſe alſo a diſſenſion betwixt the High Prieſts, and the other Prieſts and Gouernours of Ieruſalem, and each faction walked forth accompanied with a troupe of proud and mutinous perſons, who decided their debates with bitter words, and flinging of ſtones; ſo that no man might pacifie them. For all things were ſo out of order, as if there had beene no Magiſtrates in the City: and the impudency and audaciouſneſſe of the High Prieſts permitted ſo much, that they ſent their ſeruants to the granges, to ſeize the tenths that were due vnto the Prieſts; whereby it came to paſſe, that ſome poore Prieſts died of neceſſity, and want: ſo much did the violence of the ſeditious at that time preuaile aboue all right.

The yeere of the world, 4019. after Chriſts Natiuitie, 57.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 13. al. 18.

A broile in Cæſarea betweene the Syrians and the Iewes.

The yeere of the world, 4020. after Chriſts birth, 58.

Iſmael the ſon of Phabeus High Prieſt.

The ſtriſe betweene the High Prieſts & the Prieſts.

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CHAP. VII.

The gouernment of PORTIVS FESTVS: *and of certaine murtherers.*

AFTER that *Portius Feſtus* had beene ſent by *Nero* to ſucceed *Fœlix* in the gouernment of Iudæa, the chiefeſt of thoſe Iewes that inhabited Cæſarea, repaired to Rome to accuſe *Fœlix*: and without all doubt he had beene puniſhed for the iniuries he had committed againſt the Iewes, if *Nero* had not pardoned him vpon his brother *Pallas* ſubmiſſion and intreaty, who importuned him, and was at that time in great reputation with him. Furthermore, two of the chiefeſt amongſt the Syrians wrought *Berillus*, who had ſometimes bin *Neros* Maſter, E and at that time was Secretary of eſtate in the Greeke tongue, by mighty bribes, to beg at *Neros* hand the reuocation of the right and title, which the Iewes enioyed in the gouernment and adminiſtration of the Common-weale. For which cauſe *Berillus* ſollicited the Emperour, and obtained a letter at his hands, which was the cauſe of thoſe miſchiefes that afterwards hapned in our nation. For the Iewes of Cæſarea, vnderſtanding what commiſſion the Syrians had gotten, were ſo much the more kindled and encouraged to make warre.

Alias, cap. 19. Fœlix accuſed.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 14.

As ſoone therefore as *Feſtus* was arriued in Iudæa, he found the countrey grieuouſly afflicted with robberies, and the lower countrey was ſpoyled by ſword and fire. The theeues likewiſe at that time increaſed wondrouſly, and they vſed ſhort ſwords after the manner of a Perſian Cymetre, and crooked like the Roman faulchion; with which they ſlew diuers men. For thruſting F themſelues into the preſſe of people that came in great multitudes on the feſtiual daies to celebrate Gods ſeruice, they killed thoſe very eaſily whom they liſted; and oftentimes repairing to their enemies villages, they ſpoiled and burnt the ſame. But *Feſtus* ſent diuers forces both of horſe and foot againſt certain Iewes, that were ſeduced by an enchanter, who had promiſed them ſecurity and repoſe from all their troubles and moleſtations, if ſo be they would follow him into the deſart; who ſlew both the deceiuer and the deceiued that followed him. At that time King *Agrippa* erected a ſtately building, within the Palace at Ieruſalem, neere vnto the Porch. This Palace in times paſt appertained to the Aſmoneans, and was ſituate in a high place with a goodly proſpect, from

The cutthroats among the Iewes.

Feſtus diſcomfiteth a great deceiuer with all his followers.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 15. al. 10.

The yeere of the world, 4020. after christs birth, 58.

from whence they that liſted, might with pleaſure behold the whole City of Ieruſalem, wherin the King tooke great delight, and beheld from thence that which was done in the Temple. The chiefeſt men of Ieruſalem ſeeing this building, were ſore diſpleaſed. For neither doth our cuſtom or law permit that any one ſhould look on that which is done in the Temple, and eſpecially forbiddeth that no man ſhould behold the ſacrifices and oblations. They therefore builded a high wall vpon the gallery, which was within the Temple on the Weſtſide, which did not onely dam vp the ſight of the royal chamber, but alſo that of the gallery without the Temple on the Weſt ſide, where the Romans kept guard neere vnto the Temple on the feſtiuall daies. Herewith was King *Agrippa* ſore diſpleaſed, and the Gouernor *Feſtus* far more then he, who commanded them to pull downe the wall. But they beſought him that he would giue them licence to ſend their Embaſſadors to *Nero*, to this intent, alleadging that it was impoſſible for them to liue, if any part of their Temple ſhould be beaten downe. Which being granted them, they ſent tenne of their chiefeſt nobility, and with them *Iſmael* the High Prieſt, and *Chelcias* the Treaſurer of the Temple, vnto *Nero*: who no ſooner heard their ſuite, but he pardoned them, not onely for that they had done, but he commanded that the building ſhould remaine as it was. All which he did in fauour of his wife *Poppea*, who was intreated by the Iewes, for that ſhe was a deuout Princeſſe, to ſue for them. Shee therefore commanded the ten Embaſſadors to returne, and kept *Chelcias* and *Iſmael* for pledges with her. The King vnderſtanding how all things had paſt, gaue the high Prieſthood to *Ioſeph*, ſurnamed *Cabi*, which was the ſonne of *Simon*, who in times paſt had bin High Prieſt.

The chiefeſt men of Ieruſalem, ſtop vp the proſpect of Agrippas houſe.

Ioſeph Cabi the ſonne of Simon made high Prieſt.

CHAP. VIII.

The Gouernment of ALBINVS.

Albinus Gouernour of Iudæa.

CÆSAR being aduertiſed of *Feſtus* death, ſent *Albinus* to gouerne Iudæa. But King *Agrippa* commanded *Ioſeph* to lead a priuate life, and aduanced in his ſtead a certaine man called *Ananus*, the ſonne of *Ananus*, who is reported to haue beene moſt happy. For he had fiue ſons, all which ſupplyed the place of the High Prieſt, after himſelfe had long time before them enioyed the roome: the like whereof hath neuer hapned to any of our High Prieſts. The younger *Ananus*, who, as we ſaid, was aduanced to this place, was a raſh and head-ſtrong man, that followed the ſect of the Sadduces, who (as we haue already declared) were amongſt all other the Iewes the moſt ſeuere in executing Iuſtice: whereas therefore *Ananus* was of this diſpoſition, he thought that he had a fit occaſion offered him to doe what him liſted after *Feſtus* death, and during the time that *Albinus* was as yet vpon his way. He therefore aſcended and ſate downe in the Tribunall, aſſiſted by the Iudges, and cauſed *Iames* the brother of *Ieſus*, who was called *Chriſt*, to appeare before him, with certaine others; and accuſed them for tranſgreſſing the law, and blaſphemy againſt God, and cauſed him to be ſtoned to death. They that were men of vpright conſcience within the City, and diligent obſeruers of the law, were very much diſpleaſed with this act, and ſent ſecretly vnto the King, beſeeching him to prohibit *Ananus*, that hereafter he ſhould commit no ſuch like offence: for that his firſt action was not allowable. Some of them alſo went to meet *Albinus*, being on his way from Alexandria, to enforme him that it was not lawfull for *Ananus* to aſſemble the Councell without his licence. *Albinus* perſwaded by theſe words, wrote a cholericke letter to *Ananus*, wherein he threatned to puniſh him. And for the ſame cauſe King *Agrippa* diſpoſſeſſed him of the Prieſthood, after he had held the ſame for the ſpace of three moneths, and in his ſtead he eſtabliſhed *Ieſus* the ſon of *Damneus*. After that *Albinus* was arriued in Ieruſalem, he employed all his care and ſtudy to pacifie the countrey, by executing diuers of the theeues.

Ananus the ſon of Ananus the hie Prieſt. Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 16. al. 21.

Ananus had fiue ſons that ſucceeded him in the Prieſthood.

The yeere of the world, 4025. after christs birth, 63.

Iames the brother of our Lord ſtoned.

Ananus accuſed before Albinus.

Ieſus the ſon of Damneus poſſeſſeth Ananus place.

But the High Prieſt *Ananias* daily increaſed in honour and credit, and purchaſed the good will of the citizens by his liberality and great gifts. But he had certaine miſchieuous ſeruants about him, who conuerſed with thoſe that were moſt intemperate and audacious, who repairing from grange to grange, tooke vp many tenths that belonged to the Prieſts, and beat thoſe that refuſed to tender them. The Prieſts vſed no leſſe force then did their ſeruants, hauing no man that might reſtraine them: whereby it came to paſſe that the Prieſts, who were before-time maintained by the tenth, died at that time for want of victuals. And the theeues renewing their entrance into the City by night, during the feaſt that was celebrated at that time, tooke the Secretary of Captain *Eleazar* aliue, who was *Ananias* ſon, who was the hie Prieſt. And hauing bound him, led him

Some forcibly gather the tenths of the Prieſts.

A him out of the City, ſending *Ananias* word, that they would deliuer his Secretary, if he would labour ſo much with *Albinus*, as to deliuer them their ten companions then priſoners, who were taken by him. To the performance whereof, *Ananias* perſwaded *Albinus* by manifeſt reaſon: and by obtaining his demand, encreaſed and begat a number of miſeries. For the theeues vſed all the wily meanes they could deuiſe in apprehending ſome one of *Ananias* houſe; and when they had taken any one of them aliue, they would not deliuer him, except before they might haue one of their owne deliuered. So that increaſing both in courage and number, they waxed more and more inſolent to afflict the countrey.

The yeere of the world, 4026. after Chriſts Natiuitie, 64.

The theeues apprehend Ananias kinred and ſeruants.

At that ſame time King *Agrippa* enlarged the city of Cæſarea, ſurnamed *Philippi*, and in honor
B of *Nero* called it Neronias. He builded alſo to his great charge a Theater in fauor of the Berytians, wherein euery yeere he ſpent diuers thouſands of ſiluer in ſports. He diſtributed oyle and corne to euery one of the people, and garniſhed all the city with moſt antick and goodly counterfaited portraitures vpon the porches. Briefly, he welny tranſported into the City all the ornaments of the reſt of his kingdome; for which cauſe his ſubiects began to hate him, ſeeing he depriued them of their rare ornaments to adorne one ſtrange City. *Ieſus* the ſon of *Gamaliel* ſucceeded in the Prieſthood, which the King had giuen him, and taken away from *Ieſus* the ſon of *Damneus*: who reſigned him his place againſt his will. Whereupon there aroſe a diſcord betweene them. For hauing aſſembled their reſoluteſt followers, they grew from bitter words to fatall blowes and ſtones. But amongſt all the reſt, *Ananias* was the richeſt in wealth, and by his
C bounty reconciled the more vnto him. *Coſtobarus* alſo and *Saul* gathered each of them a band of raſcall and deſperate men. Theſe two were of the blood royall, and by reaſon of their affinity and alliance with *Agrippa*, they were well beloued. For which cauſe they were outragious and violent, in ſpoiling and rauiſhing the fortunes of the weaker ſort. From this time forward the eſtate of our City grew deſperate, encreaſing daily more and more in wickedneſſe.

Cæſarea Philippi new builded by Agrippa, and called Neronias.

The Berytians receiue much kindnes at Agrippas hands.

Ananias, Coſtobarus, and Saul, prepared to ſpoile the weaker.

When *Albinus* vnderſtood that *Geſsius Florus* came to ſucceed him, deſirous that they of Ieruſalem ſhould acknowledge ſome good turne at his hands, he called before him all thoſe priſoners that were notoriouſly guilty of murther, and cauſed them to bee executed. As for thoſe that were impriſoned vpon any ſmall or ſlight cauſe, vpon payment of their fines, he deliuered them: and in ſo doing, the priſon was cleanſed of malefactors, and from that time the countrey
D remained full of theeues and robbers.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 17 al. 22.

Albinus executeth the hainous malefactors.

The Leuites, who were ordained to ſing Hymnes vnto God, ſollicited the King to aſſemble the Councel, and therby to permit them to weare the linnen Robe, which the Prieſts were accuſtomed to vſe, telling him that ſuch an ordinance would dignifie his eſtate very much, in that he would be alwaies famous in memory of this new eſtabliſhment. This ſuite of theirs was eaſily reſpected and admitted: For the King, after he had conſulted with thoſe who were his aſſiſtants, ſuffered the Leuites that ſung the Hymnes, to lay aſide their ordinary Robe, and to apparell themſelues in linnen, as beſt liked them. He permitted alſo that another part of the Leuites, who intended the ſeruice of the Temple, ſhould learne to ſing the Hymnes and Pſalmes according as they had required. All which he did contrary to the ordinances of the countrey, which being
E broken, there was nought elſe to be expected but puniſhment.

Agrippa giueth them of the tribe of Leui, leaue to weare linnen garments.

Agrippa permitteth the Miniſters of the Temple to ſing the ſacred Hymnes.

At that time was the building of the Temple finiſhed: And the people perceiuing that more then eighteene thouſand workmen ſhould be idle, and depriued of wages, wherupon they were accuſtomed to liue in trauailing in the building of the Temple: on the other ſide, being loth to reſerue their money through the feare they had of the Romans; to prouide for thoſe workmen (in the entertainment of whom they reſolued to imploy their treaſure: for if any one of them trauailed but one houre in the day, he was ſuddenly paied his wages) they requeſted the King that it would pleaſe him to repaire the Eaſterne gate on the outward part of the Temple, ſituate in a deſcent, the wals whereof were in height foure hundreth cubits, made of ſquare ſtones of white marble, from the top to the bottome, and euery ſtone twenty foot long, and ſixe foote
F thicke.

The people of the Iewes beſeech the king that it may be lawfull for them to repaire the porch.

This worke was firſt builded by King *Salomon*, who was the firſt that builded our Temple. But the King, to whom *Claudius Cæſar* had giuen the commiſſion of building the Temple, thinking with himſelfe that it was very eaſie to breake it downe, but very hard to build it vp, and that to reedifie the porch, it would coſt much time and expence, he denied their requeſt, permitting them neuertheleſſe to paue their City with broad ſtone. He tooke the Prieſthood from *Ieſus* the ſonne of *Gamaliel*, and gaue it to *Matthias* the ſon of *Theophilus*. In whoſe time the warre betwixt the Romans and Iewes grew to the firſt head.

Matthias the ſon of Theophilus, High Prieſt.

But

The yeere of the world, 4026. after christs birth, 64.

Hedio & Ruffinus, chap. 18. The succession & number of the High Priests among the Iewes. Aaron and his progeny. There were 83. High Priests in all.

But I thinke it not amisse, but very answerable to the course of this present historie, to speake of the priests, and to shew how they had their beginning, and to whom this honour may be lawfully communicated, and how many they were in number vntill the end of the war. The first of them was *Aaron Moses* brother, after whose death his children succeeded him, & from that time forward the honour hath continued with their successours. For it is a law obserued by our ancestors, that no man should be admitted to the priesthood, except it be of *Aarons* posterity: for albeit he were a King, if so be that he were of another line, it was impossible for him to obtaine the Priesthood. All the Priests after *Aaron*, who (as we haue said) was the first, vntill *Phanasus*, whom the seditious created Priest in the time of the war, haue bin in number 83. wherof 13. haue executed the office from the time that *Moses* erected Gods Tabernacle in the Desart, vntill such time as arriuing in Iudæa, King *Salomon* builded a Temple to God. For in the beginning, the High Priest-hood continued with the possessors for terme of life: but afterwards, although the Priests were yet aliue, yet were there other successors planted in their rooms. These 13. were of *Aarons* posterity, and obtained this degree in succession the one after the other. Their first gouernment was Aristocratia, which is the gouernment of the nobility: afterwards a Monarchy; and finally, a royall gouernment. The number of yeers wherein these 13. flourished, were sixe hundreth and 12. yeers, from the day that our fathers departed out of Egypt, vnder the conduct of *Moses*, vntill the edification of the Temple that was builded in Ierusalem by King *Salomon*.

After these 13. high Priests, there were 18. others; who after *Solomons* time succeeded one after another, vntill the time that *Nabuchodonosor* King of Babylon, hauing encamped before the city, took the same, and burned the Temple, and transported our nation into Babylon, & led away the High Priest *Iosedech* prisoner. The time of the Priesthood, and continuance of these 18. was foure hundreth sixty sixe yeeres, sixe moneths, and ten dayes: so long as the Iewes haue had the royall gouernment. After the surprizall of Ierusalem by the Babylonians, vntill such time as *Cyrus* King of Persia dismissed the Iewes, and gaue them leaue to returne from Babylon into their owne countrey, with permission to reedifie their Temple, there are 70. yeers: and at that time the captiues being returned, *Iesus* the sonne of *Iosedech* tooke vpon him the High Priesthood, who with those of his posterity to the number of fifteene, haue gouerned in a Democratic or popular estate, vntill the time of *Antiochus* surnamed *Eupator*, for the space of foure hundreth & fourteen yeeres. This *Antiochus* was the first, who with his Generall *Lysias* displaced *Onias*, surnamed *Menelaus*, of his Priesthood; commanding him to be slain at Beryth, and after he had driuen his son out of the succession, he established *Iacim* high Priest, who notwithstanding was of *Aarons* race; but not of his family. For this cause *Onias*, the son of *Onias*, and nephew to the deceased *Onias*, retyred himselfe into Egypt: where growing familiar with *Ptolomey Philometor* and *Cleopatra* his wife, he perswaded them to build a Temple in the confines of Heliopolis, not vnlike to that of Ierusalem, and to create a high Priest in the same: of which Temple in Egypt, we haue made very oftentimes mention. After that *Iacim* had held the Priesthood for the space of three yeeres, he died without successor. For the City remained seuen yeeres without a High Priest. Againe, the Asmoneans recouered the gouernment of their nation, and after they had warred against the Macedons, they established *Ionathan* High Priest, who exercised the office seuen yeeres: but afterwards he was slaine by an ambush, and treason conspired against him by *Tryphon*, as we haue declared elsewhere. After him, *Simon* his brother vndertook the Priesthood, who was not long after slaine treacherously by his sonne in law at a banquet. After him succeeded his sonne *Hircanus*, who enioying this dignity for the space of thirty one yeers, died when he was very old, leauing behind him *Iudas*, surnamed *Aristobulus*, who dying by sickenesse, left his brother *Alexander* his heire, both of the Kingdome and high Priesthood. After that *Aristobulus* had obtained the royall gouernment, he enioyed both dignities one whole yeere. For this *Iudas* surnamed *Aristobulus*, was the first that set the diadem on his head, causing himselfe to be called a King. The which, *Alexander* did continue: for he also ioyned the kingdome with the high Priesthood, and raigned twenty-seuen yeeres: and feeling himselfe draw neere to his death, he left it in *Alexandras* his wiues hands to dispose of the Priesthood as she pleased. She therefore bestowed it on *Hircanus:* and as touching the kingdome, she kept it in her owne hands nine yeeres, and afterwards died. Her sonne *Hircanus* was High Priest for so long time: for after *Alexandras* death, his brother *Aristobulus* made warre against him: and hauing ouercome him, hee tooke the kingdome from him, and not onely seized the Crowne, but the Priesthood. After he had raigned three yeers, and as many moneths, *Pompey* repaired to Ierusalem, and tooke it perforce, and laying hold of *Aristobulus*, sent him bound vnto Rome with his children. After which he restored

the

A the Prieſthood once more to *Hircanus*, committing the gouernment of the nation vnto his hands, forbidding him in the meane ſpace to weare the Diademe. Beſides the firſt nine yeeres, *Hircanus* gouerned twenty and foure, but *Barzapharnes* and *Pacorus* Princes of the Parthians, paſſed Euphrates, and made war againſt *Hircanus*, and tooke him aliue priſoner, and made *Antigonus*, *Ariſtobulus* ſonne King. But after he had gouerned three yeeres and three moneths, *Soſius* and *Herod* tooke him aliue perforce, and *Antonius* ſent him to Antioch where he was put to death. After that *Herod* was created King by the Romans, there was neuer any high Prieſt created of the poſterity of the Aſmoneans (for he gaue the high Prieſthood to certain men of obſcure and baſe condition, who were of the order of the Prieſts) *Ariſtobulus* onely excepted. This *Ariſtobulus* was *Hircanus* nephew, who was priſoner among the Parthians; and hauing giuen him the Prieſt-
B hood, he married himſelfe with *Mariamme* his ſiſter, to the intent to continue himſelfe in the good liking of the people, in remembrance of *Hircanus:* but afterwards fearing, leſt all of them ſhould turne to *Ariſtobulus* ſide, he cauſed him to be ſlaine, by finding out a meanes to cauſe him to be ſtifled, at ſuch time as he bathed himſelfe in a fiſh-pond neere to Iericho, as we haue declared before this. After him he beſtowed the Prieſthood no more on any of the line of the Aſmoneans. *Archelaus*, his ſon followed his fathers ſteps in reſpect of the Prieſthood, and from that time forward the Romans haue enioyed the ſoueraignty ouer Iewry. All they then that haue exerciſed the Prieſthood from *Herods* time, vntill the day that *Titus* tooke the City and the Temple, haue bin in all twenty and eight. All the continuance of their gouernment was one hun-
C dreth and ſeuen yeers. Certaine of theſe gouerned during *Herods* life, and in the dayes of *Archelaus* his ſonne: but after theſe two were dead, the gouernment was Ariſtocraticall, or of the nobility, wherein the Prieſts had the gouernement ouer the whole nation. Thus much haue we thought meet to ſpeake at this time as touching the High Prieſts.

The yeere of the world, 4026. after Chriſts Natiuitie, 66.

Ariſtobulus ſlaine by Herod. ſupra lib. 15. cap. 3.

CHAP. IX.

How FLORVS, ALBINVS *ſucceſſour, offered many iniuries to the Iewes, which conſtrained them to take armes.*

D GEſſius *Florus* being ſent by *Nero* to ſucceed *Albinus*, filled al Iudæa with many miſchiefs and miſeries. He was a Clazomenian borne, and was married to a certaine woman called *Cleopatra*, no leſſe miſchieuous then himſelfe: who being beloued by *Poppea Neros* wife, obtained this dignity for him. He behaued himſelfe ſo outrageouſly and violently in all his gouernment, that through the great iniuſtice he committed, the Iewes praiſed *Albinus* as if he had beene their benefactor. For he concealed his miſchiefe, taking care leſt it ſhould wholly be conceited or diſcouered: but *Geſsius Florus* behaued himſelfe in ſuch ſort, as if he had beene ſent to make open ſhew and ſale of his villanies, publiſhing his iniuſtice in the eares of our nation, without omitting either rapine or iniuſtice in execution and inflicting puniſhment on the innocent. For he was pittileſſe and couetous, and made no difference betweene noble and ignoble, and was not aſhamed to be partaker with theeues: of whom there were diuers that made it their profeſ-
E ſion, to ſteale without any feare, in that they were aſſured of their ſafety, becauſe he was partaker with them. And in a word, there was no moderation in him; in ſuch ſort that the poor Iewes being vnable to endure the inſolent rapines and ſpoiling of their goods that they receiued by theſe theeues, were conſtrained to abandon their owne houſes, and to flie their country, and remaine in ſome more commodious place of ſecurity, yea though it were among ſtrangers. What need I ſpeake any more? He that conſtrained vs to raiſe our ſwords againſt the Romans, was *Florus*, who made this account, that it was better for them to die all at once in great troupes, then to periſh by little and little. In briefe, the war began the ſecond yeere of the gouernment of *Florus* in that Prouince, which was the twelfth yeere of *Neros* Empire. But they that deſire to know exactly all that which we haue beene conſtrained both to doe and ſuffer, may peruſe my bookes as
F touching the Warres of the Iewes. For which cauſe in this place I will end this ancient Hiſtory, after which I haue begun to deſcribe the Hiſtory of the Warre.

The yeere of the world, 4028. after Chriſts birth, 66.

Geſsius Florus Gouernor of Iudæa.

Geſſius Florus worſe then Albinus.

The yeere of the world, 4030. after Chriſts birth, 68.

Florus the originall cauſe of the wars of the Iewes.

The beginning of the wars.

This ancient Hiſtory containeth all that which hath beene reported to be done ſince the firſt creation of man, vntill the twelfth yeere of *Neros* Empire, omitting nothing that hath befallen the Iewes, as well in Ægypt as in Syria, and Paleſtine: All that likewiſe, which we haue beene enforced to ſuffer vnder the Aſſyrians and Babylonians; as alſo our eſtate vnder the Perſians and Macedons, and finally vnder the Romans. All this, as I ſuppoſe, I haue compiled and gathered together with carefull diligence, and I haue enforced my ſelfe to recite the number of thoſe, who haue

The Epilog of the antiquites of the Iewes.

The yeere of the world, 4030. after Christs birth, 68.

haue bin High Priests for the space of two thousand yeeres. I haue also collected the succession of Kings, their actions and gouernments, with the power of their Monarchies, according as it is amply described in holy Scriptures, as also I haue promised in the beginning of my History. Furthermore, I dare boldly say, that whatsoeuer I haue set downe, is so assured, that there is no man either Iew or of what nation soeuer, yea although he should haue imployed the vttermost of his power, could more exactly communicate the same vnto the Greeks, then I haue done. For in their confessions and opinions who are of our nation, I haue such knowledge in that which concerneth our doctrine, as I surpasse them all: And as touching the Grecian disciplines, I haue studied and learned the tongue, although I cannot boast of the familiar and fit pronunciation of the same, for that I haue liued in the country. For amongst vs we make but slender reckoning of those, who are exercised in diuers tongues, for that this study is accounted prophane by vs, and common not onely to free persons, but also vnto slaues: and they onely are esteemed to haue profited in wisedome, who fully know the contents of the law, and who can expound the holy Scriptures. For this cause, although diuers haue trauailed in this exercise of writing Histories, yet are there scarcely two or three of them that haue written successefully, and haue receiued the fruits of their labours. And it may be that it shall not be mis-thought of, if I freely speake somewhat of my progeny and life, considering that there are men at this day liuing, who can approue or reproue me in that I set downe. And in this place I will make an end of mine ancient History, which I haue reduced into twenty Bookes, containing sixty thousand verses. And if God grant me life, I will shortly entreat of out wars, and the euents of the same that haue hapned hitherto, which is the thirteenth yeere of *Domitianus Cæsars* Empire, and the fifty sixt yeere of mine age.

Ioseph expert in the Greeke and Hebrew tongues.

This volume was written, *The yeere of the world, 4057. after Christs birth, 95.*

Moreouer I am resolued to discouer in foure Bookes, the diuers opinions of the sects of the Iewes, as touching God and his Essence, and our lawes: according to which certaine things are permitted vs, and other-some are forbidden.

The end of the Antiquities of the Iewes.

THE LIFE OF FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS, THE SONNE OF MATTHIAS, WRITTEN BY HIMSELFE.

KNow therefore that I am not basely but nobly descended, being both on the father and mothers side, deriued from the line of the Priests: and for as much as some are accustomed to draw the ground of their nobility, the one from this man, the other from that; so among our nation the marke of true nobilitie is, to deriue a mans pedigree from the priesthood. Touching my selfe I am not onely lineally issued from the Priests, but I draw my originall from them, who amongst the foure and twenty ranks or families of Priests iustly challenge the superiority. Moreouer, by my mothers side I am of the bloud royal. For the heires of the Asmoneans, from whom she is descended, haue for a long time exercised the priesthood and princely power among our nation. I will likewise make it knowne, how my predecessors haue succeeded the one after the other. My great grandfathers father was *Simon*, surnamed *Psellus*, that is, the stutterer, who liued at such time as *Hircanus* the high Priest, the first of that name, and the sonne of *Simon* the high Priest, was in office. This *Simon Psellus* had nine sonnes: the one of these was *Matthias*, surnamed *Aphlias*. This *Matthias* tooke to wife the daughter of the high Priest *Ionathan*, by whome he had one sonne, who was *Matthias* surnamed *Curtus*, who was borne in the first yeere of *Hircanus* priesthood. *Matthias* begat *Ioseph* the ninth yeere of *Alexandras* gouernment, and of *Ioseph* came *Matthias* the tenth yeer of the raigne of *Archelaus*; and *Matthias* begat me the first yeere of the Empire of *Caius Cæsar*. I likewise haue three sonnes, mine eldest is *Hircanus*, who was borne in the fourth: my next, *Iustus*, who was borne in the seuenth: and *Agrippa* my last was borne in the ninth yeer of *Vespasians* Empire. This genealogy of mine do I in this manner propose, according as I haue found it written in the publike registers, to put them to silence who shall pretend to reproue or detract the same.

Iosephus linage.

Ioseph the sonne of Matthias was borne in the first yeere of Caius Cæsars Empire, and the 4007. yeere of the world, and the 39. after Christs birth.

My father *Matthias* was not onely famous for his expresse nobilitie, but hath also bin praised by reason of his iustice and authoritie in Ierusalem, which is the mother city of all the rest in our countrey. My bringing vp during my tender yeeres was with *Matthias*, who was my brother by the same father and mother; with whom I happily profited in all kinde of science, hauing a good memorie and a quick apprehending spirit: so that, being as yet a child of fourteene yeeres of age, I was praised by all men in regard of the good affection I bare to learning, and the Priests & noblest citizens alwaies assembled about me, to receiue certaine exact instructions from mee in any thing that concerned our ordinances. About the age of sixteene yeeres my desire was to haue a search and insight into the sects of our nation, which (as I haue said) are three: the first of the Pharises, which is the chiefest. The second of the Sadduces. And the third of the Essens. For I truly thought with my selfe, that I might easily choose the better of the three, at such time as I had beene exercised and acquainted with them all: for which cause with great abstinence and no lesse labour, I passed thorow them all: and not content with this experience; after I had heard that a certaine man called *Banus* liued in the desart, clothing himselfe with that which the trees brought forth, and feeding on no other kind of meat, but that which they willingly yeelded him, washing himselfe oftentimes by day and night in cold water to keep himselfe chaste: I began to imitate his course of life: and after I had liued with him for the space of three yeeres, and satisfied my desires, at last I returned into the citie.

Ioseph from his infancy very studious, and addicted to learning.

At the age of nineteene yeeres, I began to intermeddle with publike affaires, following the sect of the Pharises, which very neerely resembleth that sect among the Græcians, who are called Stoicks. After I was sixe and twentie yeeres old, it was my fortune to repaire to Rome vpon this occasion that ensueth: During such time as *Fœlix* gouerned Iudæa, there were certain priests my familiars, men of much honour, and more vertue, who vpon some slight occasion were bound and

Ioseph a Phariſe.

sent to Rome by his commandement, to answer to that which was obiected against them in *Cæsars* presence. Whereupon I being desirous to labour for their liberty, hauing especiall intelligence, that notwithstanding the torments wherewith they were martyred, they buried not in forgetfulnes that pietie which they ought to God, but liued on figges and nuttes: for this cause I departed for Rome, and was encountred with many great and grieuous hazards by sea. For the ship, wherein I sailed, was wrackt in the midst of the Adriatike sea, and there were about sixe hundreth of vs that swamme all night long, and vpon the day-spring by Gods prouidence a Cyrenian ship came in sight, and both I and certaine others to the number of fourescore, outswimming the rest, were taken vp into it and saued. After I had in this sort escaped, I came to Dicæarchia, which the Italians call at this day Puteol, and grew acquainted with *Aliturus* a Iew borne, who was a plaier, and in good reputation with *Nero*; by whose meanes insinuating my selfe into *Poppeas* knowledge, who was *Cæsars* wife, I determined to beseech her to procure those Priests liberties, with all expedition: which done, I by her meanes recouered their present liberty: and being gratified likewise by her with many great gifts, I returned into my countrey. There found I the common-weale too much addicted to factions and troubles, and diuers too prone and readie to rebell and forget their allegeance to the Romans. I inforced my selfe to represse the seditious, and exhorted them to change their opinions, representing before their eies the qualitie of those, against whom they enterprized their war, with whom they neither might compare in experience of war, neither in good fortune: for this cause I aduised them, not to hazard and ouerthrow their countrey by their rashnes and rage, and with it their posterities and themselues.

Iosephs shipwracke.

Iosephus obtaineth the priests liberties.

The Iewes seditious.

To this effect spake I vnto them, and instantly intreated them to forsake their vntamed resolution, for that I foresaw that the end of this warre would redound to our vtter ruine: but I preuailed nothing with them. For the fury of desperate and dissolute men preuailed aboue reason: for which cause fearing lest by continuall inforcing of one thing, I should grow into hatred and suspicion among them, as if I fauoured their enemies; fearing likewise lest if they should lay hold on me, they should be put to death, seeing that the fort of Antonia was already seized vpon by the seditious; I retired my selfe into the inward part of the temple. In processe of time, after *Manahem* and the chiefest among the theeues were put to death, I came out again from the temple, and conuersed with the priests, and chiefest Pharises, who were surprized with great feare. And grieuously were we dismaied, when we saw the people in armes: and being vncertain what to do, and wanting the meanes to pacifie these mutinies, and apparantly perceiuing their manifest danger, both I and the Pharises told them, our opinion was answerable to theirs, and counsailed them to containe themselues in peace, and not to prouoke the enemy. For our hope was, that *Iesius* would with all expedition draw out great forces, and chastice those peace-breakers. But as soone as he arriued, and had fought with them, he was ouercome, and a great number of his men were slaine: whereupon grew the vtter ruine of our whole nation. For such as desired the warre, were puffed vp with that victory, and conceiued an assured hope that in the end they should ouercome the Romans. Besides that, this ensuing occasion presented it selfs: The inhabitants of the cities that bordered vpon Syria, laid hands on those Iews that dwelt amongst them, & slue both them, their wiues, and children, without any iust cause or crime committed by them. For they had not conspired any waies, or intended to reuolt from the Romans, or to vse any hostilitie, or any secret conspiracie against any of those, with whome they were conuersant. But among all the rest, the citizens of Scythopolis exceeded all other in impietie and wickednes. For being besieged without by certaine of the Iewes, they inforced those Iewes that inhabited amongst them to take armes, & to charge those of their owne nation (which is both prohibited & vnlawfull by our lawes) who fighting against them discomfited them: but after this ouerthrow, they in such sort falsified and forgot their faith that they had giuen to their associates and fellow citizens, that they slew euery mothers sonne of them, to the number of many thousands. The like misfortune also fell vpon those Iewes that inhabited Damasco. But of this wee haue more amply spoken in those our bookes, which we haue written of the warres of the Iewes: and at this present I make mention hereof, intending to signifie, and certainly perswade the readers, that the warre which was waged with the Romanes, proceeded not of a resolute intent and purpose, but for the most part of an inforced necessitie.

Ioseph dehorting the Iewes from sedition, is suspected by them of treason.

The Iewes are plagued both by strangers & their owne countrimen.

The Iewes constrained by necessitie to make war.

After that *Iesius* was ouercome (as we haue heretofore declared) the chiefest men of Ierusalem perceiuing that the theeues made a partie among the seditious, and were strongly and plentifully armed and prouided, they began to feare lest if they should be found disarmed, they

should

A should suddenly be ouerthrowne by their enemies; as in effect it fell out afterwards: and hearing that all Galilee was not as yet wholly reuolted from the Romans; but that a part thereof as yet entertained the peace, they sent me with two other Priests *Ioazar* and *Iudas*, who were both vertuous and honorable men, to perswade the mutinous to lay by their armes, & to let them know that it was more behoouefull for the good of the nation, that such men as were in authority and reputation, should haue the keeping thereof. The resolution that was taken by them was, that they had them alwaies ready vpon all occasions, but that they expected vntill they were certified what the Romans intended to doe.

With this commission and such like instructions, I repaired into Galilee: where I found the Sephorites were in no small hazard in respect of their countrey, for that they of Galilee had re- The danger of the Sephorites.
B solued to forrage the same in regard of their league of friendship continued with the Romanes, and contracted and ratified by *Senius Gallus* Gouernor of Syria. But I deliuered them all of that feare, & appeased the common people by permitting them, to send at all times when they pleased, their hostages to *Gessius*, who lay at Dora a City of Phœnicia. I found likewise that the inhabitants of Tiberias were already in armes, vpon this occasion following: There were in that Sedition in the Citie of Tiberias. Three factions in the city of Tiberias.
City three different factions, the one of the nobility, whose chieftaine was *Iulius Capella*, and all those that accompanied him, that is to say, *Herod* the son of *Miarus*, *Herod* the son of *Gamalus*, &
C *Compsus* the sonne of *Compsus* (for *Crispus* his brother, who in times past had been gouernor for *Agrippa* surnamed the Great, was amongst his possessions on the other side of Iordan) all these, I say, gaue counsell at that time to subscribe to the Romanes authority, and to obey their King. But *Pistus* would no waies accord to this aduice, in regard of his son *Iustus*: for naturally he was vaine-glorious. The second faction was of the common sort, who concluded vpon warre. *Iustus*, *Pistus* son, who was the ring-leader of the third faction, carried himselfe very doubtfully as touching the warre; yet notwithstanding he sought and thirsted after innouation, hoping that by a change he should encrease his power. Presenting himself therfore in the midst of the multitude, The oration of Iustus, Pistus sonne to the multitude.
he inforced himselfe to perswade the common sort, that their City had alwaies belonged to
Galilee, and that during the daies of *Herod* the Tetrarch, who founded the same, it was the chiefest Citie, whose pleasure it was that the Citie of Sephoris should yeeld obedience to that of
Tiberias. Furthermore, he auowed that they had not lost that preeminence in the time of King
D *Agrippa* the father, but had continued the same till *Fœlix* obtained the gouernment of Iudæa. ,,
But for the present wherein they had been giuen by *Nero* to the younger *Agrippa*, they had fallen ,,
and lost their superiority. For the Citie of Sephoris obtained the soueraignty of Galilee, after ,,
that she acknowledged the Roman gouernment, who had abolished the table royall and publike ,,
registers. By these words and others of like nature, inforced against King *Agrippa*, he incited the Iustus incites the people to rebellion.
people to rebellion, signifying vnto them, that the opportunity inuited them to take arms, to the
end that being associated with the Galileans, they might make themselues Lords, for that all of ,,
them would willingly ioyne themselues with them through the hatred they bare to the Sepho- ,,
rites, on whom they would reuenge themselues with great force, because they continued in their ,,
allegeance, which they promised to the Romans.

E And by these words he won the peoples hearts vnto him: for he was a man that was very e- Iustus the offspring of war.
loquent, and by his subtilty and politike discourse, easily ouerthrew all that which his aduersaries produced against him. For hee was not ignorant of those sciences that are knowne vnto the Greekes: but trusting to his wisedome and good discourse, hee began to discouer how all things had past at that time, to the intent that by such colourable insinuations he might smother the truth. But in the processe of our discourse, wee will declare that hee was a man of a dissolute life, and that by his and his brothers meanes, he wanted little of vtterly ouerthrowing his countrey. When as therefore this *Iustus* had perswaded the Citizens of Tiberias to take armes, and had constrained diuers men likewise, who were of the contrary opinion, to do the like, he issued out with them, and burned the villages of the Gadareneans and Hippenians, that are situate in
F the confines of Tiberias and Scythopolis. In this estate was Tiberias: and as touching Gischala, their estate and affaires were brought to this issue: *Iohn* the sonne of *Leui* seeing some of the Citizens waxen proud by meanes of their reuolt from the Romans, laboured to restraine them, and required them to continue in their allegeance: but notwithstanding all his perswasion and diligence, he could not containe them. For the nations round about them as the Gadareneans, Gabaraganeans and Tyrians assembled a great army, and with the same assailed Gischala, and Gischala burned & spoiled.
tooke it by force: and after they had consumed it by fire and vtterly destroied the same, they returned euery one to their dwelling places. *Iohn* being sore displeased with this act, armed all

thoſe that were with him, and ſet vpon theſe abouenamed nations: and hauing obtained the victory, he reedified Giſchala in farre better ſort then it was before, incloſing it with a wall, to the intent it might be the better fortified againſt future inuaſions.

Gamala faithfull to Rome. The danger whereinto Philip Iacims ſonne was fallen.

But thoſe of Gamala perſeuered in their faith towards the Romans, for the occaſion that enſueth: *Philip* the ſonne of *Iacim*, who gouerned vnder King *Agrippa*, eſcaping beyond all opinion, and flying to the royall Palace in Ieruſalem at ſuch time as it was beſieged, fell into another great danger; to wit, to be ſlaine by *Manahem*, and thoſe theeues that were with him: but certain Babylonians his kinſmen being at that time in Ieruſalem, hindered the theeues from executing their purpoſe at that time. When as therefore *Philip* had ſoiourned there for the ſpace of foure daies, on the fift he fled away, diſguizing himſelfe in a falſe haire, for feare hee ſhould bee diſcouered: And as ſoone as he was arriued in one of thoſe villages which was of his owne poſſeſſion, ſituate neere vnto the mount Gamala, he ſent for certaine of his ſubiects to make their repaire vnto him. But God would not permit it; but for *Philips* greater good, he croſſed the ſcope of his intent, which otherwiſe had bin the ruine of many: for being ſurprized by a ſudden feuer, hee committed certaine letters of his written to *Agrippa* and *Bernice* who were yet but young, to one of his free-men, commanding him to deliuer them to *Varus*, who was put in truſt by the King and Queene, to adminiſter the affaires of their Kingdome, for that they were gone to Beryth to meet with *Ieſsius*. As ſoone therefore as he had receiued *Philips* letters, and vnderſtood that he was eſcapt, he tooke it very hardly, for that he thought it would bee ſaid that the King and Queene had no vſe of him ſince *Philip* was arriued. He therefore brought him that had the carriage of theſe letters, into the peoples preſence, obiecting againſt him that he had forged that writing, alledging that he falſely lyed in that he reported that *Philip* was in Ieruſalem, making warre with the Iewes againſt the Romans: and for that cauſe he commanded him to be executed. *Philip* being ignorant of the cauſe why his free-man did not returne, ſent another with letters, to the intent he might diſcouer what was become of his firſt meſſenger, & for what cauſe he ſtaied ſo long. But *Varus* accuſing his ſecond meſſenger alſo very falſely, commanded him to be executed, as he had done the firſt. For the Syrians that inhabit Cæſarea, had made him proud, inſomuch that he aſpired to high and great matters, by telling him that *Agrippa* ſhould be put to death by the Romans, in regard of thoſe faults which the Iewes had committed; and that *Varus*, who was royally deſcended, ſhould poſſeſſe his gouernment. For without queſtion *Varus* was held to be of the blood-royall, for that he deriued his pedigree from the Tetrarch *Sohemus* that gouerned the countrey that abutted on Libanus. For theſe cauſes, *Varus* grew proud, and retained *Philips* letters by him, hoping by theſe means that the King ſhould haue no knowledge thereof; and he ſet watch in euery paſſage, for feare leſt any man ſhould flie and certifie the King, of that which had hapned; and to giue the Syrians the better content, who dwelt in Cæſarea, hee put diuers of thoſe Iewes that dwelt among them to death. Hee intended alſo to vndertake a warre againſt the Iewes of Bathanæa, who were called Babylonian Iewes, by confederating himſelfe with the Trachonites of Bathanæa. For which cauſe, ſending for twelue of thoſe Iewes who were of moſt eſtimation among the inhabitants of Cæſarea, he enioyned them to repaire to Ecbatane, to ſignifie vnto thoſe of their nation that dwelt there, that *Varus* vnderſtanding that they pretended to take armes againſt their King, and ſcarcely beleeuing it, had ſent them vnto them, to perſwade them to lay by their armes. And that this ſhould be a certaine ſigne, by which they might perfectly expreſſe that hee had no reaſon to giue credit to their reports who had inforced and obiected ſo much againſt them. Furthermore, he commanded them that ſeuenty of the chiefeſt of them ſhould be choſen out, to anſwer to thoſe accuſations wherewith they ſhould be charged. Theſe twelue arriuing in Ecbatane, and entertained by thoſe of their nation, found that they neither imagined nor intended any commotion: for which cauſe, they perſwaded them to ſend their ſeuenty men: which they did, little ſuſpecting that which would happen.

Varus iniuſtly executeth him that brought the letters. Varus tyranny in gouerning the countrey. Varus ſeeketh to conceale his power and tyranny.

Varus killeth the ſeuenty Iewes with the Embaſſadours. The Iewes retire thẽſelues into the fortreſſe of Gamala, and thither reſorteth Philip alſo.

As ſoone therefore as theſe with the other twelue Embaſſadours came to Cæſarea, *Varus* hauing inkling of their comming, met them on the way with the Kings forces, and ſlew them altogether with the foreſaid Embaſſadours, and tooke his way towards the Iewes of Ecbatane. But one of the ſeuenty, who had eſcaped, reſorted thither with all expedition preuenting *Varus*, and certified the reſt of that which had hapned. Whereupon, they incontinently fell to arms, & with their wiues & children retired thẽſelues to the fort of Gamala, abandoning their villages which were ſtored with all kind of goods, and many thouſand cattell. When *Philip* had tydings hereof, he repaired himſelfe alſo to the fort of Gamala: where he no ſooner arriued, but the people cried

out with a loud voyce, exhorting him to take the soueraignty, and to make warre against *Varus* and the Syrians of Cæsarea. For they had intelligence that the King was dead. But *Philip* moderated their fury, recounting vnto them what benefits the king had bestowed on them, & of what power the Romans were, against whom it was but a folly for them to take armes; and in the end he perswaded them to peace. The King vnderstanding that *Varus*, was determined to kill and murther all the Iewes that were in Cæsarea, with their wiues and children all in one day (who were as many in number) he sent vnto him *Equus Modius* to supply his place, as it hath been by vs declared in another place. Meane-while *Philip* kept the fort of Gamala, & the countrey thereabouts, perseuering in their fidelity and loyalty to the Romans. As soone as I arriued in Galilee, and had perceiued & learned all occurrences that had hapned, by those who reported the same vnto me, I presently signified the whole estate by my letters, to the councel at Ierusalē, to know what their pleasure was I should do. Who gaue me this answere, that I should remaine where I was, and retaine those Embassadors that I had with me, if they thought good to take charge of Galilee. But they being very wealthy, by means of those tenths & tithes that were giuen them; and very willing, because they were due, to gather them vp in right of their priesthood, resolued with themselues to returne to their owne houses. But for that I entreated them to remaine with me, vntill such time, as we had settled the affaires, they willingly consented vnto me. I therefore departed with them to the citie of Sephora, and came into a borough called Bethmaus distant from Tiberias some foure furlongs, and from thence I sent a messenger to the councell of Tiberias, exhorting the chiefest among the people to come and speak with me: who comming forth to visit me, accompanied with *Iustus* also, I told them that I was sent Embassadour vnto them, with those other, by the communalty of Ierusalem, to perswade them to deface that building that was erected by *Herod* the Tetrarch, wherein diuers figures of liuing creatures were painted; for that our law forbad them to allow or doe such things, and I exhorted them to suffer vs to doe that execution as soone as they might.

Gamala still faithfull to the Romans.

Ioseph by the commandement of the Councell remayneth in Galilee.

Capella and those of his party, did for a long time refuse to consent thereunto: but in the end we inforced them so much, that they condescended. Now whilest wee debated vpon this conclusion, *Iesus* the sonne of *Saphias* (of whom we haue spoken heretofore, declaring how he was the chieftaine and conductor of the faction of sailers and poore men) took with him certain Galileans, and set fire on all the palace, vnder hope to get great riches thereby (for that there were certaine roofes of the house couered with gold) who spoiled many things against our consent. For after we had conferred with *Capella*, and the chiefest Tiberians, we retired our selues from Bethmaus into the higher Galilee. In the meane time *Iesus* men slew all the Greekes that remained there, and who before the warre had been their enemies. Which when I was certified of, I was grieuously displeased, and came down to Tiberias, & disposed of the Kings moueables, for feare lest they should be carried away by the robbers: and hauing recouered a candlesticke of Corinthian worke, princely tables, and no small quantity of massiue siluer, I resolued with my selfe to reserue it to the Kings vse. Calling therefore ten of the chiefest Senators, and *Capella*, *Antillus* sonne vnto me, I deliuered the vessels into their hands, charging them to deliuer the same to no man, except it were to my selfe.

The Palace set on fire that was in Tiberias.

Ioseph procureth the safety of the Kings goods.

From thence, with mine associates I went to *Iohn* at Gischala, to knowe what his minde and resolution was, and I presently smelt out by him, that hee affected innouation and tyranny. For he besought me to grant him liberty, to transport *Cæsars* wheat that was stored vp in the villages of higher Galilee, telling me that hee would bestow the same in reedifying & repairing the wals of his countrey. But I smelling out both his drift and counsels, denyed him that liberty. For I thought that that wheat would either serue the Romans, or my selfe, for that already I had the care of that countrey committed to my hands by the Citie of Ierusalem. When as therefore he could winne nothing at my hands, hee appealed to my companions, who were improuident of those troubles that were to come, & greedy of rewards, and obtained at their hands through his lauish liberality, a liberty to dispose of all the corne that was in the Prouince, in that I my selfe was vnable to contradict them both. After this, *Iohn* vsed another subtilty: for he said that those Iewes, who inhabited Cæsarea *Philippi*, being by the command of their King, to whom they were subiect, kept prisoners with in their wals; being in want of pure oyle, desired to buy the same at his hands, for feare lest contrary to their custome, they should be compelled to vse that of the Greeks. But this spake he not in respect of religion or deuotion, but for his filthy lucres sake. For knowing that among the Cæsareans, two sextaries were sold for a drachme, and that at Gischalis eighty sextaries were sold for foure drachmes, hee sent all that oyle that was in that

Iohns acts in Gischalis and his couetousnesse.

place vnto them, doing it (as he thought) by my permiſſion. But I did not willingly condeſcend thereunto, but for feare leſt if I ſhould withſtand the ſame, the people ſhould ſtone me to death. As ſoone therefore as I had giuen him leaue, *Iohn* gathered a great ſumme of money by this cunning ſhift.

Ioſeph ſends back his companions to Ieruſalem.

Ioſeph Preſident of Galilee.

From this place diſmiſſed I my companions, and ſent them back to Ieruſalem, imploying my ſelfe wholly afterwards in preparing armour, and fortifying cities. After this, calling the ſtouteſt theeues before me, when as I perceiued that I might not recouer their weapons from them, I perſwaded the multitude to hire them by rewards, telling them that it was more profitable for them to entertain them in their ſeruice, then to ſuffer their country to be ſpoiled by their excurſions. And thus hauing taken their oathes, did I diſmiſſe them vnder condition, that they ſhould not come into our region, except they were called, or to receiue their due pay vnder condition, that they ſhould abſtain from ſpoiling either the Romans or the inhabitants of the country. But aboue al things my care was to keep Galilee in peace. And whereas my deſire was to get ſeuenty pledges of their loyalty, choſen out amongſt their nobility vnder pretext of friendſhip, as ſoone as they came vnto me in way of friendſhip, I made them my companions and fellow Iudges, & decreed many things according to their opinions, hauing an eſpeciall care leſt through raſhnes I ſhould iniure Iuſtice, or through corruption of rewards diſtaine mine incorrupted honor. At ſuch time therefore as I was thirty yeeres old, at which yeeres although a man bridle himſelfe from vnlawfull affections; yet hardly can he eſcape from the poiſoned ſting of detraction, eſpecially if a great authority be annexed to his green yeeres: I neuer offered vaine and vnlawfull courting to any woman, neither could any man faſten bribe on mee, in that I pretended want of nothing: yea, I refuſed thoſe tenths which in right of prieſthood I might haue receiued from thoſe, that brought them me. Yet after the conqueſt of the Syrians, I tooke part of the ſpoile, which (as I freely confeſſe) I ſent to Ieruſalem to my kinſmen. And whereas at two times I had forcibly ouercome the Sephorites, the Tiberians foure times, and the Gadarenians once, and had brought *Iohn* vnder my ſubiection, who had oftentimes ſought to entrap me; neither could I endure to reuenge my ſelfe on him, neither on any of the abouenamed people, as in the ſequell of this Story I will make manifeſt.

Ioſeph ioyned ſeuenty of the Nobility with him.

Ioſeph at thirtie yeeres of age offered no woman violence, and would not bee bribed.

Ioſephs bounty towards his enemies.

For which cauſe I ſuppoſe that God, who is the tryer and ſearcher of all iuſt hearts, both deliuered me at this time out of the hands of mine enemies, and afterwards, and that many times out of dangerous and ſeuerall misfortunes; as hereafter ſhall appeare in time and place. But ſo great was the faith and beneuolence of the common people of Galilee towards mee, that their cities being ouerthrowne, and their families led into captiuity, they ſpent not ſo many teares for their owne calamities, as they beſtowed cares for my preſeruation and ſecurity. Which when *Iohn* perceiued, hee beganne to enuy mee, and beſought mee by his letters, that I would giue him licence for his health ſake, to bathe himſelfe in the hot baths of Tiberias: I ſuſpecting no treaſon, willingly granted him that which he demanded. Moreouer, I wrote vnto thoſe, to whom I had committed the truſt & adminiſtration of the citie, to prepare him a lodging, & to furniſh all his companions with victuals, and to prouide him alſo of all things neceſſary for his diet and entertainment. In the meane ſpace, I my ſelfe paſt my time in a certaine village of Galilee called Cana. But after that *Iohn* came to Tiberias, hee wrought the townſmen in ſuch ſort, that forgetting both their faith and dutie, they reuolted vnto him; and many of them lent a willing eare vnto his entreaties, eſpecially ſuch as reioycing in innouations were too, prone to change, and greedy of diſſenſion: but in eſpeciall *Iuſtus* and his father *Piſtus*, willingly entertained this occaſion to reuolt from my obedience, and to ſubmit themſelues to *Iohn*; yet was this conſpiracy of theirs preuented by my ſpeedy acceſſe. For a certaine meſſenger came vnto mee from *Silas*, whom I had in former time preferred to the gouernment of Tiberias, who certified me of the citizens intent, and exhorted me in all haſte to make my repair thither, for that otherwiſe the citie would ſhortly fall into another mans hands. As ſoone therefore as I had peruſed *Silas* letters, I trauelled all night long with two hundreth choſen men; and ſending a meſſenger before me, who might ſignifie my approach to the citizens, I loſt neither time nor way: And in the morning when I drew neere vnto the citie, the whole people came out to meet me, and among the reſt *Iohn*; who after he had beheld me, and ſaluted me with a ſuſpicious countenance, fearing leſt his treaſon being diſcouered, he ſhould grow in danger of his life, ſpeedily retired himſelf into his lodging. And when as I drew neere the citie within a furlong, diſmiſſing all my guard but one, and retaining onely ten armed ſouldiers with mee, I beganne to expoſtulate with the Tiberians from a certaine high place, from whence I might bee heard, and coun-

TheGalileans faith and loue towards Ioſeph.

Iohn deſireth that he might bathe himſelf in the hotte baths of Tiberias.

Iohns treaſon.

The people of Tiberias came out to meet Ioſeph.

Ioſephs exhortations to the Tiberians.

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A failed them that they ſhould not reuolt, leſt in ſo doing they might ſhortly repent them of their mutability and breach of faith: for that no man hereafter would giue them credit, being already either ſuſpected or guilty of this their perfidiouſneſſe.

Scarcely had I ſpoken this, but that I heard one of my attendants, who perſwaded mee to deſcend, telling me that this was no time now to reconcile the Tiberians, or to perſwade them, but rather to ſeeke for mine own ſecurity, and how I might eſcape mine enemies. For after that *Iohn* had learned that I was deſtitute of followers, he ſent a thouſand of his choſen ſouldiers: commanding them to kill me; who were at hand, and ready to commit the murther, had I not ſpeedily leapt down with my ſeruant *Iacob*, and being relieued by *Herod* the Tiberian, had been B brought to the lake; where finding a barke by chance, and putting forth to ſea, I eſcaped contrary to mine enemies expectation, and came to Taricheas.

Iohn ſeeketh to betray and murther Ioſeph.

As ſoone as the inhabitants of that citie vnderſtood how perfidiouſly and traitrouſly the Tiberians had dealt with me, they were ſore diſpleaſed, and betaking themſelues to their weapons, perſwaded me to lead them forth againſt them, telling mee that they would reuenge the iniury that was offered vnto their Gouernor, and they blazed this treaſon of theirs thorow all Galilee. For which cauſe a number of armed Galileans came to me, requeſting me that I would inuade Tiberias, and entering it, that I would ſpoile the ſame; and in the ruines thereof, that I would ſell the inhabitãts with their whole families vnder the ſpeare. The like did my friends, who eſcaped with me out of the citie, perſwade mee. But I in no ſort would admit their ſuite, ſuppoſing it to C be a matter vnworthy my diſcretion, to reuiue a cauſe of ciuill warre, imagining with my ſelfe, that ſuch a contention ought to proceed no further then words: yea, I proteſted vnto them, that ſuch reuenge would be preiudicial to thẽſelues alſo, if the Romãs ſtanding at gaze, they ſhould ſpend themſelues in ciuill diſcords. By this meanes at length the Galileans wrath was appeaſed.

The Galileãs require that they may inuade Tiberias.

But when *Iohn* perceiued that he failed of his purpoſe, he began to feare: for which cauſe taking with him thoſe armed men which he kept about him, and forſaking Tiberias, he repaired to Giſchala, and from thence he wrote his letters vnto me, excuſing the fact, as if hee had beene no waies guilty thereof, & beſought me that I would in no ſort ſuſpect him, & cõfirmed his words with execrable oathes, whereby hee might win the more credit to his writing. But the Galileans, who were gathered in great multitudes from all parts of the region, knowing that hee was a D wicked and perfidious man, beſought mee that I would lead them forth againſt him, promiſing me to ouerthrow both him, Giſchala, and all his country. Therefore, after I had giuen them thanks for their loue towards me, I promiſed them that mine offices of loue ſhould be anſwerable to their kindneſſe. Yet beſought I them to reſtraine themſelues, and to grant me pardon, for that I thought it better to appeaſe, then procure troubles.

Iohn excuſeth himſelfe to Ioſeph.

This requeſt of mine the Galileans granted: Whereupon we preſently came to Sephoris. But the townſmen, who were reſolued to continue faithfull towards the Roman people, fearing my approach, endeuoured themſelues to diſtract me with ſome other affaires, whereby they might liue in more ſecurity. Whereupon, ſending their meſſenger to *Ieſus*, the Captaine of the theeues, that kept vpon the confines of Ptolemais, they promiſed him a great ſumme of money, if with E his armie of eight hundreth men, who liued vnder his command, he would wage warre with vs. He, allured by their promiſes, bethought himſelfe to aſſaile vs ſuddenly & vnwares: for which cauſe he beſought me by a meſſenger, that I would grant him leaue and liberty to come & ſalute me: which when he had obtained, for that I was wholly ignorant of his treaſon, taking with him a troup of his theeues, he haſted ſpeedily towards me: yet failed he of his purpoſed treaſon; for when he was not far off from me, a certaine fugitiue of his troupe diſcouered his intent towards me. Which when I heard, I went out into the market place, faining that I knew nothing of his ſecret fraud, attended with a multitude of armed Galileans, and among theſe with certain Tiberians.

Ieſus captaine of theeues.

Afterwards, ſending abroad certaine ſpies, who ſhould ſcoure the high-waies, I cõmanded the F keepers of the gates, that they ſhould only ſuffer *Ieſus* to enter with the formoſt of his cõpany, and exclude the reſt: and if they ſhould attempt to break in by force, they ſhould beat them off. Who fulfilling that which was commanded them, *Ieſus* entred with a few: and being willed by me preſently to lay downe his weapons, except he deſired to be ſlaine; he, ſeeing himſelfe inuironed with armed ſouldiers, obeyed. Whereupon they that followed him, and were excluded, perceiuing that their Captain was apprehended, ſuddenly betook them to flight; & leading *Ieſus* apart, I told him I was not ignorant of thoſe treaſons, which he intended againſt me, neither by whoſe prouocatiõs he attempted the ſame. Yet told I him that I would pardon him, if ſo be by changing

Ieſus ſeekes to betray Ioſeph.

Ioſeph politiquely ſurprizeth Ieſus.

Iosephs bountie towards Iesus.

changing his manners, he would be faithfull vnto me hereafter. Who promising mee all that which I requested, I dismissed the man, and gaue him leaue to depart with his weapons: yet threatned I to punish the Sephorites, except hereafter they desisted from their treasons. About the same time there came two noblemen vnto me, who were subiect to the king of Trachonites, bringing with them both horsemen, armour, and money: whom when the Iewes would haue constrained to be circumcised, if so be they would remaine amongst them, I would not permit them to be troublesome to the Trachonites, alledging that euery man ought, according to his owne minde, and not by other mens impulsion, serue God: and that it was not to be suffered that they, who for their security sake were fled vnto vs, should repent themselues of their trust they put in vs. And thus hauing perswaded the multitude, I freely and aboundantly furnished these men with all things necessary.

Iosephs care of religion.

Ebutius against Ioseph.

In the meane space, *Agrippa* sent out his forces vnder the conduct of *Equus Modius*, to take the Castle Magdala by force, which for that they durst not assault, they beset the waies, & the rather troubled Gamala. But *Ebutius Decadarchus*, who had the gouernment of the great champaine, hearing that I was come to a certain village called Simonias, situate on the confines of Galilee, and distant from the same some sixty furlongs, took with him by night one hundreth horse that attended him, and about two hundreth footmen, with certaine inhabitants of the citie of Gaba their associates, whom he conducted by night, and assailed and beset the borough where I was. Against whom after I had drawn forth a valiant band of men, *Ebutius* laboured al that he might to toule vs into the champain, for that he trusted very much in his horsemen: but he easily perceiued that we might not be won. For knowing the aduantage which the horsemen had, if wee should encounter them in the plaine, considering that we were but footmen, I resolued to fight in the place where we were: and *Ebutius* charged vs for a while very valiantly. At length, perceiuing that he had no vse of his horsemen in that place, he sounded the retreat, and departed back againe with lost labour to Gaba, hauing onely lost three men in the battell. But I presently pursued him with two thousand armed men: and when I came to Besara, which is situate on the confines of Ptolemais, distant some twenty furlongs from Gaba, where *Ebutius* encamped at that time; & besetting all the passages with courts of guard, whereby we might be more secure from the excursions of our enemies, vntill wee had carried out the wheat, whereof there was a great quantitie stored vp in that place, which was gathered out of the townesships thereabout, belonging to Queene *Berenice*, and loading diuers Camels and Asses, which to that end I had brought with me; I sent the same corne into Galilee. And hauing finished this businesse, I offered *Ebutius* the battell: and whereas he detracted the same, being terrified by our boldnes, I took my course to encounter with *Neopolitanus*, who (as it was reported) was in the territorie of the Tiberians, and foraged there. Now this *Neopolitanus* was a Captaine of horsemen, and had vndertaken to defend Scythopolis against their enemies: Hauing therefore driuen him from doing any wrong in the country belonging to the Tiberians, I prouided for the security of Galilee.

Ebutius departeth without performing any thing.

Ioseph transporteth corne into Galilee.

Ioseph against Neopolitanus.

But *Iohn* the son of *Leui*, who (as we said) liued at Gischala, after he heard that all things fell out fortunately with mee, and that I was loued of my subiects, and feared by mine enemies, was sore aggrieued thereat: and supposing his owne fortune was embased by my felicity, and being touched with no small enuy, & in greater hope that he should hinder my good successe, if so be that he could bring me in hatred with my subiects; he sollicited those of Tiberias and Sephoris to forsake me, and supposed also that the Gabarenians would reuolt vnto him, which Cities are the chiefest in Galilee. For he told them, that vnder his conduct the common-weale should be more discreetly gouerned: but among the rest, the Sephorites gaue least eare vnto him, for that neglecting vs both, they onely held for the Romans.

Iohn maligneth Iosephs good successe.

As for the Tiberians, they would not consent to rebell: yet notwithstanding they promised him some friendship. But the Gabarenians wholly addicted themselues to *Iohn*, by the meanes of one *Simon*, a principall Citizen, who was *Iohns* fellow and friend. Yet did they not openly seeme to allow him, for that they vehemently feared the Galileans, whose good will towards me they were long time assured of, but priuily they sought another meanes to entrap mee. And truely I fell into great danger vpon this occasion. For when as certaine Debarittenians (beeing audacious young men) had intelligence that *Ptolomeis* wife, the Kings steward, vnder the conduct of certaine horsemen should in great pompe trauell along the great Plaine, out of the Kings countrey into the Romane gouernment, they suddenly set vpon them, and putting the woman to flight, they spoiled all that which she carried with her. Which done, they draue to Taricheas, a place where I then kept, certaine Moyles loaden with apparell, and houshold stuffe of diuers sorts:

The Gabarenians reuolt vpon Iohns perswasion.

The Debarittenians spoile Ptolomeis wife.

A sorts; among which there were diuers siluer vessels, and fiue hundred pieces of gold. Intending therefore to reserue these things for *Ptolomey*, as being one of the same tribe, in that our law permitteth not to defraud, no not our enemies, if they be of the same tribe; I told those that brought the goods thither, that they must be kept to be sold, to the end that the price of the goods might be bestowed vpon the building of the wals of Ierusalem. This motion of mine, the yong men interpreted very hardly, in that they were cut off from the part of the prey which they hoped for. For which cause, dispersing themselues in the streets of Tiberias, they spred a rumor that I would betray that country to the Romans, alledging that I only fained that the prey was destinated towards the repairing of the wals of Ierusalem: whereas the truth was, that I kept the same to the intent I might restore it to the owner. In which matter they were no whit deceiued in their opi-

B nion. For after the departure of the yong men, I called vnto me two chiefe citizens, *Dasion* and *Iannæus* the sonnes of *Leui*, intire friends to the King, and commanded them, that taking the houshold stuffe with them, they should conuay it vnto the King, threatning them with death, if they reuealed this secret to any man.

Ioseph laboureth to restore Ptolomey to his goods.

But when as the rumour was spred thorow Galilee, that I would betray the region into the hands of the Romans, and all of them being grieuously bent and intent against me to punish me; they of Taricheas also giuing credit to the yong men, fained speeches, perswaded my guard, and the rest of the souldiers, that forsaking me whil'st I was asleep, they should come into the horse-race, and consult with other in that place how to degrade me, and giue the honor vnto another.

C They, being perswaded, came to the appointed place, where they found many others there arriued: and all of them cried out with one consent, that it was meet to take punishment on a traitor, who hath sought the destruction of the common-weale. But he that most of all incited them to these troubles, was *Iesus* the sonne of *Saphias*, who at that time had the magistracy of Tiberias in his hands, a man giuen ouer to all wickednesse, and borne to breed troubles, and stirre vp seditions.

Sedition against Ioseph. Iesus, the son of Saphias, conspireth against Ioseph.

This man, bearing *Moses* tables in his hands, and comming out into the midst of the assembly, spake thus with a loud voice: If (said he) you be touched with no care of your selues, yet at the leastwise contemne not these sacred lawes, which this your chieftaine *Ioseph*, a man worthy to be hated by all men, hath of long time dared to betray, and for that cause is worthy of extreme pu-

D nishment.

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After he had thus spoken, and was applauded by the acclamations of the people, he leading the armed men with him, hastily repaired to the house where I kept, with a certaine intent and purpose to put me to death. Meanewhile, I suspecting nothing of all this tumult, and tired with labour and wearinesse, took my rest; when as suddenly *Simon* one of my guard, who at that time onely remained with me, seeing the incursion of the people, came and awaked me: and certifying me of mine instant perill, he gaue me counsell likewie, that rather, like a noble and vndaunted chiefetaine, I should shorten mine owne life, then shamefully die by mine enemies direction. Whil'st he gaue me this counsell, I committing my safety to Gods, hands and chenging my garments, went forth into the assembly after a mournfull manner, and wearing my sword hanging

E about my neck, stealing by that way, by which I knew that none of mine aduersaries might meet me: and comming into the horse-race, I offred my selfe to euery mans eye, and lying prostrate on my face, & watring the earth with my teares, I moued all men that beheld me to compassion. And when I perceiued that the affections of the people were changed, I laboured all that I might to diuide them in opinions, before the armed souldiers returned from my house: and confessing my self that I was not wholly cleere of that which was obiected against me I besought them to vnderstand to what vse I reserued that prey that was brought to my hand; after which, if they list they might kill me. And whil'st the multitude commanded me to speake, the armed men returned back, and beholding me, rushed in vpon me with an intent to murther me: but being restrained by the peoples exclamations, they moderated their fury; supposing, that after

F my confession of treason, and reseruation of the Kings money, they might haue a better occasion to finish my Tragedy.

Simon, one of Iosephs guard awaketh him.

Iosep moues the people to compassion.

For which cause, after silence I beganne thus: Men and brethren (said I) if in your opinion I deserue death, I refuse not to dye; yet before my death will I certifie you of the whole truth: truly, when as I perceiued, that this City was most commodious and fit to entertaine strangers, and that I perceiued that many men, forsaking their owne countries, were delighted with your conuersations, and willing to partake with you in all sorts of fortune: I was resolu'd to build vp your wals with this mony; for which being thus destinated to do you good, your indignation is pro-

Iosephs oration and confession before his aduersaries.

uoked

uoked againſt me. Vpon theſe words, the Taricheans and ſtrangers cried out, giuing me thanks, and willing mee to be of good courage. But the Galileans and Tiberians continued in their hatred, in ſo much as they grew to debate betwixt themſelues, the one threatning me with puniſhment; the other contrariwiſe, willing me to aſſure my ſelfe of ſecurity. But after I had promiſed the Tiberians that I would reedifie their wals, and fortifie other conuenient cities, they giuing credit to my words, repaired euery one of them to their own houſes. And I beyond all expectation eſcaping from ſo great a perill, with certaine of my friends, and ſome twenty ſouldiers, returned to my houſe.

Ioſeph eſcapeth from danger.

But once againe the thieues and authors of ſedition, fearing leſt they ſhould be puniſhed for theſe their offences, begirt my lodging with ſix hundreth armed men, intending to conſume it with fire. Of whoſe arriuall, as ſoon as I had intelligence, imagining with my ſelfe that it would be much diſhonor for me to fly, I reſolued to vſe valor and courage againſt them: for which cauſe commanding the gates to be ſhut, I required them from the top of the houſe, that they would ſend in ſome of them vnto me, to receiue that money, for which they had been drawne into this mutiny: whereby they might haue no further cauſe to be incenſed againſt me. Which done, laying hold of one of the moſt troubleſome fellowes, that with the reſt came in vnto me, I cauſed him to be beaten with many grieuous ſtrokes, & his hand to be cut off, and hung about his neck; and thus handled, we thruſt him out of dores, to returne vnto thoſe who had ſent him. But they being wondrouſly affraid heerewith, and ſuſpecting the like puniſhment if they ſhould ſtay there any longer, for that they ſuſpected that I had diuers armed ſouldiers in my houſe, they ſuddenly all of them fled away: and ſo by this ſtratageme eſcaped I the other dangers. Yet wanted there not ſome, who incited the people once more againſt me; ſaying that the kings ſeruants, who were fled vnto me for refuge, ought not to liue, except they ſubmitted themſelues to their lawes and cuſtomes, from whom they required protection.

Ioſeph in another danger.

Ioſephs ſtratagem.

Another ſedition.

They likewiſe accuſed them, that they were of the Roman faction, and priſoners, and preſently the people began to mutine, being deceiued by their words, who labored to flatter them. Which when I heard of, I once more inform'd the people, that they ought not to perſecute thoſe who reſorted vnto them for reſcous: and I ieſted at their folly who accuſed them of impoiſoning, and that the Romans would not vainly nouriſh ſo many thouſands of ſoldiers, if they pretended to make away their enemies with poiſon. Being by theſe words ſomwhat pacified, they had ſcarcely withdrawne themſelues awhile, but that by certaine out-caſts and wicked men, they were incited againſt the nobility, ſo that with armed weapons they came to the houſes of the Taricheans, intending to murther them. Which when I heard, I was ſore affraid, that if this wickednes ſhould be committed, no man hereafter ſhould dare to truſt his life in my hands. For which cauſe being aſſiſted by diuers others, I haſtily reſorted to their lodging, and ſhut vp the gates: and cutting a trench betwixt it and the lake, I called for a bark, and entring into the ſame with them, I croſſed ouer into the confines of the Hippenians: and furniſhing them with mony to buy them horſes, for that they could not tranſport their owne with them in that flight, I diſmiſſed them, requiring them to digeſt their preſent misfortunes with a conſtant minde. For, I my ſelfe took it very heauily, that I was once more inforced to land thoſe men in the enemies country, who had committed themſelues to my truſt: yet thinking, that if it ſhould ſo fall out, that they ſhould fall into the Romans hands, they ſhould be ſafer, then if by ſuffering them to remaine in my country, I ſhould ſee them oppreſt: I aduentured them thus. Yet were they ſaued, and the king gaue them pardon. And this was the end of this tumult.

Ioſeph priuatly diſmiſſeth the Taricheans.

The Tiberians letters to Agrippa.

Seuen ſtadia make almoſt a German mile.

But they of Tiberias wrote vnto the king, requiring him to ſend a garriſon into their country, and promiſing him to reuolt and follow him. Which done, as ſoone as I came vnto them, they required me that I would build them thoſe wals which I had promiſed them: for they had already heard that Taricheas was enuironed with wals. Whereunto I condeſcended, and gathering ſtuffe from euery place, I ſet the workmen to their taske. But ſome three daies after, departing from Tiberias towards Taricheas, which was thirty ſtades diſtant from thence, by chance a troupe of Roman horſemen were diſcouered, not far from the City, which made the inhabitants beleeue, that they were the Kings army: Whereupon they preſently began to vtter many things in honour of the King, and more in my reproach. And preſently a certaine friend poſted vnto me, and told me what their mind was, and how they intended to reuolt from mee. Which when I vnderſtood, I was wondrouſly troubled: For I had ſent backe my men of war from Taricheas to their houſes, for that the next day was the Sabbath: for I would by no meanes, that the Citizens of Taricheas ſhould be charged or troubled with entertaining ſouldiers. And at all

Sedition and rebellion in Tiberias.

times

A times, when I remained in that citie, I tooke no care of the guard of mine owne perſon, hauing had often proofe of the loyaltie of the inhabitants towards me. Beeing therefore at that time attended onely with ſeuen ſouldiers, & a few of my friends, I knew not what to doe. For I thought it not fit to call back my forces, for that the day was welny paſt; and although they ſhould haue been with me the next morning, yet they might not haue taken armes, becauſe our lawes forbad the ſame, how great ſoeuer the occaſion bee that is offered. And although I ſhould haue drawne forth the Taricheans and the ſtrangers that were retired thither, and if vnder hope of prey I had led them forth, yet ſaw I that they were too feeble to reſiſt their forces. On the other ſide, I alreadie perceiued that if I ſtaied ouer-long, the army which was ſent by the King, being already entred the citie, would haue excluded me: I therefore determined to vſe this ſtratagem: I preſently

Ioſeph in danger for the Tiberians ſakes.

B therefore garded the gates of the Taricheans with my moſt truſtie friends, ſuffering no man to paſſe out of them; and aſſembling the chiefeſt of euery familie, I commanded euery one of them to lanch their boates into the lake, and to follow me with the maſters of their ſhips. After which both I and my friends, and ſeuen other ſouldiers, betooke vs to a barke, and ſailed toward Tiberias. But when the Tiberians perceiued that they had no forces come from the King, & that the whole lake was couered with barkes; amazed and fearing the ruine of their citie, for that

Ioſeph ſaileth to Tiberias.

C they ſuppoſed the ſhips to bee loaden with ſouldiers, they changed their former opinion. For which cauſe laying by their weapons, they themſelues with their wiues and children came forth to meet mee, entertaining me with happy acclamations: for that they thought I had heard no inkling of their intents, beſeeching me that for the ſafetie of their citie, I would enter the ſame. But I drawing neere the citie, commanded the maſters of the barks to caſt anchor farre off the ſhore, leſt the townſmen might perceiue that the ſhippes were emptie: and I my ſelfe drawing neere with mine owne barke vnto them, accuſed them, for that contrarie to their oaths, they had beene ſo fooliſhly induced to reuolt. Afterwards, I promiſed them aſſured pardon, if ſo bee they would deliuer mee tenne of their chiefeſt nobilitie: which when they had incontinently performed, I ſhipt them in a barke, and ſent them priſoners to Taricheas: and by this policy one after another, I at laſt gotte all the Senate of Tiberias, and manie of the chiefeſt Citizens, and carried them thither alſo.

At length, the reſt of the multitude, as ſoone as they perceiued in how great danger they

Clytus the author of the ſedition in Tiberias.

D were, they beſought mee that I would puniſh the chiefe authour of this conſpiracie, who was called *Clytus*, a bold and raſh young man. But I, that held it a wicked act to kill one of the ſame Tribe, and yet was inforced to puniſh him, commanded *Leuias* one of my guard to goe vnto him and cut off his hand: who not daring for that he was alone, to enter into ſo huge a multitude; for feare leſt his cowardiſe ſhould be diſcouered by the Tiberians, I called *Clytus* vnto mee, and ſaid vnto him: Sith vngratefull and perfidious man, as thou art, thou deſerueſt to loſe both thy hands, I charge thee to become thine owne executioner, for feare leſt through thy delay thou procure thy further puniſhment. And whereas with many prayers hee beſought mee to grant

Clytus cuttes off his owne left hand.

E him one of his hands, I hardly condeſcended: at length of his owne accord, for feare leſt hee ſhould loſe both, hee tooke a knife and cutte off his left hand: and thus was this tumult appeaſed.

As ſoone as I returned to Taricheas, and the Tiberians vnderſtood what ſtratagem I had vſed with them, they were all amazed, ſeeing how I had puniſhed their ingratitude and diſobedience without any bloudſhed or murther. After I had ſent for ſuch of the people of Tiberias as were in priſon, amongſt whom was *Iuſtus* and his father *Piſtus*, I inuited them to ſuppe with mee: and during the repaſt, I told them that I was not ignorant, that the Romane armie excelled all men of the world in power & force: notwithſtanding that, I kept my ſelf ſilent in the reſpect of thoſe theeues that were round about, and I counſailed them that they alſo would do the like in expectation of ſome better daies; and yet that in the meane time they would not thinke amiſſe of my gouernment, becauſe the time affoorded them not a more affable and commodious gouernour. I admoniſhed *Iuſtus* alſo, that before I came from Ieruſalem the Galileans had cut off his brothers hands, accuſing him to haue forged falſe letters before the warre; and that after *Philips* departure the Gamalites, beeing at oddes with the Babylonians, ſlew *Chares*, *Philips* own kinſman, and had moderately puniſhed his brother in law *Ieſus*, who had married his ſiſter. After this diſcourſe during ſupper time, I diſmiſt *Iuſtus* and his friends early in the morning, with their freedomes. But before this came to paſſe, it hapned that *Philip* the ſonne of *Iacimus* departed from the fort of Gamala vpon this occaſion that enſueth: As ſoone as he vnderſtood that *Varus* was reuolted from King *Agrippa*, and that *Modius Equus* who was his friend, was ſent to ſucceed him, hee certified

Ioſeph diſmiſſeth the Tiberians.

Philip the ſon of Iacimus.

certified him of his eſtate by his letters: which when he had receiued, he highly reioyced at *Philips* ſafetie, and ſent thoſe letters to the King & Queene, who liued at Berytum. Whereupon the King vnderſtanding the falſe rumour that ranne as touching *Philip*, that he was the chiefetain of the Iewes armie, who vndertooke the war againſt the Romanes, ſent certaine horſemen to *Philip* to bring him to his preſence: before whom hee no ſooner arriued but he embraced him verie kindly, and ſhewed him to the Romane Captaines, telling them that that was *Philip*, of whom it was commonly reported, that he was in rebellion againſt the Romans. He therfore charged him, that taking with him certaine horſmen, he ſhould poſte in all diligence to the fort of * Gamala; & drawing his houſhold ſeruants from thence, hee ſhould lead and reeſtabliſh the Babylonians in Batanæa, and trauaile to his vttermoſt power that the ſubiect ſhould bee continued in obedience and peace. After *Philip* had receiued this commandement from the King, he haſted to performe the ſame.

Agrippas kindnes and humanitie towards Philip.

Hedio, Gadara.

But *Ioſeph* a certaine drougier or treacle-ſeller, gathering together a ſort of bold young men, & inciting the nobilitie of Gamala, perſwaded the people to fall from the King, and that betaking them to their armes, they ſhould recouer their former libertie: and thus drew they other into their opinion, killing thoſe that durſt contradict them. Amongſt theſe died *Chares* and *Ieſus* his kinſman, and the ſiſter of *Iuſtus* the Tiberian, as we haue heretofore declared. After this they requeſted me by letters, that I would ſend them aide, and certaine labourers to begirt their Towne withall. To both which requeſts of theirs, I eaſily condeſcended. About this time the countrey of Gaulonite, as farre as the borough of Solyma, rebelled againſt *Agrippa*. I alſo incloſed Seleucia and Sogon, which were two ſtrong places vnacceſſible, and fortified by nature, with walles. I did the like alſo by Iamnia Ameritha, and Charabe, a borough of higher Galilee, although they were ſituated amongſt the rocks. I fortified in like ſort Taricheas alſo and Tiberias, & Sephoris, citties of Galilee; and the borough of the caue of the Arbalians, Berſobe, Selamen, Iotapa, Capharath, Comoſogana, Nepapha, and the mountaine Itabyrium. In thoſe places hoorded I vp great ſtore of corne, and laid vp ſtore of armour, and munition for defence.

Ioſeph ſtirred vp a ſedition in Gamala.

Manie Iewes reuolt from the Romans.

Meane-while, *Iohn* the ſonne of *Leui*, increaſed his hatred daily more and more towards mee, being greatly aggrieued to ſee my fortunes happy, and the ſucceſſe anſwerable: and whereas he was wholly reſolued to rid me of my life, after he had encompaſſed his countrey Giſchala with walles, he ſendeth *Simon* his brother with one hundreth ſouldiers to Ieruſalem, to *Simon* the ſon of *Gamaliel*, requiring him to labour the matter in ſuch ſort with the City, that my authority might be diſannulled, and that *Iohn* by the common conſent of all, might bee ordained Gouernour ouer the affaires of Galilee. This *Simon* was borne in Ieruſalem, noble in birth, and in ſect a Phariſe (which ſect of all other ſeemed moſt exactly inſtructed in the lawes of our countrey) a man of excellent wiſedome, who by his counſaile was able to repaire the decaying ruines of his countrey, who of long time had made vſe of *Iohns* friendſhip, becauſe hee was at that time mine enemy.

Iohn laboureth to ſupply Ioſeph in his gouernment.

This man, ſollicited by the interceſſion of his friends, perſwaded the high Prieſt *Ananus* and *Ieſus* the ſonne of *Gamala*, and others of his line and faction, to cut off my increaſing honours, and not to permit me to attaine the fulneſſe and content thereof. For it ſhould be very profitable for them alſo, if I were remoued from the gouernment of Galilee. Further, he told *Ananus* and the reſt, that they were not to delay the matter, leſt vpon the diſcouery of their counſaile, I ſhould inuade the Citie with mine army. Thus ſpake *Simon*: yet *Ananus* the high Prieſt replyed, that it might not eaſily be done, for that diuers Prieſts and gouernours of the people bare witneſſe for me, that I behaued my ſelfe honeſtly in that gouernment, and that it was ill done to intend an accuſation againſt a man, who might not bee touched with any miſdemeanour. When *Simon* had heard what *Ananus* had ſaid, he beſought him and the reſt alſo to ſpeak nothing therof; neither to make his motion knowne, certifying them that he had prouidently prouided, that I ſhould be ſpeedily driuen out of Galilee: And calling vnto him his brother *Iohn*, he charged him to ſend preſents to *Ananus*. For (ſaid hee) in ſo doing they would ſo much worke with him, that they would make him change his opinion. In the end, *Simon* obtained that which he long time ſought after. For *Ananus* and his adherents were corrupted with money, and accorded to caſt me from the gouernment of Galilee, without the conſent or allowance of any other of the citizens. For which cauſe they thought good to ſend certaine noble men in birth, and no waies inferiour to one another in learning, whereof two of them were of the common ſort, and Phariſes; the one called *Ionathas*, the other *Ananias*; the third was *Iozarus* of the tribe of *Leui*, who was alſo a Phariſe, and of the race of the Prieſts. But *Simon* was of the order of the Prieſts, and the yongeſt of

Simons counſell againſt Ioſeph.

Simons ſecond counſell againſt Ioſeph.

of them all. Theſe did they command, that calling together a Gouncell of the Galileans, they ſhould demand why they loued me ſo well; commanding them that if they anſwered that I was a Galilean, they ſhould likewiſe ſay that Ieruſalem was their countrey. But if they allowed in me the knowledge of the law, they were likewiſe willed to ſay, that they knew their countrey cuſtomes, or if in regard of the name of Prieſthood, they ſhould ſay they loued me, they ſhould likewiſe auerre that two of them were Prieſts. Being thus inſtructed, and receiuing forty thouſand ſiluer drachmes of the publike treaſure, for their fellow and conſort *Ionathas*, they ſet forwards. Embaſſadors with ſouldiers ſent to Ioſeph.

And for that at the very ſame time a certaine man called *Ieſus* of Galilee, was come to Ieruſalem with a band of ſixe hundreth ſouldiers, they ſent for him and hired him, & gaue him three moneths pay, commanding him to follow *Ionathas* and his companions; and to doe that which they ſhould command them: and to theſe annexed they three hundreth Citizens, whom they hired with reward. With this preparation the Legates ſet forward, being accompanied with *Simon Iohns* brother, who had one hundreth ſouldiers with him, who had commiſſion from thoſe that ſent them, that if I willingly gaue ouer armes, they ſhould ſend me aliue to Ieruſalem: and if I reſiſted, by their authority they might lawfully kill me. They had letters alſo directed to *Iohn*, which incited him to make warre againſt me. Moreouer, they charged the Sephorites, Gabarites, and Tiberians, to maintaine *Iohn* againſt me. After that I had intelligence hereof, by my fathers letters, who had intelligence thereof by *Ieſus* the ſonne of Gamala, one of thoſe who were preſent at the deliberation, and who intirely and familiarly loued me; I was much grieued, ſeeing with how much ingratitude my countrimen requited me, who of malice had decreed vpon my death: and for that my father inuited me by moſt affectionate letters to draw my ſelfe homeward, telling me how much he deſired to ſee me, who was his ſonne, before he left this life; I imparted theſe things to my friends, and certified them, that within three daies I would forſake their countrey, and retire my ſelfe into mine owne. Whereupon they were altogether ſurprized with great ſadneſſe, and beſought me with weeping teares, that I would not forſake them, for that they ſhould be vtterly ouerthrown, if ſo be they were left deſtitute of my conduct. But wheras by no meanes they might perſwade me, and the care of mine owne ſecurity preuailed very much with me; the Galileans fearing leſt I ſhould leaue them, and by that meanes the theeues ſhould be encouraged to ſet vpon them, they ſent meſſengers thorow all Galilee, to ſignifie vnto them the reſolution of my departure. Whereupon diuers of them being made priuy to theſe newes, reſorted vnto me from all parts, bringing with them their wiues and children; not ſo much, as I ſuppoſe, for the ſorrow they conceiued at my departure, as the feare that they had of their owne eſtates: For they perſwaded themſelues, that if I remained among them, there could no miſchiefe befall them. They aſſembled therefore in a great Plaine, called Aſochim, where I remained. Ioſephs father ſignifieth all theſe newes vnto him. Ioſeph reſolueth to returne home.

That night in my ſleepe I had a wonderfull dreame. For lying in my bed, and being wholly diſconſolate and troubled with the newes I had receiued, me thought that a certaine man from aboue ſpake vnto me after this manner: Pacifie thou the paſſions of thy ſpirit, and be thou free from all feare. For that which diſcomforteth thee, ſhall be that which ſhall make thee great, and happy beyond thine expectation. For not onely theſe things ſhall turne to a fortunate end or iſſue, but alſo many other. Be not thou therefore diſmaied, but remember thy ſelfe that thou art reſerued to make warre againſt the Romans. After I had this dreame, I awaked; and ſo prepared as I was, went I downe into the Plaine: and as ſoone as I came thither, all the people of Galilee, with their wiues and children, humbling themſelues vpon the earth, and weeping, beſought mee that I would not leaue them for a prey to their enemies: neither that I would abandon their countrey to ſerue for a prey and mockery to their aduerſaries. But ſeeing that I made ſmall reckoning of their praiers, they conſtrained me by oath to remaine amongſt them, and vttered diuers iniurious outrages againſt the people of Ieruſalem, that enuied them the peace and happineſſe which they enioyed. Ioſephs admirable dreame. A number of Galileans beſought Ioſeph that he would not forſake them.

After I had heard theſe words, and ſeene the deſolation of the people, my heart was broken with compaſſion, and I reſolued my ſelfe that in reſpect of ſo great a multitude, my life could not be better hazzarded then for their contentment: I therfore gaue my conſent to remaine with them. I gaue order that fiue thouſand of their beſt ſouldiers, with their prouiſion, ſhould attend me: as for the reſt, I ſent them backe euery one to his owne houſe. When theſe fiue thouſand preſented themſelues, I annexed them to the other three thouſand that I had with me, and drew out with them foureſcore horſemen, and marched on towards Chabalon a borough vpon the Ioſeph conſenteth to ſtay in Galilee.

marches of Ptolemais, where I vndertooke to prepare them for the battell, expecting some assault from *Placidus*, who was come with two companies of footmen and one of horsemen, sent by *Cestius Gallus* to burne the countrey townes of Galilee, and other little boroughs that bordered on Ptolemais. And for that he was entrenched before the City of Ptolemais, I encamped mine army likewise not farre from the borough Chabalon, some sixty stades off: and diuers times drew I out my forces to bid him battell, but neuer would he offer any thing but skirmishes. For *Placidus*, perceiuing my forwardnesse to fight, was abashed thereat, and retired himselfe: yet departed he not from Ptolemais.

Placidus against Ioseph.

About that time came *Ionathan* with the other Embassadors, who (as we haue heretofore declared) were sent by *Simon*, and the high Priest *Ananus*, who laboured to entrap me by policy, for that they durst not assaile me in open field. They therefore wrote a letter vnto me to this effect: *Ionathan* and the Embassadours with him, who are sent by those of Ierusalem to *Ioseph*, Greeting. We are certified by the chiefest men of Ierusalem, that *Iohn* of Gischala hath oftentimes sought to betray you: for which cause we are sent to represse his malice, and to exhort him hereafter to submit himselfe vnto you: and being desirous to conferre with you, as touching that which cõcerneth the publike profit, we pray you to resort vnto vs as soon as you can, with some few attendants, because the borough is not able to entertain many. To this effect wrote they vnto me, hoping that one of these two effects would fall out: either that I cõming disarmed, should be easily surprized by them; or that bringing with me a great company, I should be condemned for an enemy to my countrey. The messenger that brought me this letter was a valiant young man, mounted on horseback, who had in times past borne armes for the King. The time wherein he came vnto me, was two houres within night, & euen then was I banquetting with my friends, and the chiefest Gouernours of Galilee. After that one of my houshold seruants had certified me, that a certain Iew on horseback came to speak with me, I commanded he should be brought in; who enbracing me but coldly, and deliuering me the letter, said vnto me: They that are come from Ierusalem, send you this letter; giue them a speedy answer: For I am commanded to make a speedy return. They that sate at the table with me, were amazed at the souldiers boldnesse. But for my selfe, I willed him to sit downe, and to make merry with me: but he refusing the same, I kept the letter in my hand in such manner, as I had receiued the same, and began to talke with my friends of other affaires: and not long after rising from supper, and dismissing the rest to their rest, I only retained with me some of my most inward friends, and commanding my page to fill me wine, I opened the letters before any many perceiued the same: and conceiting incontinently what they meant, I sealed them anew, and as if I had knowne nothing of the contents, hauing the letter in my hands, I gaue order that the souldier should receiue 20. drachmes for to beare the charges of his voyage. He hauing receiued the same, and giuing me thankes, I perceiued well that he was addicted to gaine, and might easily be wrought with money. Wherupon I said vnto him, If thou wilt drinke with mee, thou shalt haue a drachme for euery glasse thou drinkest. To this the souldier listned willingly, and hauing drunke good store of wine, to get him the greater store of money, he grew drunken; so that he was vnable any longer to conceale his secrets: but of his owne accord he declared the treason that was prepared, and how the sentence of death was giuen by them against me. Which when I vnderstood, I answered them to this effect: *Ioseph* to *Ionathan*, and those that accompany him, Health: I am very glad to heare that you are arriued in Galilee in good health, especially for that I may now redeliuer into your hands the gouernment of the affaires thereof, to the end (according as I haue long time desired) I might returne into my country. I will not onely therefore visit you at Xallon: but in any further place also, notwithstanding you had neuer sent for me. Notwithstanding pardon me, though I come not at this present: for I am now at Chabalon to confront *Placidus*, who pretendeth to inuade Galilee. Resort you therefore vnto mee, who shall reade my letters. Farewell.

Ionathans letters to Ioseph.

A horseman brought the letters.

Iosephs policy.

Iosephs answer to Ionathan.

After I had written this answer, and deliuered it to the souldier to carry it vnto them, I sent by the same way thirty of my most approoued friends of Galilee, commanding them to salute them that were come, without any further speech. I assigned also to each of these one of my most resolute and best souldiers to take heed lest any of those I sent should conferre with *Ionathans* men. They therefore set forward on their way: and *Ionathan* and the other seeing their first purpose failed them, they sent me another letter after this tenour which ensueth: *Ionathan* and his company to *Ioseph*, Health: We command you that within three daies, you make your appearance before vs, without any of your souldiers, in the borough of Gadara, to the end you may

Ionathans message and letter to Ioseph.

A may answer to that which *Iohn* hath obiected against you. As soon as they had written this, and saluted those whom I had sent, they went to Iapha, which is the greatest town of Galilee, defenced with strong wals, and peopled with many inhabitants. Against these the people of that City, their wiues and children came forth, exclaiming against them with huge cries, charging them to returne back, & not to depriue them of the good Gouernour they had. *Ionathan* and his companions were prouoked with these cries; yet durst they not make any open shew of their displeasure, but without returning them any answer they resorted to other Cities, where they met with no lesse effectuall exclaimes from the multitude, protesting with a loud voice, that no man should be able to disswade them from continuing *Ioseph* in authority in their gouernment. Wherupon B *Ionathan* with his followers marched forth without any further speech, and came to Sephoris, the greatest citie of Galilee. But the inhabitants thereof being addicted to the Romans, came forth to them: but for my part they neither praised nor blamed me. Departing from Sephoris, they came to Asochim, where the citizens sung the same song, that the Iapheans did. Whereupon they being vnable to containe their displeasures, commanded their souldiers to beat them with their truncheons, who exclaimed against them, and claimed me for their Gouernour. And when they drew neere to Gabara, *Iohn* came out to meet them, accompanied with three thousand souldiers: and I hauing intelligence by their letters, that they were resolued to make warre against me, departed from Chabalon, accompanied with three thousand souldiers; and hauing committed the campe to the charge of my trustiest friend, I went to Iotapata, because I would C be within foure stades of them, and sent them this letter: If your will be that I must needs come vnto you, there are in Galilee two hundreth and foure cities and boroughs, I will meet you in any one of them, which you please, except Gabara or Gischala: for that the one is the place of *Iohns* natiuity, and the other is his associates and friends.

The Embassadors of Ierusalem coldly entertained in Galilee.

Ioseph writeth againe to them.

As soone as *Ionathan* had receiued this answer, he replied not any more, but sought the means to entrap me. *Iohn* was of the opinion to write vnto all the cities and boroughs of Galilee, supposing that without question there were one or two in them that were mine enemies, whom they might incense against me, as against their common enemy. Hee gaue order also, that this his resolution should be sent to Ierusalem, to the end that those of the city vnderstanding that I was adiudged an enemy by the Galileans, might in like sort confirme that their decree by their D opinion. For he said, that by this meanes it would come to passe, that the Galileans, who were well affected towards me, should forsake me for feare they had of them. This aduice of *Iohns* maruailously pleased them all, and was presently brought vnto me about the third houre of the night, by one *Sacchæus*, who flying from them, came and brought me the newes, and particularly related to me their intent. For which cause perceiuing that the time required no longer delay, and supposing that *Iacob* was one of my most assured and trustiest seruants, I commanded him to take two hundreth men with him, and to belay the waies betweene Gabara and Galilee, and to send me those whom he should surprize, that came that way; and especially those that carried letters. I sent *Ieremy* also, who was one of my friends, to the marches of Galilee, with fiue hundreth men at armes, to keep the passages that way towards Ierusalem, commanding him E to lay hands on all those that carried letters, and to commit the men to prison, and to send mee their packets.

The consultation of the Embassadors against Ioseph.

Ioseph besetteth the waies of Galiloe.

After I had in this sort instructed those whom I sent, I willed and commanded the Galileans the next day following, to take their armes, and to furnish themselues with victuals for three daies, and to attend me at the borough of Gabaroth. Those souldiers that I had, I distributed in foure companies, and kept those with me in whom I reposed most confidence for the guard of my person: and hauing appointed captaines ouer them, and commanded them to be carefull, I charged them to suffer no vnknowne souldier to enter in among them. The next day I came to Gabaroth, the fifth houre of the day, where I found all the fields about the Citie full of men of warre, of those of Galilee, who resorted thither to assist mee, according as I had commanded F them. Thither also came there a multitude of other men from other boroughs. As soone as I came to their presence, and was ready to speake vnto them, all of them bgan to cry out, calling mee their benefactour, and maintainer of their countrey. After I had solemnely giuen them thanks for this fauour they had shewed me, I charged them neither to offer war, or attempt any spoile in the champaine countrey, but to encamp amidst the fields, contenting themselues with that prouision they had brought with them. For I told them all in generall, that I would extinguish those troubles without effusion of blood. It hapned the same day that *Ionathans* messenger and letters fell into their hands, who had the guard of the passages by my appointment, and ac-

Ioseph with his troupes resorteth to Gabaroth.

cording to my direction the men were kept in ſecurity, as I gaue order: and finding the letters that were brought me, to be full of nothing but ſlanders and lies written by the Embaſſadors; I ſaid not a word to any man, but thought it beſt policy to ſet vpon them. But *Ionathans* ſouldiers hauing intelligence of my comming, retired both themſelues and their goods, and with them *Iohn* alſo into *Ieſus* houſe, which was a great tower, nothing different from a cittadell, in which they hid a number of men of warre, and locked vp all the other gates ſaue one; expecting that I ſhould come that way, to ſalute them. In a word, they had commanded their ſoldiers that when I ſhould enter, they ſhould ſuffer no man elſe to enter with me, but exclude all the reſt. For they made no other account, but that by this means they might eaſily lay hold on me. But they were deceiued of their hopes: for hauing notice beforehand of their intents, as ſoone as I came thither, entring into a lodging that was right ouer againſt theirs, I fained that I went to take my reſt. Whereupon *Ionathans* ſouldiers ſuppoſing that I was aſleepe, and that in troth I was ſafe; they came forth in all haſte into the Plaine, labouring to diſſwade my ſouldiers from their loue and alleageance, and detracting my Gouernment. But all things fell out contrary to that they thought: for as ſoon as they were diſcouered, the Galileans gaue a great ſhout, teſtifying the good will they bare vnto me, who was their Gouernour, and they blamed the Embaſſadours, for that without any cauſe of iniury, they were come to diſturbe the publike peace, willing them to be gone, for that they intended to admit no other Gouernour. When theſe things were ſignified vnto me, I made no doubt to aduenture my ſelfe among them: for which cauſe I ſpeedily went out to heare what theſe Embaſſadors could alleadge againſt me. Vpon my arriuall the whole troupe ſhouted for ioy, and applauded me with a loud voice, giuing me thanks for my happy and peaceable gouernment.

Iohn and the Embaſſadors forces retire to Ieſus houſe.

Ioſeph preſenteth himſelfe among his enemies.

Ionathan and his adherents hearing this, were affraid, leſt if the Galileans ſhould ſet vpon them, they ſhould grow in danger of their liues, and began to bethinke themſelues how they might eſcape. But perceiuing that they might not retire, for that I required them inſtantly to ſtay, they were altogether diſmaied, and paſt their ſenſes. I therefore commanded the people to ſurceaſe their ſhouting, and planted the ſouldiers of greateſt truſt in euery paſſage, to preuent leſt *Iohn* ſhould charge them vnawares. After this, I exhorted the people to betake them to their weapons, to the end that if the enemy ſhould ſuddenly aſſaile them, they might not bee driuen to diſorder. This done, I firſt of all began to rippe vp to *Ionathans* followers and fellowes, what letters they had written, and how they had certified him, that they were ſent by the communalty and inhabitants of Ieruſalem, to make an end of thoſe debates that were betweene me and *Iohn*; and how they had incited me to come vnto them: Afterwards in the ſequell of my diſcourſe I produced their letters in open view, to the end they might not deny any thing, ſeeing themſelues conuicted by their owne hand-writing, and ſpake thus vnto them:

Ioſeph obiecteth trechery againſt the Embaſſadors.

In the mouth of two or three witneſſes, conſiſteth truth.

If being accuſed by *Iohn*, I ſhould produce two or three witneſſes that were men of reputation, to teſtifie for my life, it were a matter moſt euident that thou ſhouldeſt be compelled, O *Ionathan* and you my Lords Embaſſadors (after you had foreinquired of their liues) to acknowledge mine innocency, and to acquit mee of that whereof I am accuſed. But to the intent you may know that I haue faithfully gouerned the eſtate of Galilee, I ſuppoſe that three witneſſes are too little for an vpright man, for which cauſe I produce all theſe. Enquire of them how I haue liued, and whether I haue gouerned this countrey in all honeſty and iuſtice. I adiure you all therefore, who are my fellowes and friends of Galilee, that you hide nothing of the truth, but that before theſe men, as before your Iudges you profeſſe, if I haue done any thing that is contrary to right. Whileſt I ſpake after this manner, all of them with one accord called me their benefactor and defender, and gaue teſtimony of my forepaſſed gouernment, and exhorted me to continue the ſame hereafter. And all of them affirmed by a publike oath, that I had carefully preuented leſt any woman ſhould be violated, or any man by my meanes ſhould be drawne into any iniury, or inconuenience. This done, I publikely read the two letters in the preſence of all the Galileans, which were taken from *Ionathans* meſſengers by thoſe, who were appointed by me to beſet the waies, and were by them ſent to me, which were full of iniuries and falſhoods, alledging that I rather behaued my ſelfe like a tyrant then a gouernour towards them: and beſides that, there were diuers other things written & vrged very impudently. Theſe letters (ſaid I) were voluntarily offered me by thoſe that carried the ſame. For I was vnwilling that mine aduerſaries ſhould know that I had beſet the waies, fearing leſt they ſhould forbear to write hereafter.

The Galileans teſtimony of Ioſephs good gouernment.

Ioſeph openly readeth Ionathans Epiſtles

The people hauing heard this, were diſpleaſed & animated againſt *Ionathan* and his followers, and

A and flocked on to murther them; and they had surely done it, had I not pacified the displeasure of the Galileans. As for the Embassadors that accompanied *Ionathan*, I told all of them that I pardoned whatsoeuer was past, if so be they would repent themselues of that which was done, and if vpon their returne into their countrey, they would truely report vnto those who had sent them, how all things had past vnder my gouernment. This said; I dismissed them, notwithstanding that I knew they would perform nothing of that which they had promised. But the whole multitude prosecuted their displeasure against them, requiring me to giue them leaue to punish those with all rigour, who had committed this slanderous act. But I laboured all that I might to perswade them, to lay no hands vpon them, knowing full well that whatsoeuer mutiny it bee, it cannot but breed preiudice to the common-weale. This notwithstanding, the multitude would by no means be satisfied, but all of them ran in heaps with great fury to the lodging, where *Ionathan* & the Embassadors kept. Whereupon seeing that it was impossible to restraine their fury, I incontinently betooke me to my horse, and commanded the people to follow me to Sogan a borough of the Arabians, distant from thence some twenty stades. By this stratagem I brought to passe, that the beginning of the ciuill warre might not be imputed to me.

The wrath & fury of the people against Ionathan and his fellowe Embassadors.

Ioseph pacifies the sedition without blood-shed.

After I came neer to Sogan, I assembled the people, and told them that they should not violently submit themselues to their froward displeasures, nor entertain their vnquenchable desire of reuenge: & I commanded them to pick out an hundreth of the chiefest & oldest men amongst them, who should make their repaire to the citie of Ierusalem; and there complain vnto the people against those that had kindled sedition in their country. And I said vnto them, If the people be fauourable & listen to your discourse, you shall perswade them to write vnto me, that according to their command I remain in Galilee; & that *Ionathan* & his partners depart from hence. After I had giuen them this charge, and that they were furnished with all things necessary for their iourney, in all expedition on the third day after the generall assemblie, I dispatched them and sent fiue hundred armed men with them. I wrote also to my friends in Samaria, so to further them that they might finish their iourney in al security. For Samaria was already in subiection to the Romans: and it behoued my men of necessity, who would make a short iourney, to passe that way. For from Galilee by this means a man may in three daies arriue at Ierusalem. Furthermore, I guarded the Embassadors my selfe as farre as the frontiers of Galilee, laying forces and guards vpon the waies, to the end that no man might easily discouer or know of their departure. Which done, I soiourned for a certaine time at Iapha.

Ioseph sends one hundreth Embassadors to Ierusalem.

But *Ionathan* and his companions hauing failed of their purpose intended against me, dismissed *Iohn* to Gischala: as for themselues they went to Tiberias, hoping to bring the same vnder their obeysance; for that *Iesus*, who was President at that time, had written vnto them, and promised them to perswade the people to entertain them, & take their part if they came: and vnder this hope they also retired themselues thither. *Sylas*, who (as I declared) was left by me as mine Agent in Tiberias, certified me of all this by his letters, requiring me to vse all diligence: and I condescending thereunto, was brought in danger of my life vpon this occasion that ensueth: *Ionathan* and his followers being come to Tiberias, perswaded diuers who were mine enemies, to reuolt from mee; but after they were certified that I was there in person, they were affraid, and came vnto me, and saluting me, told me that they reputed me happy, for that I had so wisely behaued my selfe in Galilee: and they reioyced also in appearance, for that I was returned with honor, telling me that the honor that was done vnto me, was their ornament, for that they were my instructors and fellow citizens, & that the friendship which I bare them, was more iust then that of *Iohns*: they therfore required me to repaire vnto my house, promising very shortly to deliuer *Iohn* into my hands: & these speeches of theirs they seconded with dreadfull oaths, which made me think that I had no cause to misbelieue them. Furthermore, they required me to take vp my lodging in another place, for that on the morrow was the Sabbath day, & it were an incõuenient that the city of Tiberias should be drawne into trouble on that day. I that suspected nothing, repaired to Taricheas, leauing notwithstanding certain of my friends behind me in Tiberias, who might curiously obserue what the common talke was of me: & all along the way betwixt Taricheas & Tiberias I laid certain men in wait, who frõ one to another might certifie me of that which was discouered by them who remained in the citie. The next day therfore they al assembled in the Proseucha or Oratory, which was an ample house wherein they praied, and was able to contain a great multitude. When *Ionathan* was entred into this place, he durst not manifestly speake vnto them of a reuolt, but only told them that their citie had need of a better Gouernor. But the President *Iesus* without dissembling, spake plainly after this manner vnto them:

The Embassadors hope to get Tiberias into their hands and possession.

Ioseph falleth in danger.

Ionathan and his confederates policy.

The people assemble in the Proseucha.

It

„ It were better for you(my friends)that you were ſubiect to foure men of nobility & great wiſ-
„ dome,then to one: and thereupon he ſhewed them thoſe who accompanied *Ionathan*.Hereupon *Iuſtus* aroſe and praiſed that which *Ieſus* had propoſed,and drew ſome of the people to his opinion. But the greater part tooke no pleaſure therin:and there had preſently followed a mutiny, had not the aſſembly bin diſmiſſed, by reaſon it was midday, which is the ordinary houre amongſt them to take their repaſt in. Thus did *Ionathans* conſorts remit the determination of the matter vntill the next day, retiring themſelues without any good done. Which being preſently reported vnto me,I reſolued with my ſelfe the next morning to repaire to the citie of Tiberias:and on the morrow I arriued there in due time,for I found the people already aſſembled in the place of prayer, and they that were drawne to the conuocation, knew not the cauſe why they were aſſembled. *Ionathans* partners ſeeing me there in perſon contrary to their expectation, were very ſore troubled, and bethought themſelues of this ſubtilty. They told the multitude that a certain friend of theirs had informed them, that he had diſcouered certain Roman horſemen vpon the frontiers of that territory, ſome thirty ſtades from the citie, in a place called Homonœa: and that the newes being brought to them, thoſe of *Iohns* faction had preſently ſignified the ſame vnto them, to the intent they ſhould not endure their countrey to be ſackt by the enemy.They vſed this ſpeech,ſuppoſing that vnder pretext of reſcuing the country, they might driue me abroad, and ſtrengthen the city for themſelues.

The Iewes ſixt houre is to vs eleuen or twelue a clock at noone.

Ionathans & his aſſociates ſubtilty.

Now although I knew very well what their intent was, yet gaue I eare vnto them, leſt I ſhould driue the Tiberians into an opinion,that I was negligent and careleſſe of their ſecurity: I therfore rode out,& came to the place of which they had ſpoken:where finding ſcarce a foorſtep or appearance of an enemy, I returned ſpeedily without delay to Tiberias.When I came there,I found the whole councell aſſembled with a multitude of people, and *Iohns* partakers vrging againſt me a very vehement accuſation, that I made no account to relieue them in their warres, but that I ſtudied nothing but mine own pleaſure. And whileſt they ſpake theſe words, they produced foure letters, as being written vnto them by thoſe who were vpon the marches of Galilee, requiring them to come & ſuccor them, for that the Roman horſemen and footmen would within three daies forrage and ſpoyle their country: for which cauſe they made haſte, and would not neglect their ſuit who beſought them. The Tiberians hearing theſe allegations, and ſuppoſing them to be true,cryed out ſaying,that it behoued them not in that manner to dallie time, but to go and ſuccor their countrimen inuironed with great dangers. Whereunto I anſwered, that I was ready to obey them,and promiſed to march forth againſt the enemy with all expedition. Now knew I well the pretence of *Iohns* partakers;and was of the opinion, that ſince thoſe letters ſaid that the Romans gathered head in foure diuers places,it was requiſite to diuide our power into fiue companies,appointing euery one of them a chieftain ouer them. For it is an honour for good men not only to giue counſell,but alſo when need requireth,to be the firſt and formoſt in action: For I told them that it lay not in my power to lead any more then one company. This my aduice was pleaſing vnto all the people,who preſently conſtrained theſe men to march out vnto the warre:whereby it came to paſſe,that they were greatly confuſed to ſee that they might not finiſh that which they had imagined, becauſe I croſſed all their enterprizes. Hereupon one amongſt them called *Ananias*, a wicked & peruerſe man,counſelled the people to celebrate a ſolemne faſt the next day in honor of God,and gaue direction at the ſame houre that all of them ſhould gather together in that place in armes,to proteſt before God that if they obtained not ſuccors at his hands, they held all ſort of reſiſt vnprofitable. He ſpake this not for any piety that was in him,but to the end to ſurprize both me and my followers vnarmed.To this aduice of his was I enforced to condeſcend, to the end it might appeare that I contemned not that which appertained to the ſeruice of God. As ſoone therefore as we were retyred euery one of vs to our ſeuerall lodgings,*Ionathan* and his partakers wrote to *Iohn*,to reſort vnto them early in the morning with his men of war,& all the power he could make: for that they might eaſily lay hands on me, and accompliſh that which they had ſo long time longed after. He receiuing this letter, willingly obeyed. The next day I commanded two of my ſtrongeſt and faithfulleſt ſouldiers to hide their ſhort ſwords vnder their gownes, and to attend mee, to the end that if in any ſort we were aſſailed by the enemy,we might defend our ſelues.I put on my curets alſo,and girt my ſword by my ſide in ſuch ſort, as no man might perceiue the ſame, and came with them to the place of prayer.

Falſe accuſations & Epiſtles produced by the Embaſſadors againſt Ioſeph.

Ioſeph diſcouereth the ſubtilty of the Embaſſadors.

Ananias one of the Embaſſadors, a wicked man.

Ionathas writeth to Iohn to come vnto him.

But *Ieſus*,as ſoone as I was entred with my friends, hauing the guard of the gate, would not permit the reſt of my followers to enter with me: & at ſuch time as we were ready to begin our prayers,

A prayers, according to the custome of our countrey, *Iesus* arising, demanded of me what was become of the houshold stuffe that was taken out of the Kings Palace when it was burned, & where the bullion of siluer was, and with whom I had left the same: of all which he therefore made mention, that he might delay the time till *Iohns* approach. I answered, that *Capella* had all, and those ten of the chiefest nobility of Tiberias, and willed him to aske of them whether it were true that I spake: who confessed that they had it. What (said hee) are become of those twenty pieces of gold, that you receiued by the sale of a certain waight of massiue siluer, where are they? I answered him, that I had deliuered the same to the Embassadors, to defray their charges in their voyage towards Ierusalem. Hereupon *Ionathans* partakers said, that I had done amisse, in employing the publike treasure to the vse of priuate Embassadors. The people being displeased herewith (for I very easily perceiued the wicked disposition of these men) & seeing that a sedition was likely to arise, I thought it best to whet & animate the people the more against them: I said, that if I had done amisse in rewarding the Embassadors on the common stock, they should need to take no further displeasure for that: for said I, I will repay those twenty pieces of gold out of mine own purse. Hereupon the people were incensed the more against them, in that they manifestly discouered what hatred they wrongfully bare vnto me. Whereupon *Iesus* fearing lest some change might arise, commanded the people to depart, and required the councell to stay, for that it was vnpossible to examine matters discreetly, where so much trouble and turmoile was. The people cried out, that they would not leaue me alone among them. Wherupon there came one vnto *Iesus*, who secretly informed him that *Iohn* with his armed men was at hand, who for that cause being vnable to containe and conceale his ioy, God so prouiding for the conseruation of my life (for had their purpose taken effect, *Iohn* and his followers had vtterly ouerthrowne me.) Forbeare (said he) ye Tiberians, to enquire of the twenty pieces of gold: for *Iosephi* meriteth not punishment for this matter, but because hee affecteth the tyranny, and that by his words he hath deceiued the people of Galilee, and gotten the soueraignty to himselfe. Whilest he spake these words, they sought suddenly to lay hands on me, intending to murther mee. But those two, whom I had with me, perceiuing their intent, drew their swords, threatning those who should dare attempt to offer me violence. The people likewise gathered stones to cast at *Ionathans* partakers, and puld me away violently from mine enemies: and for that if I should D haue gone but a little further, I had met with *Iohn* and his army, through the feare I had, I turned another way. For crossing down a priuy way that led me to the lake, I betooke mee to a boate and went by water to Tarichea, auoiding this danger beyond all hope.

Iesus talks with Iosephi.

Iosephs debate with Iesus for twenty pieces of gold.

The peoples loue to Iosephi

Iosephi almost suddenly surprized by the enemy, is deliuered from perill.

Whereupon I incontinently sent for the chiefest men of Galilee, and told them how contrarie to all law and right I had almost been murthered by *Ionathan* and the Tiberians. For which cause the Galileans were grieuously displeased against them, and willed mee without delay to make war against them; or if I list not my selfe, to suffer them with all expedition to cut off both *Iohn* and *Ionathan*, with all their followers. Yet did I restraine them the best I could, and pacified their displeasure, and prayed them to expect vntill such time as wee knew what newes our Embassadors would bring that were goone to Ierusalem. For I told them wee ought to execute E no kinde of thing without their approbation and consent: and by these meanes I perswaded them. But *Iohn* seeing at that time that his policy had but very slender successe, returned backe againe to Gischala.

Iosephi certifieth the Galileans, how traiterously Ionathan and the Tiberians had dealt with him.

Some few daies after, our Embassadors, who were returned from Ierusalem, certified vs, that the people of Ierusalem were sore displeased with *Ananias* the high Priest, and *Simon* the sonne of *Gamaliel*, for that without their common consent they had sent Embassadors into Galilee, & sought to displace mee of the gouernment there, and their displeasure was so kindled, that they were ready to set their houses on fire. They brought me also letters, by which the Gouernor of Ierusalem vpon the instant request that the people had made vnto them, cõfirmed me in the Gouernmnt of Galilee, commanding *Ionathan* and his associates to returne backe againe with all F expedition. After I had receiued these letters, I repaired to the borough of Arbela, where I assembled the Galileans: before whom I commanded the Embassadours to report how much the people of Ierusalem were displeased and discontented, in regard of those things which *Ionathan* had iniured me in; and how they confirmed me in the gouernment of this countrey, and had called and commanded both *Ionathan* and his confederates backe againe to Ierusalem, to whom I speedily sent that letter that was directed to them, commanding the messenger to obserue very carefully both their actions & acceptance. After they had receiued the letters, they were greatly troubled, & sent for *Iohn* and those of the councell of Tiberias, with the Gouernor of Gabara,

The hundred Embassadors returne from Ierusalem.

An assembly in Arbela.

The councell held against Iosephi by Ionathan & his companions.

and consulted with them what they were best to doe. The Tiberians opinion was, that they should continue and maintain their estates, and that they should not forsake the Citie which had already subscribed to their authority, especially for that I would inuade them: for that I had so threatned them, they were not ashamed to faine and imagine. This aduice not onely pleased *Iohn*, but hee furthermore gaue this counsell, that some two Embassadours should be sent from them to the people of Ierusalem, to accuse mee for that I had vniustly gouerned the commonweale of Galilee, telling them that they might very easily incense the people against mee, both in regard of their authoritie, as also for that the common people are by nature variable and inconstant. This counsaile that *Iohn* gaue was allowed by them all: whereupon it was thought fit that *Ionathan* and *Ananias* should in person repaire to Ierusalem, and that the other two should remaine at Tiberias, and for their conuoy they gaue them a hundreth armed souldiers.

The Tiberians had before this prouided for the security of their wals, and gaue commande-
The Tiberians intend war against Ioseph.
ment to all the citizens to take armes, & afterwards sent for some supplies to *Iohn* to strengthen their garrison, if they should any waies be prouoked by me. For *Iohn* kept at Gischala. Meane-
Ionathan with his followers taken & kept captiue.
while *Ionathan* trauayling onwards of his iourney, came to Dabaritta, a Citie situated vpon the vttermost borders of Galilee in a great Plaine: and there met hee about midnight with some of my troupes that kept the watch, who commanded them to lay by their armes, and kept them safely bound, as I had commanded them. Hereof *Leui*, who had the charge of this quarter, certified me by his letters: wherefore dissembling the matter for some two daies, I sent letters to the Tiberians, by which I counselled them, that laying their armes aside, they should dismisse euery one to his owne dwelling place. But they returned me an iniurious answer: for they supposed that *Ionathan* and his traine were already arriued in Ierusalem. But I setting light by their iniuries, resolued to circumuent them by this cunning stratagem: For I thought it a dangerous matter to kindle warre against the citizens. Being therefore very willing to draw them out of their wals, I chose out ten thousand of my best souldiers, whom I distributed into three bands, and lodged one company of them secretly at Dora, to lie there in ambush: I encamped also another thousand in a certaine borough situate in a mountainous place, some foure stades distant from Tiberias; cõmanding them that as soon as I gaue them a watchword or signe, they should break forth: as for my selfe, I withdrew my selfe and kept in the open field, and sate me downe
The Tiberians scoffe very bitterly against Ioseph.
on the grasse. Which when the Tiberians perceiued, they made continuall excursions towards me, vsing many bitter and iniurious taunts against me: and so great folly possessed them, that they spred a magnificent couch in the open Plaine; and marching round about the same, they scornefully seemed to lament me, as if I had lien therein, whilest in the meane time I took pleasure to laugh and looke vpon their follies.

But being very desirous to surprize *Simon* by some policie, and *Ioazar* also with him, I sent vnto them, requiring them that they would march forth a little without their wals, attended by their friends and guard for their security sake; for that I was determined to conferre with them vpon a peace, & to confirme the one halfe of the gouernment vnto them. Hereupon *Simon* deceiued by his folly, and ouercome and blinded with greedy desire, came forth with all expedi-
Ioseph surprized Simon by subtilty, and leadeth him away prisoner.
tion: but *Ioazar* suspecting some stratagem, would not aduanture without the wals. As sonne as I saw *Simon* attended by his friends and guard, I went out to meet him, and embraced him kindly, giuing him thanks for that he was come downe; anon after walking along with him, as if I intended to communicate somewhat with him in secret, I withdrew him from his friends, and laying hands on him, I deliuered him to my friends to lead him into the borough, and gaue a signe vnto my souldiers that they should come down, and with them I assaulted the Citie of Tiberias. There was a sharpe skirmish on both sides, and the Tiberians had welnie gotten the victorie: For my souldiers began to flie; but perceiuing how the matter went, I animated those of my company, and with them gaue a valiant onset on the Tiberians, who almost had the better, and chased them into their citie, and sent another company by the lake, to set on fire those houses which they should first fall vpon. Hereupon the Tiberians thought that their citie was taken
Ioseph surprizeth Tiberias.
by force, and cast downe their weapons for feare, praying me to haue compassion of their wiues and children, and to pardon their citie. For this cause being moued with compassion, I restrained the fury of my souldiers; and for that it was late, I retyred my selfe with my souldiers, both to the intent I might spare the citie, and relieue my wearied and wounded souldiers. Hereupon I sent for *Simon* to come and banquet with me, and comforted him in his misfortune, promising him to send him to Ierusalem, and to assure him in his iourney homeward, and to furnish him for his

A his ordinary expences with all things neceſſary. The next day I aſſembled ten thouſand ſouldiers, and preſently made mine entry into Tiberias; and hauing aſſembled the chiefeſt Citizens in the horſe-race, I commanded them to diſcouer vnto me who they were that were the authors of that rebellion: who hauing ſatisfied me, I laid hands on them and bound them, and ſent them incontinently to Iotapata. As for *Ionathan* and his conſorts, I ſet them at liberty, and gaue them money for their charges, and ſent them backe to Ieruſalem with *Simon* & *Ioazar*, & fiue hundreth ſouldiers for their guard. Hereupon the Tiberians reaſſembled themſelues before mee, beſeeching me to pardon their miſdeeds, promiſing me to recompence by their future fidelity their forepaſſed & foule faults: beſeeching me alſo to reſtore thoſe goods vnto the citizens, which in B way of pillage were taken from them. Whereupon I gaue a preſent command, that all the prey ſhould be brought and laid before me: and whereas the ſouldiers delaied to performe the ſame, I ſpying one of thoſe ſouldiers that ſtood by me, better apparelled then he was wont to be, asked him where he had gotten that garment: who confeſſing that he had taken it in the ſpoile of the citie, I chaſtiſed him with ſtrokes, and threatned a worſe puniſhment to all thoſe that would not reſtore that which they had taken away: whereby recouering a great part of the prey together, I gaue euery citizen that which he knew to be his owne.

Ioſeph ſends the authors of the ſedition to Iotapata.

Thoſe goods that were taken from the citizens are reſtored.

In this place I cannot chuſe but in ſome ſort I muſt reprehend *Iuſtus*, who wrote vpon this argument; and others, who promiſing a Hiſtory, are not afraid in contempt of truth, either for fauour or hatred, to commit lies to their poſterity. For they differ nothing from counterfeiters of C euidences, and razers of records; but that theſe men are more corrupted by impunity. For he, to the end he might ſeeme to imploy his time well, vndertaking to ſet downe the euents of this warre, hath belied me in many things, and hath not beene aſhamed to belie his owne countrey. For which cauſe I am neceſſarily inforced in this place to diſcouer that which hitherto I haue concealed, and to reproue that which he hath falſely teſtified of mee: neither is it to be wondered at, that I haue ſo long time deferred the performance thereof. For whoſoeuer writeth a Hiſtory, ought of neceſſity to ſpeake the truth; yet is it not lawfull for him to inueigh againſt the wickeder ſort too vehemently; not for that they are worthy of this fauour, but for his owne modeſties ſake.

A reproofe of Iuſtus the Hiſtoriographer, that falſly accuſed Ioſeph.

Tell me therefore *Iuſtus* (for thou deſireſt to be held for the man of greateſt note amongſt all D other Hiſtorians, and art not aſhamed to vaunt and boaſt thy ſelfe of that title) tell mee I pray thee in familiarity (for I muſt ſo talke with thee as if thou wert preſent before me) how I and the Galileans haue bene the authors of that rebellion, which thy countrey began both againſt the Romans & their King. For before I was choſen gouernor of Galilee by the people of Ieruſalem, both thou and all the Tiberians were not onely vp in armes, but had already made warre againſt the ten Cities of Syria. Thy ſelfe hadſt burnt their villages, and one of thy ſeruants died in that E countrey: yet not I alone proteſt this, but it is extant alſo in writing in the records of the Emperor *Veſpaſian*, how the inhabitants of theſe ten cities cried out to *Veſpaſian* in the city of Ptolemais, requiring that thou mighteſt be puniſhed, as the author of their miſchiefes: and aſſuredly thou hadſt beene puniſhed by the Emperour, had not *Agrippa*, who had receiued commiſſion to execute thee, vpon the inſtant requeſt of his ſiſter *Bernice* ſpared thee life, and kept thee bound in priſon for a long time. Furthermore, thy politike behauiours do ſufficiently expreſſe what the reſt of thy life hath beene, and how thou haſt cauſed thy countrey to rebell againſt the Romans: wherof I will produce hereafter moſt euident arguments, and for thy cauſe will I vrge ſomewhat againſt thoſe other Tiberians; and I will make it plaine to thoſe that ſhall reade theſe Hiſtories, that thou haſt been no friend to Rome, nor faithfull to thy King. And I enforce theſe my authorities from the greateſt cities of Galilee, Sephoris and Tiberias, in which thou *Iuſtus* wert borne. For Sephoris is ſituate in the heart of Galilee, hauing round about it a number of villages, and being a city ſufficiently able in it ſelfe to attempt and execute any noble action at their pleaſure, yet notwithſtanding the citizens therof reſolued to obſerue their faith to the Romans, F and thruſt me out of doores, forbidding euery man among them to beare armes for the Iewes. And to the end they might be more aſſured in my behalfe, the inhabitants deceiued me, in that they entreated me to encompaſſe their citie with a wall: and that done, they willingly entertained a Garriſon which was ſent them from *Ceſtius Gallus*, who was Generall of the Roman Legions in Syria in contempt of me, although at that time I had a great power, and terrified the countrey round abouts. But when our great city of Ieruſalem was beſieged, and that Temple which was common to all our Nation, was in danger to fall into the enemies hands, the Sephorites ſent no ſuccours, to the end it might not be ſaid that they took armes againſt the Romans:

Tiberias, Iuſtus country.

Sephoris and Tiberias two chiefe cities of Galilee.

But

But thy countrey, *Iustus*, being situate vpon the lake of Genazareth distant from Hippus thirty stades, from Gadara sixty, from Scythopolis sixscore, in a country obedient to the King, hauing not any city of the Iewes round about it, might haue very easily kept their faith to the Romans, if they had listed. For both the city & people were furnished with munition in all abundance: But as thou saist, I was the cause at that time. And who afterwards? For thou knowest that before the siege of Ierusalem, I was in the Romans hands, & that Iotapata was taken by force, and diuers other castles; and that many other Galileans were spent in diuers battels. At that time shouldest thou haue deliuered thy self of that fear thou hadst of me, laying thine armes aside, and presenting thy self to the King & the Romans, when thou vndertookest armes not of thine own accord, but inforced. But the truth is, you expected *Vespasians* comming, euen vntill such time as he begirt your city with a siege, & then laid you your armes aside for feare of danger: yea euen then had your city bin ouerthrown, except the King in excuse of your folly, had obtained your pardon at *Vespasians* hands. It was not therefore my fault, but your offence, that behaued your selues like enemies. Do you not remember how often times I haue obtained the victory against you, and how few times you could complaine of blood-shed? But you falling at dissention one with another, haue been the instruments of your own ruine; and not for the loue you bare either to the King, or the Romans, but of your own malice slew 185. citizens, at such time as I was besieged by the Romans in Iotapata. Nay more, is not this true, that during the siege of Ierusalem, wherof I haue made mention, there were more then two thousand Tiberians slaine, or otherwise taken prisoners? But perhaps thou wilt alledge, that at that time thou wert no enemy, for that thou wert fled to the King; but I tell thee that thou fleddest thither for the feare thou hadst of me. I am a wicked man, as thou saist: but what art thou? whom King *Agrippa*, vpon many presents deliuered from punishment, at such time as thou wert condemned by *Vespasian* to lose thy head. For what cause hauing made thee prisoner twice, and hauing so many times past the sentence of banishment against thee, and hauing once commanded thee to be thine owne murtherer, hath he giuen thee life vpon the importunate sollicitation of his sister *Bernice*? And after so many crimes committed by thee, hauing entertained thee for his Secretary, when he found thy corruption in that office, he banished thee from his presence.

Iustus condēned to death.

But I will not too exactly touch thee with these matters, yet notwithstanding I wonder at thine impudence, that hast openly protested, that thou hast written more exactly and perfectly of this matter, then any man: whereas thou art vtterly ignorant of those things that were done in Galilee. For at that time wert thou at Berytum with the King, and wert no waies priuy to the siege of Iotapata; seeing thou didst not follow vs. Neither couldst thou be able to learne how I behaued my selfe therein, for that there was no one left aliue to giue thee certaine intelligence. Thou wilt perhaps say, that thou hast carefully described that, which hapned during the siege of Ierusalem. And how may this be possible? For thou wert neither agent nor looker on in that warre; neither hast thou read the commentaries of *Vespasian*. But I coniecture hereby that thou hast not read them at all, forasmuch as thou hast written cleane contrary to that which is contained therein. And if thou art so confident, that thy History is truer then other mens, why didst thou not publish it during *Vespasians* and *Titus* liues, who were the Generals of that warre; neither before King *Agrippa* and those of his race, who were all of them very expert in the Greeke tongue? For thou hast kept it written by thee aboue twenty yeeres, and mightst haue produced witnes of thine exact diligence before them, who were priuy to all things. But now when they are dead, and thou thinkest that no man liueth that may reproue thee, thou hast vndertaken this boldnes to publish thy work. But I haue vsed no such policy or feare in my books, but haue presented them to the Emperors themselues, who haue beene eye-wittnesses and actors therof. For I knew in mine owne soule that I had set downe all things truely: Whereupon I obtained my expected approbation. Moreouer, I communicated the same History with diuers others, whereof some of them were present in the warre, as was King *Agrippa*, and some of his kindred. And *Titus* the Emperour himselfe was so desirous that men should search for the truth of that History out of these bookes, that he placed them in a Library, and caused them to be published, being subscribed with his owne hand. As for King *Agrippa*, he sent me seuenty two Epistles, testifying the truth of my books, whereof two of them are vnderwritten, to the end that the truth may appeare thereby; King *Agrippa* to his deare friend *Ioseph*, Health: I haue with great contentment ouer-read thy book, wherein thou seemest in my opinion to haue handled this matter more exactly, then any other. For which cause I pray thee send me the rest. Farewell my deare friend. King *Agrippa* to *Ioseph* his deare friend, Health: I perceiue by thine owne writing, that thou needest

Iustus knew nothing of the warres of the Iewes.

Iustus publisht his book when Titus and Vespasian were dead.

Manifest testimonies of the truth of Iosephus History.

The first Epistle.

The second Epistle.

A needeſt no intelligence from me, how matters haue paſſed from the beginning: yet when wee meet next, I will betweene me and thee certifie thee of certaine things which thou knoweſt not. Thus was he a witneſſe of the truth of my accompliſhed Hiſtory: not flattering me, for it became him not; neither deriding mee, as you perhaps may obiect; for farre was it from ſo noble a minde to be ſubiect to ſo ſeruile a folly: but only to this end, that the truth of my writings might be commended to the reader by the worth of his teſtimony. And thus much haue I thought good to ſet downe in way of anſwer to *Iuſtus*. cc cc Ioſephus proſecuteth his Hiſtory, and leaueth to debate with Iuſtus.

Now as ſoone as I had pacified theſe troubles in Tiberias, and had eſtabliſhed a councell of ſuch as were well affected towards me, I bethought my ſelfe of that which concerned me to doe B in reſpect of *Iohn*. All they of Galilee were of the opinion, that I ſhould arme them all, and that in battell array I ſhould march againſt *Iohn*, and doe iuſtice vpon him, as hee that had beene the author of all this miſchiefe. But for mine owne part, I miſliked their counſels, for that my deſire was to extinguiſh theſe troubles without blood-ſhed; and for that cauſe I incited them with all diligence that was poſſible, to learne the names of all thoſe who ſerued vnder him: which being done, and I made priuy what they were, I publiſhed a Proclamation, by which I promiſed both ſafety and pardon to all thoſe, that would forſake *Iohn*, aſſigning them the terme of twenty daies, to determine of that which ſeemed beſt for their owne ſecuritie: and I threatned to ſet fire on their houſes, and confiſcate their goods, except they gaue ouer their armes. They hearing theſe things, were greatly troubled, and forſooke *Iohn*: and after they had laid downe their weapons, C they came vnto me to the number of foure thouſand: ſo that onely fifteene hundreth men remained with *Iohn* or thereabouts; either of Citizens, or ſtrangers of Tyre. When *Iohn* perceiued that he was circumuented by this policy, hee euer after remained quiet in his countrey in great feare. Foure thouſand of Iohns followers forſake him, and follow Ioſeph.

At that time the Sephorites grew ſo bold, that they tooke armes vnder the confidence and ſtrength of their wals, and for that they ſaw me diſtracted with other buſineſſe. They therefore ſent to *Ceſtius Gallus* Gouernour of Syria, praying him to repaire vnto them, with all expedition, to take poſſeſſion of their Citie, or to ſend them a Garriſon of men at the leaſt. *Gallus* promiſed to come vnto them, but he ſet downe no certaine time of his approach: whereof when I was aduertiſed, I tooke the men of warre that I had, and marched againſt the Sephorites, and tooke D their Citie by force. The Galileans very glad of this opportunitie, and ſuppoſing the time was come wherein they might ſatisfie the inſatiable hatred that they bare againſt that citie, marched on with that intent; as if they would haue wholly ruinated the Citie, with all the inhabitants. They therefore trauaiſed the ſtreets, and ſet fire on the houſes, which they found wholly deſolate: For the inhabitants were fled away for feare, and were retired into a fortreſſe. They therefore ranſackt all things, and left nothing vnſpoiled: neither was there any kinde of miſery which they inflicted not on their countrimen. Which when I ſaw, I was ſore grieued; and commanded them to giue ouer, ſignifying vnto them that it was impietie in them, to ſhew themſelues ſo ſauage towards their countrimen. And ſeeing that neither by any prayer or command that I made, I could draw them to obedience, for that their hatred ſurpaſſed my counſels, I commanE ded thoſe that were about me, and whom I moſt truſted, to ſpread a rumour that the Romanes charged vs on the other ſide of the Citie, with great force. All which I did, to the end that by this rumour I might pacifie the fury of the Galileans, and ſaue the Citie of Sephoris: and this policie tooke good effect. For when they heard this newes, they were affraid, and forſooke their pillage, to truſt to their heeles, in eſpeciall for that I who was their Generall did the like. For I made a ſhew, that I beleeued the rumour to be as true, as they beleeued it: and by this ſtratagem the Citie Sephoris was ſaued beyond all hope. Sephoris ſpoiled.

And hardly eſcaped Tiberias from being ſpoiled by the Galileans, through this occaſion which enſueth: The chiefeſt of their councell wrote vnto the King, that he ſhould come vnto them, and take poſſeſſion of their Citie. The King promiſed to ſatisfie them very ſhortly, and F anſwered them by his Letters, and deliuered them to one of his chamber, called *Criſpus* a Iew borne, to carry them to the Tiberians. The Galileans knowing this meſſenger, tooke him and brought him vnto mee: which when the common people vnderſtood, of meere ſpleene they fell to armes, and the next day diuers of them aſſembled themſelues from all parts, and came to the Citie of Aſoch where I made my abode, and made huge exclamations, calling the Tiberians traytors, and the Kings friends, and demanding of mee licence and libertie that they might repaire to Tiberias, and raze it to the ground, being as much diſpleaſed againſt the Tiberians, as they were againſt the Sephorites. Tiberias in danger of ruine.

Which

Ioſeph conſulteth with himſelfe.

Which when I heard, I ſtood in great doubt how I might deliuer the Tiberians from that G diſpleaſure, which the Galileans had conceiued againſt them: for I could not deny but that the Tiberians had written and ſent for the King: for the anſwer which he made them, did euidently expreſſe the truth. And hauing a long while debated the matter with my ſelfe, I ſaid vnto them, I know as well as you, that the Tiberians haue offended: neither will I hinder you from ſpoiling their Citie, yet muſt you proceed to the execution thereof with ſome iudgement. For the Tiberians alone doe not betray our libertie, but others alſo, who are more accounted of in the countrey of Galilee. Stay therefore vntill ſuch time as I am throughly enformed, who they be that are authors of this treaſon; and then you ſhall haue them all vnder your hands, with all

The Galileans wrath pacified, conceiued againſt the Tiberians.

thoſe amongſt them, whom you may particularly thinke worthy puniſhment. By theſe perſwaſions I wonne the people, who departed from mee wholly contented and pacified. As for the meſſenger that was ſent by the King, I cauſed him to be impriſoned, hauing reſpect to an vrgent neceſſitie of mine owne, which conſtrained mee to depart out of the Kingdome within a little while. And calling *Criſpus* ſecretly vnto me, I charged him to make thoſe ſouldiers drunke, who had the charge of him, to the end that he might in all ſecuritie flye backe to the King. Thus Tiberias being ready to be deſtroyed, the ſecond time by my gouernment and prouidence, auoided at that time a great and fatall danger.

Iuſtus deſireth to command Galilee.

At the ſame time *Iuſtus*, the ſonne of *Piſtus*, fled vnto the King without my knowledge: the cauſe of which flight of his, I will orderly expreſſe. As ſoone as the Romanes had begun their warre againſt the Iewes, the Tiberians concluded to obey the King, and in no ſort to rebell againſt the Romanes. But *Iuſtus* egged them on to take armes, thirſting after alteration, and hoping both to obtaine the gouernment of Galilee, as of his owne countrey: but his hope failed him of a ſucceſſefull end. For the Galileans being enuiouſly bent againſt the Tiberians, for thoſe iniuries they had ſuffered at their hands before the warre, could not allow *Iuſtus* to be their Gouernour. My ſelfe alſo, whom the people of Ieruſalem put in truſt with the gouernment of Galilee, was oftentimes ſo much mooued, that I failed little of killing *Iuſtus*; ſo intolerable was his wickedneſſe. Hee therefore fearing leſt my diſpleaſure ſhould ſhorten his daies, went vnto the King, ſuppoſing that he might liue more freely and ſecurely with him. The Sephorites beyond their expectation hauing eſcaped this firſt danger, wrote vnto *Ceſtius Gallus* the ſecond time; requiring him to come vnto them, to the end that he might be the ſooner ſeized of their Citie; or that he ſhould ſend them forces to withſtand the incurſions of their enemies: and finally they wrought ſo much, that *Gallus* ſent them ſtore of horſemen, and after them footmen, who came by night, and were receiued into their Citie. But ſeeing that the countrey round about them

Ioſeph aſſailed the walles of Sephoris.

was but in poore eſtate, by reaſon of the Romane horſemen, I tooke my ſouldiers, and came to Garizim, where I encamped ſome twentie ſtades off from Sephoris, and by night I approached the ſame, and ſet ladders to the wall, with which I entred a great number of my ſouldiers, and became maſter of the better part of the Citie; from whence notwithſtanding we were afterwards conſtrained to retire, for that we knew not the place, killing before our departure twelue Romane footmen and two horſemen, with ſome Sephorites, to the only loſſe of one of ours. Afterwards a fight hapning betweene vs and their horſemen in open field, wee fought for a long time with diſaduantage: For the Romanes hauing inuironed mee on all ſides, my rereward through the feare they conceiued, began to retire. In this skirmiſh I loſt one of my guard, called *Iuſtus*, who in times paſt had ſerued in the very ſame place vnder the King. At that very time the Kings forces both of horſe and foote came thither, vnder the gouernment of *Silas* Captaine of the guard,

Silas Captaine of the Kings guard.

who encamping ſome fiue ſtades off from Iulias, beſet the hie wayes that bended towards Cana with men of warre, and the fort of Gamala, to hinder the inhabitants from receiuing any commodities from the countrey of Galilee.

As ſoone as I receiued newes hereof, I ſent out two thouſand ſouldiers, with *Ieremy* their Coronell: who ſhrowding themſelues within a ſtade of Iulias, neere vnto the floud Iordan, offered nothing elſe but light skirmiſhes, vntill ſuch time as I had gathered three thouſand ſouldiers more, and was come vnto them. The next day hauing planted an ambuſh in a certaine trench neere vnto the encloſure of their campe, I touled out the Kings ſouldiers to skirmiſh, hauing firſt forewarned my ſouldiers to faine a flight, vntill ſuch time as they had drawne their enemies as farre as the ambuſh; which they cunningly executed. But *Silas* ſuppoſing that our men fled for

Ioſeph putteth the kings ſouldiers to flight.

cowardize, ſet forward to follow them as faſt as he might poſſible: but they that lay in ambuſh charged him on the backe, and diſcomfited his army: and I preſently turning and making head againſt them, conſtrained the Kings forces to truſt to their heeles. At that time the eſtate of the countrey

countrey was at a good point, had not ſome curſed ſpirit thwarted mine honeſt purpoſes. For the horſe whereon I roade, falling into a certaine bog, caſt mee on the ground: whereby mine hand being thruſt out of ioynt about the wriſt, I was carried into a borough of Cepharnom. My ſouldiers hearing hereof, and fearing leſt ſome more ſiniſter misfortune had befalne mee, then indeed had done, reſtrained themſelues from purſuing the enemy any further, and turned their backs through the griefe they had conceiued by reaſon of mine accident. Hauing therefore ſent for Phyſicions, and cauſed my ſelfe to be dreſſed, I ſtayed there for that day; and being ſeized with a feuer, I was carried by night to Taricheas, according to the aduice of my Phyſicions.

Silas and his ſouldiers hauing newes of mine accident, recouered their courages: and vnderſtanding that we kept but ſlender watch in our campe, they laid an ambuſh by night on this ſide Iordan, with their horſemen, and as ſoone as the day appeared, hee drew out our ſouldiers to fight: who willingly condeſcended thereunto; and being come into the Plaine, they perceiued the men that lay in ambuſh, by whom they were put to flight, and ſixe of our men were ſlaine. But they purſued their victory no further: For hauing newes that certaine ſouldiers had paſt the water of Taricheas to Iulias, they were affraid and returned backe.

Ioſephs misfortune animateth the enemy.

Not long after, *Veſpaſian* arriued at Tyre, accompanied with King *Agrippa*. Againſt whom the Tyrians began to vtter many reproaches, telling *Veſpaſian* that the King was both an enemy to the Tyrians & the Romanes, alleaging that *Philip* his Generall had betrayed the Kings palace and the Romane army in Ieruſalem, and that by the Kings Commiſſion. Which when *Veſpaſian* vnderſtood, he reprooued this impudent boldneſſe of the Tyrians, for blaming a King of that power, and a friend to the Romanes: and aduiſed the King to ſend *Philip* to Rome, to yeeld account of his actions. But notwithſtanding that *Philip* was ſent thither, yet preſented he not himſelfe before *Nero*; for finding him extremely buſied with troubles and ciuill warres, he returned vnto the King without doing any thing. When *Veſpaſian* was arriued at Ptolemais, the gouernors of the ten cities of Syria cried out againſt *Iuſtus* the Tiberian, accuſing him for burning of their boroughs. *Veſpaſian* therefore deliuered him bound vnto the King, to the end that the ſubiects of his kingdome might haue him puniſhed. But the King before that time, vnwitting to *Veſpaſian*, had kept him priſoner, as it hath beene heretofore declared. The Sephorites alſo reſorted to *Veſpaſian*, to ſalute him, and receiue a garriſon from him, with their Commander *Placidus*, who made many roades into the countrey, and purſued them vntill ſuch time as *Veſpaſian* arriued in Galilee: of which arriuall I haue amply ſpoken in my bookes of the Warres of the Iewes, how he came, how he fought againſt me, the firſt time neere to the Citie of Tarichea: how I departed from thence to repaire to Iotapata, my taking, my deliuerance, and all my actions and fortunes during the warres of the Iewes, and the ſiege of the Citie of Ieruſalem. But now mee ſeemeth that it is neceſſary, that I deſcribe other things exploited by mee during my life time in other places then in the wars of the Iewes. After the ſiege of Iotapata was ended, I was priſoner with the Romanes and kept very carefully: yet notwithſtanding, *Veſpaſian* did mee much honour. For by his commandement I married a virgin, that was one of thoſe that had beene taken captiue in Cæſarea. But ſhe remained not long time with me: for after I was ſet at libertie, and that I followed *Veſpaſian*, ſhe retired her ſelfe to Alexandria. After which, I married another woman in Alexandria, from whence I was ſent to *Titus* to the ſiege of Ieruſalem, where I was oftentimes in danger of death. For the Iewes laboured what they might to take and puniſh mee: and the Romans ſuppoſing that as many and oftentimes as they were repulſed, it was by my treaſon, cryed out continually to the Emperour to execute me for a Traitor. But *Titus* well experienced in the changes of warre, pacified the violence which his ſouldiers intended againſt mee, by his ſilence. And after the Citie of Ieruſalem was taken, *Titus* often ſollicited mee to take that which I liked among the ruines of Ieruſalem, promiſing to giue it me. But I making but ſmall account of any thing after the ruine of my countrey, beſought him that hee would giue me certaine free men, and the ſacred Bible, which I receiued for a great conſolation in my miſeries. All which he graciouſly granted me. Not long after hauing beg'd my brother and fifty other of my friends, they were giuen me, and I was refuſed in nothing. Entring into the Temple by *Titus* permiſſion, I found a great number of priſoners ſhut vp therein, and all thoſe women and children of my friends and familiars, whom I knew, I deliuered them, to the number of one hundreth and ninetie, without paying any ranſome: and I reſtored them to their former free condition. Being ſent with *Cerealis* and one thouſand horſe into the Citie of Thecoa by the Emperour *Titus*, to eſpie if the place were fit for a Camp; in returning from thence I ſaw diuers priſoners, who were on the gibbet, amongſt which were three of my familiars; whereat I was grieued in my ſoule, and

Veſpaſian and Agrippa arriue at Tyre.

The Gouernors of Decapolis accuſe Iuſtus.

Of Veſpaſians arriuall, and the ſiege of Iotapata read Ioſeph lib. 4. cap. 5. of the warres of the Iewes.

The dangers that Ioſeph paſt betwixt the Romanes and Iewes.

Ioſeph diſchargeth a number of captiues.

Ioſeph deliuereth three from the gibbet.

and I came and ſignified the ſame vnto *Titus* with teares: who incontinently commanded that they ſhould be taken downe, and as carefully dreſt and cured as might be: two of which dyed notwithſtanding the vtmoſt diligence of the Phyſicions, and the third ſuruiued.

Ioſeph repaireth with Titus to Rome, and is honourably entertained by Veſpaſian.

After that *Titus* had appeaſed the troubles of Iudæa, coniecturing with himſelfe that the poſſeſſions which I had in Ieruſalem, would yeeld mee but little profit, by reaſon of the Romane garriſon that ſhould be placed there; he planted me in a poſſeſſion in a champaine countrey: and intending to embarke himſelfe to depart for Rome, he tooke me with him in his owne ſhip, and did me great honour. As ſoone as we came to Rome, *Veſpaſian* had great care of mee; for hee lodged me in his owne houſe, where he kept before he was Emperour, and honoured mee with the title of a Citizen of Rome, and gaue me an annuall penſion in money; and as long as he liued, continued his good affection towards mee, forgetting no kinde of bountie which he might vſe towards mee. Whereupon I was ſo much enuied, that I grew in danger thereby to loſe my life: For a certaine Iew called *Ionathan*, hauing ſtirred vp a ſedition in Cyren, and gathered about him ſome two thouſand inhabitants of the countrey, was the cauſe of their ouerthrow: and as touching himſelfe, being bound by the gouernour of that country, and afterwards ſent vnto the Emperour, he ſaid it was I that had ſent him armes and money. But *Veſpaſian* knew his falſehood, and condemned him to death, and commanded him to be executed. After this, mine enemies obiected diuers crimes againſt mee in regard that I was in good reputation: but God ſo wrought that I eſcaped them all. Moreouer, I receiued in gift from *Veſpaſian* an ample poſſeſſion in Iudæa, and at that very time I forſooke my wife, becauſe her manners pleaſed me not, although ſhee were the mother of my three children, of whom two are deceaſed, and the third, who was called *Hircanus*, is yet aliue. After this I married a wife that was borne in Candie, and was by nation a Iew, and by birth noble, and one of the greateſt reputation amongſt the inhabitants, endowed with as laudable manners as any other vertuous woman whatſoeuer; as her after-life moſt plainely expreſſed. By her I had two ſonnes, *Iuſtus*, who was the eldeſt, and *Simonides*, who alſo was ſurnamed *Agrippa*. Thus farre as touching my domeſticall affaires. That bountie which I receiued from the hands of the Cæſars, hath alwaies continued mine. For after *Veſpaſians* death, *Titus*, who ſucceeded him in the Empire, continued the ſame fauour which his father had ſhewed mee. For although I were oftentimes accuſed, yet were not mine aduerſaries beleeued. *Domitian*, who ſucceeded him, augmented mine honours. For he puniſhed thoſe Iewes that accuſed mee, and gaue order that the Eunuch and ſlaue whom I kept to teach my ſonne, and by whom I was accuſed, ſhould be puniſhed. He granted mee exemption alſo from all the tributes of Iudæa, which is one of the moſt greateſt honours that a man may receiue. And as touching *Domitia* the Emperours wife, ſhee alwaies continued her good affection towards mee. Behold heere the ſhort recitall of my whole life: whereby let each man coniecture of my manners as him liſteth. But O thrice excellent Epaphroditus, after I haue giuen and offered thee all this ancient Hiſtorie of our nation, I will for this preſent pauſe in this place.

Ioſeph enuied and ſlandered.

Ioſephs third wife.

The perpetuall fauour of the Cæſars towards Ioſeph.

THE

THE LAMENTABLE AND TRAGICALL HISTORY OF THE VVARS AND VTTER RVINE OF THE IEWES,

COMPRISED IN SEVEN BOOKES
BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS, THE SONNE of MATTHIAS:

AND NEWLY TRANSLATED OVT OF THE Latine, and French, into Engliſh, by *Tho. Lodge*, D. M. P.

LONDON,
Printed by *I. L* for *Andrew Hebb*, and are to be ſold at the ſigne of the Bell in *Pauls* Church-yard. 1632.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFVL HIS esteemed friend, M. *Anthony Palmer* Esquire.

SIR, my affection, that had rather bee an Actor than an Orator (do well, then speake well,) hath pickt you out to be the Patron of this tragicall historie of the wars of the Iewes. The reasons that draue me hereunto, are neither the expectance of worldly benefits, nor the fruitlesse vp-shot of ostentation: but your vertue (which is not beloued respectiuely, but onely for it selfe) hath created this good conceit in me, which (if you so please) your acceptance may continue. Now since, as the Philosopher supposeth, it is an action worthy a good man, to doe good vnto his friend; so it is no lesse commendable to accept an office of kindnesse from a friend. For by giuing, wee bewray our well-wishing; and by receiuing, wee proportion and continue friendship: vpon this ground I pray you build the good entertainment of my Present, and nourish this good custome in mee (which was vsuall both amongst Grecians and Latins) I meane my Translation: which if it please you, I haue my wish. As for my maligners, I expect no worse from them then *Iason* the *Thessalian*, who being assailed and wounded by an enemie (who had an intent to kill him) had an impostumation opened, that saued his life: their stab and stroke of disgrace shall cure and heale the hidden and neglected infirmities of my mind; and notwithstanding, I shall both *Genio & ingenio* liue to loue you, and lament their want of charity. Thus heartily commending me, I hastily take my leaue, being tied prentise of late to other mens importunities.

Your louing Friend,

THO. LODGE.

THE FIRST OF THOSE SEVEN BOOKES, WHICH WERE written by FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS, the ſonne of MATTHIAS, as touching the Warre, and deſtruction of the Iewes.

THE PRÆFACE.

In which the Author taxeth diuers Hiſtoriographers, of vntruth; and declareth his intent, and ſpecifieth the principall points of this Hiſtorie.

FOR as much as the warre which was enterprized betwixt the Iewes and Romanes, hath (amongſt all other) beene the greateſt that either hath beene attempted in our age, or heard of in any other; either betweene citie and citie; or nation againſt nation: there haue beene ſome, who (rather building their diſcourſe on the vaine and improbable report of others, then their owne iudgements) haue (according to the manner of Orators) made a Hiſtory of their heareſay, and haue filled their diſcourſes not onely with vanitie, but alſo with contradiction. Others there were (who for that they were witneſſes or actors of the ſame) haue according to their owne fancies preferred many lyes; either to flatter the Romanes, or exerciſe their hatred againſt the Iewes: forging ſomewhiles accuſations, otherwhiles breaking out into praiſes, without any obſeruation of hiſtoricall veritie. The dutie of an Hiſtoriographer, and how things that are paſt ſhould bee written.

For this cauſe, I Ioſeph *the ſonne of* Matthias, *by birth an Hebrew and a Citizen and Prieſt of Ieruſalem: who in the beginning of theſe warres bare armes againſt the Romanes, and afterwards (being thereunto forced by neceſſitie) was preſent at all thoſe things, which were attempted and proſecuted in thoſe warres; haue thought good to diſcourſe in the Greeke tongue (in fauour of all thoſe who acknowledge the ſoueraigntie of the Romane Empire) all that which heretofore in my owne language I haue imparted to thoſe Barbarians that inhabit the Eaſt. For at ſuch time (as I haue already ſpoken) as theſe moſt bitter and buſie warres tooke their beginning, the Romanes were at ciuill warres among themſelues: and as touching the Iewes (who were in yeeres valiant, and in wits turbulent) they being both ſtrong in power, and rich in money, did ſo inſolently abuſe the time, that being animated by the greatneſſe of thoſe ſeditions and troubles; they ſomewhiles ſwamme in hope, ſometimes ſweltered in feare of poſſeſſing or loſing certaine ſoueraignties in the Eaſt. For the Iewes hope was, that all thoſe of their nation (euen they who inhabited the parts beyond Euphrates) would haue both followed them in their rebellion, and ſeconded their follies with their forces. Moreouer, at that time the Frenchmen (who bordered vpon the Romans) ſuffred them not to liue in peace: and the Germanes alſo began to take armes. Finally, after the death of* Nero *ſeditions raigned euery where: ſo that by reaſon of the opportunitie of theſe times many men went about to make themſelues kings, and the ſouldiers whetted on with the couetous deſire of gaine, deſired nothing more then trouble and alteration. For which cauſe, I thinke it a matter both worthy reproofe, and ill-beſeeming my reputation, if in ſo waightie affaires, I ſhould ſuffer the truth to be ſmothered in incertainties, and ſhould permit the Parthians, Babylonians, and the furtheſt diſtant Arabians, and thoſe of our nation inhabiting beyond Euphrates, together with the Adiabenites, to obtaine the true knowledge of thoſe euents by mine induſtry; whileſt the Grecians, and diuers of thoſe, who haue not borne armes with the Romanes, being diſtracted with factions, and deceiued by adulation, ſhould be ignorant hereof. Yet ſome of theſe there be, who (notwithſtanding their falſe informations)* Ioſeph himſelfe had a hand in the warres of the Iewes.

After Neros time all things full of trouble.

Ioſeph had written this hiſtory in the Hebrew tongue before.

sticke not to write histories, not onely voide of all truth, but also no waies answerable to the subiect which they vndertake. For whilest they labour to dignifie and extoll the Romanes, they altogether suppresse the fame and fortunes of the Iewes: yet cannot I coniecture by what meanes they may be held great, who triumph in the conquest of men so obscure and abiect. Nay whilest they thus extoll the Romanes valour in conquering the Iewes, they nothing at all respect the continuance of the warres, nor the multitude of the Romane souldiers, nor the honour of their Captaines; whose titles are much embased, if they (hauing laboured so much to conquer Ierusalem) should haue any thing derogated from the honour and prosperitie of their attempts. For mine owne part, I am not resolued to contradict those who shall enhance the glory and noble actions of the Romanes, neither to extoll and dignifie the deserts of mine owne nation, but my resolution is in all truth and sinceritie to set downe each occurrent, without respect or partialitie towards either part. In performance whereof I will fashion my discourse according to the matter I entreate of, and as my griefe and sorrow shall inuite mee to lament the miseries of my countrey: For the ciuill dissension that dismembred the same, was the cause that brought it to confusion: and those tyrants that raigned amongst vs, were such, who forcibly drew the Romanes with sword and fire to seeke the desolation of our holy Temple. The truth whereof Titus Cæsar *himselfe can iustifie, who destroyed the same; who during all those warres still pitied the people, for that they (as he well perceiued) were kept in awe by the seditious: And who oftentimes of his owne accord deferred the surprizall of the Citie, purposely protracting the siege, to the intent that in the meane time the authors of the sedition and bloody wars might haue leasure to repent and submit themselues. Now if any man thinke that I write this, as one that exclaimeth against the tyrants and their theeueries; or that in bewailing the miseries of my lost countrey, I accuse their villanies, and thereby transgresse the limits of a historie, let it be imputed to my griefe, and so pardoned. For amongst all the Cities that were euer gouerned by the Romanes, our Citie onely attained to the top of felicitie, which now alas is brought into extreme misery, captiuitie, and desolation. Nay, if all the misfortunes and calamities which the world from the beginning hath seene, be compared with the infelicitie and fall of the Iewes, they are slight and of no moment.*

The glory of the Romans is diminished, if you derogate from their labours at the siege of Ierusalem.

Titus his pietie towards the Iewes.

All calamities that hapned sithence the beginning of the world, being compared with those the Iewes suffred, are of no moment.

And to increase our sorrow, no forrainers, but our owne familiar friends and countrimen haue bin the actors of our tragedy. This considered, if any man of too seuere and stoicall iudgement shall reprehend this my lamentation, let such a one attribute the deeds I recount, to the History which I write; and reserue the lamentations and sorrowes thereof to me, who am the Historiographer: although in my minde I may iustly challenge the smooth-tongued Grecians, for that (notwithstanding these our so miserable, and so memorable warres happened in their daies, in respect whereof all other former troubles were obscure and of no reckoning) they haue restrained their tongues and pens; and vndertaken an ouercurious silence, to the end they might carpe at these with greater libertie, who vndertake the publishing thereof: whom though in learning and eloquence they both exceed and out-strip, yet are they inferiour vnto them in the matter and subiect they intreate of. For they forsooth discipher and set downe the valiant acts of the Assyrians and Medes, as who should say, the ancient writers had but coldly and scarce conceitfully handled the same: and yet God knoweth they come so farre behind those ancient authors in their writings, as they neither second them in sense, nor equall them in vnderstanding. For such as in times past published any worthy History, endeuoured to write that which they themselues had seene: and for that each of them were eye-witnesses of those affaires they committed to writing, they more effectually performed all that which they promised; the rather for that they accounted it to bee an act of dishonestie, to report and publish lies in stead of a History. And truly in my opinion that man is both worthy commendation and praise, who striueth by his studious indeuours, to register not onely the occurrences of times past, but also those memorable euents that haue happened in his daies: and he onely and truly is to be accounted industrious, not that altereth and pruneth at his pleasure another mans works, but he that of himselfe compileth a History, whereof no man hath before-time written. For mine owne part (the rather for that I am a stranger) I haue beene inforced to my no small labor and expence, to refresh the memory and truth of these euents in the eares of the Greekes and Romanes. For as touching their owne learned men, their mouthes are alwaies open to gaines and controuersies, and to this purpose their tongues still runne on pattens: mary if they come to a History wherein they should both tell truth, and with great labour enquire of those things that are past, here are they mum, the trauell is too tedious, the bit is in their teeth, so that they leaue the matter to their performance, who are incapable and vnapt both in stile and study, to register the noble actions of royall Princes.

The Grecian Historiographers ouerpasse the wars of the Iewes with silence.

Who may rightly bee called a Historiographer.

Since therefore the Grecians make no account of the truth of history, it behoueth vs both to esteeme and honour it. Now to discouer vnto you the originall of the Iewes, what their estate hath beene in times past, and after what manner they departed out of Aegypt, to shew what countries they conquered, and what Colonies they planted, were in my iudgement both impertinent and to little purpose; considering that diuers

of

A of mine owne nation haue before my time made and written an exact Hiſtory of the noble attempts of our anceſtors: yea many Greekes alſo haue tranſlated theſe mens writings into their owne tongue; and haue as truly, as rhetorically exemplified the ſame. I will therefore begin my Hiſtory in that time where theſe writers and our own Prophets ceaſed, and ſet downe at large all thoſe warres that hapned in my time: and as for thoſe things that exceed my knowledge and remembrance, I will onely touch them briefely, and in a word or two. Firſt, how Antiochus ſurnamed Epiphanes, tooke the Citie of Ieruſalem, and poſſeſſed the ſame for the ſpace of three yeeres, and ſixe moneths: and finally how he was driuen out of that countrey by the Aſmoneans. After this I will ſet downe the diſſenſions that hapned amongſt Antiochus ſucceſſors for the kingdome, and how by this meanes they drew Pompey and the Romanes into the managing and med- B ling with their affaires. How Herod likewiſe the ſonne of Antipater, being aſſiſted by Soſius, vtterly ouerthrew and canceld their felicity and authoritie: and how in Auguſtus Cæſars time and after the death of Herod, and during the gouernment of Quintilius Varo, a ſedition was raiſed among the people: and how in the twelfth yeere of Neros raigne the warre began to take head and continuance. That likewiſe which hapned in Ceſtius time, and what warlike executions the Iewes performed in their firſt attempts and reuolts, how they ſtrengthened the cities and forts about them, and Nero (hearing of the great ouerthrow which his army receiued vnder Ceſtius their Generall, and fearing leſt he ſhould loſe all) made Titus Veſpaſian the Generall of his army: who being attended by his eldeſt ſonne, came into Iudæa accompanied with as great a company of Romans as he could poſſibly gather; what number of their allies inuaded and ſpoiled Galilee, what cities they ſurprized in that place, either by forcible aſſault, or by any C other compoſition. Beſides all theſe things, I will expreſſe what order and diſcipline the Romans obſerue in their warres, and wherein they are accuſtomed to exerciſe their ſouldiers. I will note downe alſo the places and nature of the countrey of Galilee, and the deſcription of Iudæa, together with the mountaines, lakes and fountaines thereof, with all the properties of the ſame; not forgetting thoſe miſeries which the captiue cities ſuffered: neither how they were ſurprized. All which (together with all thoſe euils and miſeries which during thoſe troubles befell me) will I diſcouer, and diſcourſe with all truth and diligence, the rather in that I publiſh them in their eares, who are no waies ignorant of them. After this I will ſet downe how (vpon the declining and downfall of the Iewes) Nero dyed, and how, at ſuch time as Veſpaſian had vndertaken the expedition to Ieruſalem, he was withheld from the action, to receiue and enioy the imperiall D dignitie: how at that inſtant when he returned himſelfe into Egypt to eſtabliſh that eſtate, the Iewes began to mutiny among themſelues, how many tyrants aroſe among them, who hatched much ciuill diſcord and debate in their gouernment. Againe, how Titus departing out of Egypt, came the ſecond time into Iudæa, and ranged ouer the countrey, and how and where he lewied and encamped his armies. How and how oftentimes the citie hath beene vexed by ſedition, eſpecially at ſuch time as he himſelfe was preſent. What E onſets he gaue, and how many mounts he raiſed in begirting the citie with a treble wall: the ſtrength and prouiſion of the citie, the ſituation and plat-forme of the Temple, and the altars therein: the rites and ceremonies which were vſed vpon feſtiuall daies, the ſeuen purifications and offices of the prieſts: the garments alſo of the high Prieſt, & the holy ſanctuary of the Temple. All which I will recount without any diſſimulation, or ſwaruing from the truth of hiſtory. After this I will relate what cruelty the tyrants vſed againſt their owne countrymen, and what humanitie the Romanes ſhewed vnto ſtrangers, and how often- times Titus (who deſired the ſafety both of the Citie and Temple) prouoked and inuited the ſeditious to mutuall amitie. Furthermore, I will report how the people of the Iewes (after theſe many and grieuous wounds which they both ſuffred and ſunke vnder, ſometimes by warre, otherwhiles by ſedition, and many times by hunger) were at length ouerthrowne to their vtter confuſion. Neither will I omit the ſlaughter of ſuch as reuolted, neither the puniſhment inflicted on thoſe that were captiue: but I will ſet downe how the Temple was burned againſt Cæſars will, and what an infinit maſſe of ſacred treaſure was deuoured by the fire. But to ſhut vp the Hiſtory, I will annex the ſurprizall of the citie, and what ſignes and wonders hapned before the ſame: the captiuitie alſo of the tyrants themſelues, and the number of thoſe that were led away into captiuitie: and what miſery euery one of them endured: how the Romans continuing their warres, vtterly razed the fortreſſes of their captiues; finally, how Titus in trauailing thorow the whole F countrey, eſtabliſhed a forme of gouernment therein; and afterward returning into Italy, triumphed with much honour. All theſe things haue I comprehended in ſeuen Bookes: endeauouring as much as in mee lyeth, to flye and auoide all occaſion of reproofe and reprehenſion from thoſe men, who knew theſe affaires and were actors in the warres. All which I haue done for their ſakes, who rather affect truth, then follow their pleaſure: and according to that order and forme I haue propoſed, I will begin and proſecute my ſtyle and hiſtory.

Antiochus Epiphanes the firſt author & fountaine of the warres of the Iewes.

The Epitome of the warres of the Iewes.

The ſignes and changes after Neroes death.

Titus beſiegeth Ieruſalem.

The manners and ſacrifices of the Iewes.

The humanitie of the Romans towards the Iewes.

The burning of the Temple, and the ouerthrow of the Citie.

The Romanes triumph ouer the Iewes.

The cauſe why he wrote this hiſtory.

THE

THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE WARRES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the first Booke.

1 *The destruction of Ierusalem by* Antiochus.
2 *The succession of Princes from* Ionathan, *vntill* Aristobulus *time.*
3 *Of* Aristobulus, Antigonus, Iudas Essæus, Alexander, Theodore *and* Demetrius.
4 *Of the warre attempted betweene* Alexander, Antiochus *and* Aretas, *and of* Alexandra *and* Hircanus.
5 *Of the warre betweene* Hircanus *and the Arabians, and of the Expugnation of Ierusalem.*
6 *Of the warre of* Alexander *with* Hircanus *and* Aristobulus.
7 *Of the death of* Aristobulus, *and the warre of* Antipater *against* Mithridates.
8 *How* Antipater *was accused before* Cæsar, *and how* Hircanus *was High Priest, and* Herod *began to make warre.*
9 *Of the dissention of the Romans after* Cæsars *death, and of* Malichus *his deceits.*
10 *How* Herod *was accused and set free.*
11 *Of the warre of the Parthians against the Iewes, and of* Herods *flight and fortune.*
12 *Of* Herods *warre for the recouering of Ierusalem after his returne from Rome, and how he warred against the Iewes.*
13 *Of* Iosephus *death, brother to* Herod; *and how Ierusalem was besieged by the same* Herod, *and how* Antigonus *was slaine.*
14 *Of the treacherous practices of* Cleopatra *against* Herod, *and of his warre against the Arabians, and of a great earthquake.*
15 *How* Herod *was confirmed in the peaceable possession of the Kingdome of Iudæa by* Augustus Cæsar.
16 *Of the Cities and Monuments repaired and builded by* Herod, *and of his felicity, and liberality towards strangers.*
17 *Of the discord betwixt* Herod *and his two sonnes* Alexander *and* Aristobulus.
18 *Of* Antipaters *conspiracie against his father* Herod.
19 *How* Herod *should haue beene poisoned, and how the treason was discouered.*
20 *How* Antipaters *practices against* Herod *were knowne and punished.*
21 *Of the golden Eagle, and of* Antipater *and* Herods *death.*

CHAP. I.

How Ierusalem was destroyed by ANTIOCHVS.

The yeer of the world, 3802. before christs birth, 162.

Ant. li. 12. c. 6. Antiochus being stirred vp by Tobias sons, inuadeth Iudæa, and surprizeth Ierusalem.

AT such time as *Antiochus* surnamed *Epiphanes*, made war against *Sextus Pompeius* for the whole gouernment of Syria, there arose a sedition among the Iewes: wherein euery one indeauoured himselfe to haue the Soueraignty ouer others; and those of chiefest authority and nobility amongst the rest, disdained to submit themselues to such as were their equals. At that time a certaine man called *Onias* (who was one of the High Priests) hauing gotten the vpper hand, did driue the sonnes of *Tobias* out of the City; who flying to *Antiochus* for refuge, besought him in all humility that he would lead his forces into Iudæa; offering themselues to be his guides in that expedition and voiage. *Antiochus* (who long before that time desired such an occasion) easily condescended to their requests; and leuying a great army, entred

Ant. li. 15. c. 4.

A entred their countrey, and tooke the City by force, and slew the most part of them; who fauoured *Ptolomy:* and giuing his souldiers liberty to sacke the City, he himself spoiled the Temple also; and for the space of three yeers and sixe moneths, forbad all sacrifices and ceremonies, which before-time were accustomed and vsed in that place. Wherupon *Onias* the high Priest fled vnto *Ptolomey*, and hauing obtained a grant of a piece of ground from him, within the liberties and precinct of Heliopolis, he built a towne and Temple in that place, resembling the City and sanctuary in Ierusalem.

The yeer of the world, 3802. *before Christs birth*, 162.

The High Priest Onias flieth to Ptolomey. Ant. lib. 12. cap. 7.

But neither was *Antiochus* satisfied with the vnexpected surprize of the city, nor with the pillage and slaughter of the citizens, but was so far transported by his passions, & incensed with the B remembrance of those euils which he sustained during the siege of the City, that he compelled the Iewes to forsake the customes of their country; commanding them from that time forward to vse no more circumcision of their children, but that they should immolate swine vpon the Altar: which when al of them iointly refused to obey, the most constant among them were for that cause put to death. *Bacchides* being made chiefe of the garrisons by the appointment of *Antiochus*, what with his innated cruelty, and the impious commandement that was left him, omitted no occasion to further his wicked impiety, insomuch as he particularly tormented such as were of noble birth, and quality: that each day for the most part, he represented vnto them the fresh face and memory of the desolation of their City: till all of them at the last being prouoked and whetted on through the grieuousnes of that which both themselues and others indured, addreC sed themselues with confidence to prosecute their reuenge. At length *Matthias* the son of *Asmonæus*, one of the Priests, who was borne in a village called Modin, accompanied with his fiue sons and his owne household armed with swords, slue *Bacchides:* and fearing the power and multitude of the enemies garrisons, speedily retired himselfe into the mountaines. Thither resorted diuers of the people vnto him: for which cause he waxing more confident and courageous, came downe from the mountaines, and ouercomming the Captaines of *Antiochus*, draue them out of the borders of Iudæa. At such time therefore as through his happy successe he became potent, and was by common consent of the people (for that he had deliuered them from the subiection of strangers) made their Ruler: he died, leauing his eldest sonne who was called *Iudas*, to succeed him in the gouernment. Who fearing lest *Antiochus* would still continue warres against him, gatheD red together an army of his countrimen, and was the first among the Iewes that made a league with the Romanes; and draue backe *Antiochus Epiphanes* at such time as he enforced himselfe once more to inuade the borders of Iudæa, repulsing him with a great ouerthrow. And whereas the remembrance of this victory was yet fresh in mens minds and memorie, he assaulted the garrison of the city: For as yet they were not destroied (in which conflict he forced them to forsake the highest part thereof, which is called holy) and to betake themselues into the lower part: and hauing obtained the Temple, he made euery place cleane, and compassed it with a wall, and made new vessels for the seruice of the Temple, and planted them therein, because those that had bin before-time consecrated there, were prophaned. He builded likewise another Altar, and began to renue the accustomed sacrifice, and obserue the rites of Religion.

Bacchides cruelty towards the Iewes. Ant. lib. 12. c. 7, 8

Matthias, confederated with others, maketh warre against Antiochus.

E Scarcely was the City brought to the former estate, but *Antiochus* died, who left a sonne and heire behind him, who was not onely inheritour of his Kingdome, but also of his hatred against the Iewes: who hauing gathered together fifty thousand footmen, and almost fiue thousand horsmen, and fourescore Elephants, entred by the mountaines of Iudæa; and tooke a towne named Bethsara, neere which *Iudas* met him in a place called Bethzacharie, where the passage was somewhat streight: and before the armies ioyned battell, *Eleazar*, *Iudas* brother, seeing one Elephant higher then the rest, bearing a great tower on his backe, and adorned with golden furniture, thinking *Antiochus* had beene there, ran from his company, and breaking the ranks of the enemies, came vnto the Elephant: but he could not reach him (whom he deemed to be the King) he was so highly mounted; for which cause wounding the Elephant in the belly, the Elephant fell vpF on him, and pressed him to death: which act of his had no other successe but this, that by attempting so great a matter, he gaue a manifest testimony that hee preferred his renowne, before his life.

Antiochus dieth and leaueth the kingdome to his sonne Antiochus, who gathereth a huge power and inuadeth Iurie. Ant. lib. 12. cap. 14. 15.

Eleazar dieth, being slain by an Elephant.

Now he that gouerned the Elephant was but a priuate person, and although by hap *Antiochus* had beene there, *Eleazar* had atchieued nothing else in this valiant attempt; but yet he aduentured his life, vnder hope to performe some valiant exploit. And this act of his was a presage vnto his brother of the euent of the whole war that ensued. For the Iewes fought stoutly, and a long time: but yet *Antiochus* army (being both more in number and more prosperous) obtai-

Eleazar preferred honour before life.

The yeere of the world, 3802. before Christs Natiuitie, 162.

obtained the victory; so *Iudas* therfore after the losse of many of his company, fled vnto the Gophonits, with those of his side who escaped: And *Antiochus* went to Ierusalem, from whence after some stay he departed for want of necessaries, leauing a sufficient garrison; as for the rest of his armie, he led them for the winter time into Syria. Yet notwithstanding the Kings departure *Iudas* rested not: but encouraged by many of his nation, who daily came vnto him, and gathering also together those who escaped out of the former battell, at a village named Adasa, he fought with *Antiochus* Captains, where after much & many approbations of his valour in assaulting & slaughtering a great number of his enemies, he himselfe at length was slaine, and within a few dayes after, his brother *Iohn* also was betraied, and slaine by their treacheries who fauoured *Antiochus*.

Antiochus departing from Ierusalem, leaueth a sufficient garrison there. Ant. lib. 12. cap. 18.

Iudas fighteth with Antiochus captains and is slaine. Ant. li. 13. c. 1.

CHAP. II.

Of the succession of Princes, from IONATHAS *vntill* ARISTOBVLVS.

The yeere of the world, 3805. before Christs birth, 159.

AFTER him succeeded his brother *Ionathas*, who carefully studied for the peace and securitie of his people, and fortified himselfe by the friendship of the Romans, and was reconciled to *Antiochus* his son; yet did none of all these things profit him, or acquit him from danger. For the tyrant *Tryphon* (who was tutor to *Antiochus*) laying wait for him, and seeking to spoile him of his friends, tooke *Ionathas* at such time as he came with a small company to *Antiochus* who was at Ptolemais, and binding him, led an armie against Iudæa: from whence being repulsed by *Simon*, *Ionathas* brother, and ouercome by him, in displeasure and reuenge thereof, he slew *Ionathas*.

Ionathas, taken by Tryphons subtilty, is slaine.

Ant. li. 15. c. 9.

The yeere of the world, 3823. before Christs birth, 141.

But *Simon* valiantly bestirring himselfe in the gouernment and guide of the affaires of the common-wealth, tooke Zara, Ioppe, and Iamnia (which were bordering townes:) and ouercomming the garrison at Accaron, he destroyed the City, and assisted *Antiochus* against *Tryphon* who besieged Dora, before that expedition which he made against the Medes. Yet would not the greedy mind of the King be satisfied, notwithstanding that *Simon* had thus faithfully serued and assisted him in the death of *Tryphon*; but that within short time after, he sent vnto *Cendebeus* (who was the Generall of the army) commanding him to sacke and spoile Iudæa, and to take *Simon*, and make him a slaue. But *Simon* though aged in yeers, fought both youthfully and valiantly, and sent his sons with the most resolute men he had, before, against *Antiochus*, and himselfe with the residue of his army, assaulted another quarter of their enemies campe; and hauing laid many ambushes euen in the mountaines, he in euery place was victorious: and after this his most famous victory, he was proclaimed high Priest, and deliuered the Iewes from the gouernment of the Macedonians, vnder which they had bin 270. yeers. Finally, by the treachery of *Ptolomæus* his son in law, he was murthered at a banquet; who imprisoning his wife and two sons, sent certaine men to kill the third son, whose name was *Iohn*, otherwise called *Hircanus*. But the young man vnderstanding the successe of his fathers voiage, hasted vnto the city accompanied with a great multitude; for he greatly hoped that the people would remember his fathers prowesse, especially because *Ptolomæus* iniquity was hated of all men; *Ptolomæus* also hasted to enter the city at another gate: but he was speedily repulsed by the people who had already receiued *Hircanus*. For which cause he presently retired himselfe into a Castle named Dagon, situate beyond Iericho.

Simon encountreth with Cendebeus, & ouercommeth him Ant. li. 13. c. 14

Simon by the treachery of his son in law Ptolomæus, is taken & slain.

Iohn, otherwise called Hircanus, the son of Simon.

The yeere of the world, 3831. before christs Natiuitie, 133.

After that *Hircanus* had obtained the office of the high Priest, which was left him by his father, and had offred sacrifices vnto God, he led forth his forces with all speed against *Ptolomæus*, hoping to helpe and deliuer his mother and brethren that were detained prisoners with him: and assaulting the Castle, notwithstanding that in all other things he had the better hand, yet was he ouercome by iust griefe and compassion. For at such time and so often as *Ptolomæus* perceiued himselfe to be in danger, he brought *Hircanus* mother and brethren vpon the wals, and beat them where hee might behold them in their torments, threatning to cast them downe from the wall, except *Hircanus* would presently depart. For which cause *Hircanus* was more moued with compassion and feare, then with anger & wrath. But his mother being no waies dismaied with stripes which she endured, nor with death wherewith she was threatned, lifted vp her hands to her son, beseeching him that in regard of her miseries, he would not be moued to spare so impious a person, for she esteemed her death threatned by *Ptolomæus*, dearer then immortality it selfe; if so be he might receiue iust punishment for the villany which he had impiously committed against their house. But when *Iohn* had perceiued the resolute mind of his mother and heard her intreaty, he was moued to assault the Castle, and straightway seeing her beaten and torne, he relented with

Hircanus obtaineth the honour of the high Priesthood which his father had.

Ptolomæus cruelty against Hircanus mother and brethren.

A with compaſſion, and was euen filled with griefe. By which meanes the ſiege continued long, and the Iubilee yeere was come, which falleth out euery ſeuenth yeere: wherein the Iewes ceaſe from all affaires, as their wont is euery ſeuenth day. *Ptolomæus* deliuered from the ſiege by this accident and occaſion, put *Iohns* mother and his brethren to death, and afterwards fled to *Zeno* the Tyrant of Philadelphia, who was alſo ſurnamed *Cotylas*.

The yeere of the world, 3831. before Chriſts birth, 33.

Ptolomæus murthereth Hircanus mother and brethren.

In the meane while, *Antiochus* beeing grieuouſly vexed at that which *Simon* had done vnto him, ſent his army into Iudæa, and beſieged *Hircanus* in Ieruſalem, who opening *Dauids* Sepulcher (who had beene one of the richeſt amongſt all the Kings of Iudæa) tooke more then three thouſand talents of money from thence; and wrought ſo much with *Antiochus*, that vpon the pai-
B ment of three hundreth talents of money, he made him raiſe his ſiege & depart the country. This *Hircanus* was the firſt of all the Iewes that with his owne goods maintained outlanders and ſouldiers. But ſo ſoon as *Antiochus* had bent his power and forces againſt the Medes, he took hand-faſt of that opportunity he had offred him, to reuenge himſelfe, & preſently aſſaulted the townes of Syria, aſſuring himſelfe he ſhould find them (as indeed they were) void of ſouldiers to defend them. Whereupon he tooke Medaba and Samea, with the places thereunto adioyning, Sichem and Garizim, which border vpon the Chuthæans, who inhabit the places adioyning to the Temple, that is made after the imitation of that which is at Ieruſalem. Moreouer, he tooke many Cities of Idumæa, and amongſt the reſt Doreon, and Mariſa: and comming into Samaria (where now Sebaſte is ſituate, which was builded by *Herod*) he beſieged it on euery ſide, and left
C his two ſons *Ariſtobulus* and *Antigonus*, to continue the ſiege, who diligently beſieged the place. There was ſuch a famine in the city, that they were conſtrained to eate vnaccuſtomed meates. For which cauſe, they required aide of *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *Spondius*, who willingly aſſiſted them, but he was ouercome by *Ariſtobulus* and *Antigonus*, and was purſued by the aforeſaid brethren vnto Scythopolis, whither he then retired himſelfe: but they retiring againe vnto Samaria, beſieged the Citie, and at laſt taking it by force, deſtroyed the ſame, and led away their inhabitants captiues. Whileſt thus fortune fauoured them more and more, they ceaſed not to purſue their good ſucceſſe, but led their army to Scythopolis: and taking it, they diuided and ſpoiled all the countrey.

The yeere of the world, 3839. before Chriſts birth, 125.

Antiochus, vpon the payment of three hundreth talents, raiſeth his ſiege.

Ant. lib. 13. cap. 15.

Ariſtobulus & Antigonus beſiege Sebaſte.

Sebaſte ouerthrowne and ſpoiled.

D

CHAP. III.

of Ariſtobulus, Antigonus, Iudas Eſſæus, Alexander, Theodorus, *and* Demetrius.

THIS felicitie and good hap of *Iohn* and his ſonnes, was accompanied with the enuy of many of his countreymen: and this diſcontent of theirs, was the cauſe of a mutinie. For diuers of the Iewes riſing vp in armes againſt them, were ſo much ouer-ruled by their ambicious paſſion, that they could not containe themſelues from the proſecution of an open and bloody warre: wherein notwithſtanding they were put to the worſt. From that day forward *Iohn* paſſed the remainder of his life in all felicitie and happineſſe; and after he had gouer-
E ned the Common-weale for the ſpace of thirtie three yeeres, he departed this life, leauing behind him fiue valiant ſons. He was a man truly happy, & ſo fauoured by Fortune, that he had no occaſion to complaine of her niggardice in bountie. Finally, he alone might iuſtly boaſt himſelfe of three excellent endowments: firſt of all, that he was the Prince of his countrey: ſecondly, that he was high Prieſt: thirdly, a Prophet, to whom God ſo ſpake, that he was ignorant of no future accidents: he foreſaw and foretold that his two eldeſt ſonnes ſhould not continue long in the gouernment (whoſe liues are worth rehearſall, although they much declined from their fathers felicitie) for the eldeſt ſonne *Ariſtobulus*, after his fathers death tranſlated the principalitie into a kingdome; and was the firſt that put a Crowne on his head; foure hundreth, eightie and one yeeres and three moneths, after the deliuerance of the people from the captiuitie of Babylon. As
F for *Antigonus* (who was his ſecond brother, and whom in appearance he ſeemed to loue moſt intirely) he made him partaker of his dignitie, and committed the reſidue of them to priſon. Hee impriſoned his mother alſo, for that ſhee had contended with him as touching the principalitie, (which *Iohn* had ſolely committed to her diſpoſe) and was ſo farre giuen ouer to all kinde of crueltie, that he not onely kept her priſoner in bonds, but alſo put her to death by famine. But the reuenge of this his impietie was this, that hee ſlaughtered his owne brother *Antigonus* whom hee intirely beloued, and made both a competitor and partner with him in the kingdome. For by reaſon of thoſe ſcandalous ſlanders, which his enuious and malignant courtiers contriued & inuen-

The ſeditious ouercome in warre.

Iohn, after hee had happily gouerned the countrey for 33. yeeres ſpace dyeth.

The yeere of the world, 3861. before Chriſts birth, 103.

Ant. lib. 13. cap. 19.

Ariſtobulus famiſheth his mother.

Ariſtobulus loued Antigonus very dearely.

ted

The yeere of the world, 3861. before christs birth, 103.

ted against him, he commanded him to be put to death. Natheleſſe, vpon their firſt information, *Ariſtobulus* (ouermaſtered by brotherly affection) gaue them no credit; the rather for that he was certainly aſſured, that all things for the moſt part which were obiected against him, were rather enforced vpon enuie, then alleadged on good ground.

But when as *Antigonus* returned from the warre, attended with many teſtimonies of his valour and proweſſe, vpon that feſtiuall time, wherein according to the cuſtome of our countrey, we celebrate the feaſt of Tabernacles; it hapned at that time, that *Ariſtobulus* fell ſicke and was diſeaſed. *Antigonus* therfore about the end of thoſe feſtiuall daies being attended by his armed men, aſcended vp into the Temple to offer ſacrifice, and the rather reſorted he thither in greater pompe and maieſty, becauſe he intended to honour his brother. Hereupon, certaine curſed and wicked detractors repaired to the King, buzzing in his eares, that this great guard of ſouldiers which accompanied *Antigonus*, and that his haughtie reſolution and Kingly preſence, was rather for a Soueraigne, then a ſubiect: inferring hereby, that he entred the city in this Equipage, with an intent to murther him, not contenting himſelfe to haue the onely honour of the kingdome, except he might reduce the power and poſſeſſion thereof into his owne hands. *Ariſtobulus* though vnwillingly, yet at laſt being wonne to beleeue them, deſirous (in ſeeming not to ſuſpect) to ſhew himſelfe prouident, commanded his guard to hide themſelues in a certaine obſcure place vnder the ground: as for himſelfe, he tooke vp his lodging in a certaine Caſtle, which in times paſt was called Bari, and afterwards Antonia: giuing his archers this commiſſion, that if *Antigonus* came vnarmed, they ſhould let him paſſe; if otherwiſe, that they ſhould kill him. He ſent certaine meſſengers alſo to *Antigonus*, requiring him to repaire vnto him diſarmed. But the enuious Queene preuented this good intent of his by a ſubtill ſtratageme complotted and acted by thoſe, that with her conſpired againſt him. For ſhe perſwaded thoſe that were put in truſt to diſcharge this meſſage, to diſcouer nothing of that, which the King had commanded them: but to ſignifie vnto *Antigonus*, that his brother hauing intelligence, that he had made himſelfe many accompliſhed and compleat armours, with other faire and worthy furniture for the war in Galilee (which by reaſon of *Antigonus* ſudden departure from that place, & his own inſtant infirmity he might not behold) would count it no little fauour and felicity to behold & ſee him in his warlike ornaments. Which when *Antigonus* vnderſtood (who by reaſon of his brothers diſpoſition ſuſpected no miſchiefe) he armed himſelfe, and reſorted vnto him, intending to delight and content him with his muſters. But no ſooner arriued he in the ſtreight which is called the tower of Straton, but the guard of *Ariſtobulus* ſet vpon him, and ſlaughtered him, yeelding by this meanes a demonſtratiue and certain teſtimonie, that detraction diſtracteth and deſtroyeth all good nature and friendſhip, and that amongſt all our moſt accounted affections, there is no one ſo defended and fortified as may abate the edge of enuie.

Antigonus in honour of his brother aſcended vp into the Temple.

Antigonus falſly accuſed to his brother.

Ariſtobulus commandeth his guard that if Antigonus came armed, they ſhould kill him.

The Queens cunning Stratagem againſt Antigonus.

Antigonus ſuſpecteth not his brother.

At this time alſo who would not wonder at a certaine man called *Iudas?* who being by birth an Eſſean, was bleſſed with this felicity in his prophecies, that his predictions were neither touched with miſtaking, nor tainted with lying. This man perceiuing how *Antigonus* paſſed thorow the Temple, cried out to his familiars who attended him in no ſmall number (for ordinarily diuers of his diſciples did attend vpon him:) Ah, how happy were it for me at this preſent, if I were dead, ſith that truth dieth before me; and ſome one of my predictions are found faulty and deficient? For behold, *Antigonus* yet liueth, who ſhould this day haue dwelt with death. The place which was deſtinated for his departure is the tower of Straton, which is diſtant from this place ſome ſixe hundreth ſtounds, and yet notwithſtanding there are but 4. houres of the day to be paſt: now therfore is the time wherein my diuination ſhall be falſified. Hauing ſpoken to this effect, the old man ſate him downe being altogether diſconſolate and penſiue, vntill ſuch time as within a while after it was told him that *Antigonus* was ſlaine in a place vnder ground, which was called the tower of Straton, being of the ſame name with Cæſarea which is ſituate vpon the ſea-coaſt; which was the occaſion that *Iudas* ſtaggered in his diuination.

Iudas the prophet foretelleth Antigonus death.

Ariſtobulus through the griefe he conceiued at his brothers death, falleth ſicke.

A ſeruant ſpilleth blood in the ſame place where Antigonus was ſlain.

The ſorrow which incontinently ſeized *Ariſtobulus*, for committing this hainous murther, augmented and increaſed his ſickneſſe in ſuch ſort, that his ſoule was continually troubled with the thought of his ſin, & his body through extreme heat of paſſion dried vp; & the griefe that he felt was ſo vehement, that his entrailes became exulcerate, ſo that he voided bloud in great aboundance. And it ſo fell out by the diuine prouidence, that one of his ſeruants, who was deputed to that office, bearing out that blood which came from him, miſſed his way, and came to that place where *Antigonus* had bin ſlain, wherin as yet there appeared ſome ſignes & ſtaines of the bloudſhed of *Antigonus*, on wch he powred out the bloud of the murtherer *Ariſtobulus*. Which when they

A they perceiued who ſtood hard at hand, they began to cry out with a loud voice, as if the ſeruant had purpoſely ſpilled the bloud in that place. *Ariſtobulus* hearing this cry, demanded the cauſe thereof: and the more that each man fled and feared to diſcouer the ſame vnto him, the more inſtantly ſought he to vnderſtand the truth; ſo that at length after he had vſed threats and violence, he was certified by ſome one of that which had paſt. Whereupon his eyes were ſuddenly filled with teares, ſo that in vehement agonie of mind, he at laſt cried out and ſaid: It is impoſſible, but that the great eye of the diuine Maieſty ſhould ſee my wicked acts, and the ſudden vengeance of my brothers bloudſhed ſhould purſue and ouertake me. How long, O thou impudent body, wilt thou detaine a ſoule already condemned and adiudged to my mother and dead B brother? How long ſhall I thus lingeringly languiſh in ſpending a parcell of my blood vnto them? Let them take it all at once, and let not the diuine vengeance laugh any longer to ſee the effuſion of mine entrailes. This ſaid, he died after he had ſcarely raigned one yeere.

The yeere of the world, 3862. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 102.

The eye of God diſcouereth euery ſin.

Ariſtobulus dieth miſerably.

His wife after his death deliuered his brother *Alexander* from priſon, and anointed him King, who was both the eldeſt and ſeemed to be the moſt ſtaied among the reſt of his brethren. Who growing by this meanes to be both proud and potent, put one of his brethren to death, for aſpiring and hunting after the kingdome: as for the other that remained aliue, in that he contented himſelfe with a priuate and contemplatiue life, he kept him neere about him. He made warre alſo againſt *Ptolomey* that was called *Lathyrus*, who had ſurprized the City of Aſoth, and put a great number of his enemies to the ſword: natheleſſe, *Ptolomeys* ſide obtained the victory, who re- C tyring himſelfe into the country of Egypt, by reaſon that his mother *Cleopatra* purſued him with open warre; *Alexander* forcibly entred the City of Gadara, and the fort of Amathunt (which was one of the greateſt of all thoſe that were round about Iordan) in which place *Theodore, Zenos* ſon had hoorded vp his chiefeſt and moſt precious moueables, who ſuddenly ſetting vpon him, recouered all that which was his, and furthermore laid hands on the Kings carriage: in ſeizing which, he ſlaughtered many Iewes, to the number of tenne thouſand. But *Alexander*, after he had recouered this loſſe, inuaded the frontier towns vpon the ſea-coaſt, and won Raphia, and Gaza, and Anthedon, which afterwards by King *Herod* was called Agrippias. But after he had con- D quered & ouercome theſe places, the common ſort of the Iewes raiſed a mutiny againſt him during a certain ſolemne and holy feaſt: for all mutinies and ſeditions are commonly raiſed at banquets: and it is thought that he could not haue preuailed againſt thoſe treacheries, had he not bin aſſiſted by the Piſidians and Cilicians, whom he hired to helpe him; for the Syrians, he refuſed to hire them, by reaſon of their naturall hatred they bare againſt the Iewes. Hauing therefore ſlaine eight thouſand of the rebels, he warred vpon Arabia; and ouercomming the Galaadites, and Moabites (and impoſing vpon them a tribute) hee returned to Amathunt: and whereas *Theodorus* was daunted with his proſperous ſucceſſe, he finding the Caſtle without any to defend it, raſed it vnto the ground: After this, he preſently aſſaulted *Oboda*, King of the Arabians: who hauing laid ambuſhments in the country of Galaad, in a place fit for ſuch a purpoſe, diſcomfited him and his whole armie, being driuen thence into a deepe valley, where they were peſtered with a multitude of Camels.

Ant. lib. 13. cap. 9.

Alexander aduanced to the kingdom, vſeth much cruelty.

Alexander is ouerthrowne by Theodore.

The ſedition of the Iewes againſt Alexander vpon a feſtiuall day.

Alexander aſſaileth the caſtle of Amathunt, and raſeth it.

E But *Alexander* eſcaped vnto Ieruſalem, where the people who had conceiued a hatred againſt him, being encouraged by his great loſſe and ſlaughter of men, began againe to rebell: but then alſo he ouercame them, and in ſixe yeeres ſpace, at ſundry battels he ſlew aboue fiftie thouſand Iewes; notwithſtanding, hee neuer reioyced in his victory, becauſe the ſtrength of his countrey was conſumed thereby. For which cauſe giuing ouer his wars, he began to ſeeke the peoples fauour by ſweet and mild ſpeeches: but they ſo much hated his inconſtant and variable manners, that when he demanded of them what he might doe to win their fauours, they anſwered, If he would die, for that ſcarcely they would pardon him if ſo be he were dead, who had committed ſo many hainous crimes. And thereupon the Iewes ſent vnto *Demetrius*, ſurnamed *Acærus* for helpe, who in hope of great rewards came and ioyned his forces with the Iewes about Sichem: F where *Alexander* met them both, with a thouſand horſmen and ſix thouſand footmen, that were hired (hauing at that time ten thouſand Iewes his fauourites) and of the contrary part there were three thouſand horſemen, and forty thouſand footmen. Before the fight began, the two Kings ſent meſſengers one vnto anothers army, perſwading one anothers men to forſake their colours and Captaines: for *Demetrius* hoped that *Alexanders* hired men would haue forſaken *Alexander* and come vnto him, & *Alexander* hoped that the Iewes that followed *Demetrius*, would haue left *Demetrius* and come to him. But when both parts perceiued that the Iewes continued obſtinate in their purpoſe, and the Greekes kept their fidelity, the two armies encountred; in which encoun-

Demetrius commeth to helpe the Iewes.

Ant. lib. 13. cap. 20.

The war betwixt Demetrius and Alexander, wherein Demetriusis conquerer.

The yeere of the world, 3862. after christs birth, 102.

encounter *Demetrius* had the vpper hand (although *Alexanders* hirelings euidently shewed great strength and courage.) But the end of this victory was such as neither party expected: for they who sent for *Demetrius*, after his victory did forsake him; and fortune changing her colours, sixe thousand Iewes fled vnto *Alexander* into the mountaines, whither for safety hee had betaken himselfe. This reuolting much displeased and discouraged *Demetrius*, for he now thought that *Alexander* vniting his forces, was able to bid him battell; and he feared that all the Iewes would at that present follow *Alexander*: for which cause he returned home. Yet the rest of the Iewes hauing thus lost the helpe of *Demetrius*, would not for al this desist from their rebellion; nay they so long warred with *Alexander*, till at last (the most of them being slaine) he draue the rest into the city of Bemeselin, and when he had surprized and sackt the City, he led them captiues into Ierusalem. But immoderate anger turned his cruelty into impiety: for hauing crucified eight hundreth captiues in the midst of the City, he killed their wiues, and the children he massacred before their mothers faces; and this pittifull spectacle he beheld with pleasure, drinking and making merry with his concubines. Whereat the people were so terrified, that the night after, eight thousand of the contrary part fled out of the countrey of Iudæa, who staied in banishment during the life of *Alexander*. Thus, after he had by those actions sought for the tranquillity of his kingdome, which he obtained not but with long time and great difficulty, he ceased to make warre against his countrey.

The Iewes reuolt from Demetrius.

Alexanders immoderate wrath, who crucified 8. hundreth captiues.

Alexander ceaseth from warre.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the warre of ALEXANDER *with* ANTIOCHVS, *and* ARETAS, *and of* ALEXANDRA, *and* HIRCANVS.

Alexander feareth Antiochus, Demetrius brother.

AFTER this, *Antiochus* (who likewise was called *Dionysius*, the brother to *Demetrius*, who was the last of all the race of *Seleucus*) raised vp new broiles against *Alexander*, who fearing him because he had prepared war against the Arabians, drew a deepe trench along that ground which lyeth between *Antipatris*, and the Sea-coast of Ioppe: and before the trench he builded a very high wall, and raised towers of wood to hinder his enemies passage. But all this could not keepe out *Antiochus*, but that burning the towers, and filling vp the trenches, he entred and passed ouer them with his forces. And not tarrying at that time to reuenge himselfe of him who had thus forbidden him passage, he presently marched forward against the Arabians. But the King of Arabia retyring himselfe into certaine places of his countrey which were fittest for defence, and returning suddenly to battell with his horsmen (who were in number 10000.) rushed hastily vpon *Antiochus* souldiers, and found them vnprouided: so that a hot skirmish began betwixt them, in which the souldiers of *Antiochus*, whil'st he liued, shewed themselues valiant (though they were on euery side massacred by the Arabians) but so soone as he was slaine (who was alwaies ready to assist those that were in danger) all of them fled: and the greatest part of them were slaine in the battell and in flight: as for those that escaped, they fled into the towne of Cana, where they all (except very few) died for hunger. After this, the people of Damascus being incited by the hatred they bare to *Ptolomey* the son of *Mineus*, sent for *Aretas*, and established him King ouer Cœlosyria: who warring against Iudæa, and ouercomming *Alexander* in battell, retired himselfe vpon composition. *Alexander* hauing taking Pella, resorted once more to the towne of Gerasa, in that he was desirous of *Theodorus* riches: and tooke the place, notwithstanding that it was fortified with three wals: and that vpon euery wall there was planted a garrison. He tooke Gaulan and Seleucia and that town which is called the valley of Antiochus. Moreouer, hauing taken Gamala, which was a most strong Castle, and imprisoned the Gouernor thereof, who was called *Demetrius*, becaus he was a wicked person, he returned into Iudæa, after he had spent 3. yeers in war: where for his prosperous successe he was ioyfully receiued of his nation. But no sooner ceased he from war but he fell sicke, and falling into a quartane ague, he thought that he should driue away his sicknes, if he employed himselfe in some businesse: for which cause being not rid of his disease, he applied himselfe to war, and labouring aboue his strength, amidst those tumults yeelded vp the ghost in the 37. yeere of his raigne: leauing the kingdome to *Alexandra* his wife, fully accounting that the Iewes would in all things obey her, becaus that she alwaies by misliking and seeking to hinder his cruelty and iniquity, had won the hearts of the people. Neither was he deceiued; for she being admired for her piety amongst them, obtained the principality: the rather for that she was well acquainted with the crstomes of her country, and euen from her

The King of the Arabians inuadeth Antiochus souldiers vnawares.

The King of Arabia puts Antiochus forces to flight, and killeth a great number of them.

They of Damasco, and Aretas against Alexander.

Alexander sick of a quartane feauer. Ant. lib. 13. cap. 22.

Alexandra Alexanders wife, through the opinion of vertue, obtaineth the kingdome.

A her childhood deteſted them, who violated the holy law. She had by *Alexander* two ſons, the eldeſt was called *Hircanus:* whom by reaſon of his yeers ſhe proclaimed high Prieſt, and becauſe of his dull nature, ſhe thought that though he were in Princely authority, yet he would moleſt no man: and therefore alſo made him King. As for the youngeſt ſon *Ariſtobulus*, becauſe he was of a hot ſpirit, ſhe was willing that he ſhould lead a priuate life.

The yeer of the world, 3862. before chriſts birth, 102.

Hircanus firſt made High Prieſt, and afterward king.

Now there was a certaine ſect among the Iewes, which were called Phariſes, who ioyned themſelues with the Queene: theſe people were thought to be of the godlieſt ſort, and to be more skilfull then other in interpreting the Scriptures: and for that cauſe *Alexandra* fauoured them the more, becauſe ſhe was ſuperſtitiouſly giuen to religion. Theſe hauing by little and little B inſinuated themſelues into the fauour of a ſimple woman, now did domineere at their pleaſure, diſplacing, diſpoſing, impriſoning, and reſtoring to liberty whom they pleaſed, for no other purpoſe, but that they might inioy the profits and commodities of the Kingdome; and *Alexandra* bare all charges. This Queen was alwaies deſirous of high attempts, and daily ſtudied to increaſe her wealth: ſhe leuied two armies, and hired a great many ſtrangers; whereby ſhe did not onely ſtrengthen her owne country, but alſo made her ſelfe to be feared of other nations. She ruled others, but her ſelfe was ruled by the Phariſes, who at laſt killed *Diogenes*, who was a gallant man, and highly in fauour with King *Alexander*; affirming that through his counſell the King commanded thoſe eight hundred before mentioned to be crucified: and further, they perſwaded the Queene *Alexandra*, that ſhee ſhould put to death all others, through whoſe counſell *Alexander* C her husband had beene incited againſt thoſe eight hundred. The Queene being blinded with ſuperſtition, thought it vnlawfull to deny any thing which they requeſted: ſo that they put to death whom they pleaſed, till ſuch time as the chiefeſt of thoſe, who were in this danger, in humble wiſe came to *Ariſtobulus*, who perſwaded his mother to ſpare them for their dignity, and baniſh others, whom ſhe thought had deſerued puniſhment: who hauing obtained their liberty, diſperſed themſelues thorow the whole countrey. Now *Alexandra* ſent an army to Damaſcus, and becauſe *Ptolomeus* daily vexed the City, ſhe tooke it without doing any thing worthy of memory: ſhe did ſollicite *Tigranes* King of Armenia with gifts and promiſes (who with an army had beſieged Ptolemais wherein *Cleopatra* was) but he for feare of troubles in his owne country, in that *Lucullus* had entred into Armenia, withdrew himſelfe from thence.

The Phariſes getting in fauour with the Queene, are made her chiefe Gouernours, and enioy all honours.

Alexandra willingly obeieth the Phariſes.

The Phariſes by their enuie & accuſations are the death of many good men.

Ariſtobulus expoſtulateth with his mother.

D In the meane time *Alexandra* being ſicke, her youngeſt ſonne *Ariſtobulus* with his ſeruants (which were many in number, all truſty, and in the heat of their young yeers) got all the Caſtles: and hiring ſouldiers with the money he found in thoſe Caſtles, he proclaimed himſelf King. But *Alexandra* (pitying the complaints of *Hircanus*) impriſoned the wife and children of *Ariſtobulus* in a caſtle neer vnto the North part of the Temple, which in old time was called Baris (as we ſaid before) afterwards *Antonius* being Emperour, it was called Antonia, as in like manner Sebaſte and Agrippias other Cities, were named of *Auguſtus* and *Agrippa*. But *Alexandra* died before ſhe could reuenge *Hircanus* of the wrongs which *Ariſtobulus* had done him. This Queene raigned nine yeeres, and left *Hircanus* in poſſeſſion of all, whom during her life time ſhe had aduanced to the Kingdome. But *Ariſtobulus* being both ſtronger in power, and more eſteemed in authority, E encountred with his brother about Iericho, where many of *Hircanus* ſouldiers forſaking their King, fled vnto *Ariſtobulus:* for which cauſe, both he and the remnant of thoſe that followed him, were forced to fly into the caſtle called Antonia, where he found hoſtages to redeem them. For (as we haue already ſaid) *Ariſtobulus* wife and children were impriſoned in that place: and leſt any worſe miſ-hap ſhould betide him, he concluded a peace, vpon condition that *Ariſtobulus* ſhould be King, and that he as brother to the King, would content himſelfe with other dignities. Vpon theſe conditions they were made friends in the Temple, where in the preſence of all the people, they in moſt friendly ſort embraced each other: which when they had done, they changed houſes, and *Ariſtobulus* went into the Kings Palace, and *Hircanus* vnto *Ariſtobulus* houſe.

Ariſtobulus proclaimeth himſelfe king.

Alexandra impriſoneth Ariſtobulus wife and children.

The yeere of the world, 3873. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 95.

Alexandra dieth, and Hircanus ſucceedeth her in the kingdom. Ant. li. 14. c. 1.

The brethren contending for the kingdome, are accorded vpon certaine conditions. Ant. lib. 14. cap. 2. 3, 4.

F

CHAP. V.

Of the warre betweene HIRCANVS *and the Arabians, and of the taking of Ieruſalem.*

NOVV a ſudden feare inuaded all the enemies of *Ariſtobulus* when they ſaw him (contrary to all expectation) made King; and eſpecially *Antipater* aboue all others, whom *Ariſtobulus* a long time had hated. This *Antipater* was an Idumæan borne, and for his nobility and riches was the chiefeſt and beſt reputed of his nation. This man perſwaded *Hircanus*

Antipater perſwadeth Hircanus to flye to Aretas King of Arabia, and to craue his aſſiſtance to recouer his kingdome.

The yeere of the world, 3873. before christs birth, 95.

Antipater with Hircanus flye from Ieruſalem by night, to Aretas King of Arabia.

Aretas furniſheth Hircanus with 50000. ſouldiers.

Scaurus Captaine of the Romans.

canus to flie vnto *Aretas* King of Arabia, and craue his helpe to ſet him in his Kingdome. Furthermore, he perſwaded *Aretas* likewiſe to receiue *Hircanus*, and to help him to recouer his kingdome, ſpeaking much againſt the manners of *Ariſtobulus*. and praiſing *Hircanus*; adding that he being King of ſo famous a nation, ought to aſſiſt thoſe who were vniuſtly oppreſſed; and that *Hircanus* had manifeſt iniury offered him, being forced to forſake his Kingdome, which by the right of ſucceſſion was due vnto him. After he had thus made his way, he in the night time took *Hircanus* and fled with him forth of the City: and making all haſte poſſible, they arriued at a towne called Petra, with ſafety (which is a town where the Kings of Arabia were accuſtomed to keepe their Court) there he deliuered *Hircanus* into the Kings hands, and through many gifts and intreaties obtained the fauour that he might be conducted into his kingdome. And to the effecting of the ſame, *Aretas* gaue him an army of fifty thouſand horſe and foot: which power ſince *Ariſtobulus* was not able to reſiſt, he was ouercome vpon the firſt onſet, and was forced to flie vnto Ieruſalem: and he had bin ſurely taken, if *Scaurus* a Captaine of the Romans by taking opportunity at thoſe troubles, had not raiſed the ſiege. For *Pompey* the Great (who warred againſt *Tigranes*) ſent him out of Armenia into Syria: who comming to Damaſcus, found it newly taken by *Metellus* and *Lollius*; who diſmiſſing them from thence, and finding how matters ſtood in Iudæa, haſted thither in hope of a booty. So ſoone as he entred into the confines of the country, both of the brethren ſent Embaſſadors vnto him, deſiring him to take their parts: but *Ariſtobulus* hauing ſent him 300. talents, he neglected to doe Iuſtice; for hauing receiued that ſumme, *Scaurus* ſent meſſengers vnto the Arabians and *Hircanus*, threatning the diſpleaſure of the Romans and *Pompey*, except they would preſently raiſe their ſiege: for which cauſe *Aretas* being much abaſhed, returned out of Iudæa vnto Philadelphia, and *Scaurus* repaired vnto Damaſcus. Yet ſufficed it not *Ariſtobulus*, that he had eſcaped from being taken, but that gathering all his forces together, he purſued his enemies: and ioyning battell with them about Papyron, he ſlew ſixe thouſand of them, in which number was *Cephalon Antipaters* brother. But *Hircanus* and *Antipater* being deſtitute of the Arabians helpe, were driuen to hope for ſuccour euen at their aduerſaries hand. For which cauſe, as ſoone as *Pompey* after he had entred Syria came to Damaſcus, they in humble manner came to him, and giuing him many gifts, proteſted vnto him that which before they had done to *Aretas*; earneſtly requeſting him, that he would conſider the violence offered by *Ariſtobulus*, and reſtore *Hircanus* to the Kingdome: to whom both by yeers and manners it was due.

The yeere of the world, 3899. before christs Natiuitie, 95.

Scaurus receiueth 300. talents from Ariſtobulus, & commandeth the Arabians and Hircanus to depart out of the country

Antipater & Hircanus ſeek for Pompeies helpe.

Ant. lib. 14. cap. 6. 7.

Meane-while *Ariſtobulus* ſlept not, but hauing corrupted *Scaurus*, came in as royall pompe as he could; but not abiding to debaſe himſelfe, and thinking it diſparagement in more abiect maner then beſeemed a King to ſeeke his owne commodity, returned from Dioſpolis. Wherat *Pompey* being angry, at the requeſt of *Hircanus* and his followers, hee went againſt *Ariſtobulus*, accompanied both with the Roman army and the Syrians, who aſſiſted them. When they had paſſed Pella and Scythopolis, and came to Corea (where the confines of Iudæa begin) as they paſſed thorow the midſt of the countrey, they vnderſtood that *Ariſtobulus* was fled to Alexandrium (which was a Caſtle richly built and ſituate vpon a very high hill.) *Pompey* arriuing in that place ſent meſſengers vnto him, commanding him to deſcend; but he becauſe he was called in queſtion about the kingdom, determined rather to hazzard himſelf, then obey. But when he ſaw that the people began to feare; and that his friends willed him to think of the power of the Romans, whoſe ſtrength he was no waies able to reſiſt; hee allowed their counſell and came vnto *Pompey*: where hauing alleadged many reaſons to ſhew that he had iuſt title vnto the Crowne, he returned again into the Caſtle. And afterwards being vrged by his brother to come & plead his title, hee came and returned thither againe, without contradiction from *Pompey*. Thus wandred he betwixt hope and feare, and doubting how the matter would goe with him, hee came to *Pompey* as it were to entreat him to pardon all, and returned againe vnto the mountaine, leſt hee ſhould ſeeme to derogate any thing from the maieſty of a King; yet becauſe *Pompey* willed him to depart from his Caſtles, and to warne his Gouernors therof to do the like (whom he had commanded to diſobey, except they receiued letters written by his owne hand) in this he fulfilled *Pompeis* minde: yet being angry and diſcontented he departed into Ieruſalem, and now fully determined to fight with *Pompey*. But *Pompey* not thinking it beſt to let him haue time to prepare himſelfe, followed him with all ſpeed, and ſo much the willinger, becauſe that neere vnto Iericho he had newes of *Mithridates* his death, euen in the fruitfulleſt place of Iudæa, where there are great ſtore of palmes and balme. This balſam is a ſhrub whoſe ſtemme being cut with ſharpe ſtones, droppeth balme out of the wounds thereof, which men gather as it droppeth from the wounds

Pompey furniſhed both with the Syrians and Romane army, ſetteth forth againſt Ariſtobulus.

Pompey commandeth Ariſtobulus to deſcend.

Ariſtobulus reſorteth to Pompey.

Ariſtobulus intends to fight with Pompey.

Hedio * Idumæa.

A wounds thereof. After he had reſted there that night, he in the morning haſted to Ieruſalem: At whoſe ſudden arriuall *Ariſtobulus* being daunted, in humble manner came vnto him; and promiſing him money, and to yeeld himſelfe and the City into his hands, he by this meanes appeaſed *Pompeis* anger. But he performed no part of his promiſe; for *Ariſtobulus* his aſſociates would not ſuffer *Gabinius* (who was ſent for the money) to enter into the City: For which cauſe *Pompey* being mooued to diſpleaſure, put *Ariſtobulus* in hold: and comming neere the City, he tooke a view at what place it might be eaſilieſt entred, for he did not lightly perceiue how he might batter the wals, they were ſo ſtrong. Moreouer, there was a huge ditch before the wall, and hard by he beheld the Temple ſo ſtrengthened, that although the City were taken; yet it might be a ſe-
B cond refuge for the enemy. Whileſt thus he long deliberated what to doe, there aroſe a ſedition within the City, wherein *Ariſtobulus* confederates thought it meet to fight, and deliuer the King out of priſon: but thoſe that fauoured *Hircanus*, would that the gates ſhould be opened to *Pompey*. At laſt *Ariſtobulus* friends hauing the worſt, fled into the Temple; and to the end that they might fight it out to the laſt, they cut downe the bridge, by which men goe out of the City, into the Temple. When the reſt had receiued the Romans into the City, and deliuered vnto them the Kings Palace, *Pompey* ſent a Captaine called *Piſo* with ſouldiers to ſeize the ſame; who leauing a garriſon in the town (ſeeing he could perſwade none of them that were in the Temple to peace) prepared all places about it to batter it. All which time *Hircanus* and his friends ſhewed themſelues ready to helpe them with counſell, and to doe whatſoeuer they were commanded. *Pompey*
C at the North ſide filled the ditch and valley with all kind of matter, which his ſouldiers carried: although that by reaſon of the huge depth, and for that the Iewes made reſiſtance, it was a thing hard to be done: and it had beene left vndone, had not *Pompey* (obſeruing the ſeuenth day, wherein the Iewes religion forced them to abſtaine from all labour,) cauſed it to be filled vpon thoſe dayes; forbidding the ſouldiers to fight at that time, to the intent he might fill the ditch more conueniently (for it is lawful for the Iewes onely to fight for their bodies vpon the Sabbath.) At laſt when the ditch was filled, and the towers were built vpon the rampire, he beat the wals with thoſe engines which he brought from Tyre; but they were beaten backe by thoſe who reſiſted from the top of the wals, who darted diuers ſtones at them. Againſt the violent power whereof, the towers that were builded in that quarter, being of a great and goodly building, reſiſted as va-
D liantly, and as long as they poſſibly could. But the Romans found but hard meaſure in this place, and *Pompey* admired the conſtancy of the Iewes; who being amongſt the thickeſt of their enemies darts, yet omitted not any ceremony: but (as though they had firme peace) they euery day obſerued their ceremonies, offered ſacrifices and offerings, and moſt diligently obſerued all honour and diuine ſeruice: yea in the very taking of the place, although euery day they were killed at the Altar, yet did they not ceaſe from the lawfull rites of their religion. At laſt in the third moneth of the ſiege, whereas ſcarcely one tower was beaten downe, they brake into the Temple, and the firſt that attempted to climbe ouer the wall, was *Fauſtus Cornelius Silas* ſonne, and after him two Centurions, *Furius* and *Fabius* with their regiments; who compaſſing the Temple about (while ſome ſought to hide themſelues, and other ſome reſiſted) they ſlew them all. There were
E many Prieſts alſo among the reſt; who, although they ſaw the enemies with naked ſwords ruſhing vpon them, yet being nothing at all diſmaied thereat, continued ſtill their ſacrifices; and were ſlaine euen whileſt they offred and incenſed in the Temple: preferring the duty they ought to religion, euen before their owne ſafety. Many alſo were ſlaine by their owne countrimen that fauoured the aduerſe part: and many caſt themſelues downe headlong vpon the rockes; otherſome in their fury hauing deſperately fired all things vpon the wals, burned themſelues for company. So that there twelue thouſand Iewes were ſlaine, but very few Romans: yet many were hurt, and amongſt all that maſſacre there was nothing ſo lamentable, as that the holy Sanctuary (which neuer any man ſaw before that time) was reuealed to ſtrangers. Finally, *Pompeius* accom-
F panied with his followers, come into the Temple, where it was lawfull for none but the High Prieſt to come, and ſaw the candleſtickes, lamps, table, cenſers, and all the golden veſſels, and whatſoeuer was within the Temple. Moreouer, he beheld the great quantity of odoriferous drugges which were kept in ſtore in that place, and two thouſand talents of holy money: yet did he not take away theſe things, nor any thing elſe belonging to the Temple. But the day after it was taken, he commanded the Sacriſtans to purge and make cleane the Temple, and to offer ſolemne ſacrifice. He likewiſe proclaimed *Hircanus* high Prieſt (who had in all things ſhewed himſelfe very forward, and eſpecially at the time of the ſiege:) as alſo for that he hindred a multitude of ſwaynes (who addreſſed for warre) from ioyning themſelues with *Ariſtobulus*: and there-

The yeere of the world, 3903. before Chriſts birth, 61.

Pompey beſieged Ieruſalē.

Ariſtobulus humbly preſenteth himſelfe to Pompey. Ant. lib. 14. cap. 7. 8.

Pompey vieweth the City which way it might moſt eaſily be battered.

Sedition within the City, betwixt Hircanus and Ariſtobulus friends.

Pompey & his enter the city and ſearch the Kings houſe.

Ariſtobulus with his friends flye to the Temple.

Pompey filles vp the trench, and obſerueth the ſeuenth day.

Pompey buildeth towers vpon his platformes.

The Iewes intermit not ſacrifice in the midſt & heate of the ſiege.

Twelue thouſand Iewes ſlaine in the Temple.

Pompey and his followers enter the Sanctuary.

Pompeius continency.

Hircanus made High Prieſt.

fore like a good Captain got he the good will of the people more by loue, then by feare.

The yeer of the world, 3903. before Christs birth, 61.

Amongſt others that were captiues there was *Ariſtobulus* father in law, who was alſo his vncle: as for thoſe that had bin the chiefe cauſe of theſe wars, *Pompey* cauſed them to be beheaded. He rewarded *Fauſtus* likewiſe, and thoſe who fought valiantly with him, with very rich gifts, and impoſed a tribute vpon Ieruſalem, and tooke from that nation the Cities which they had gotten in Cœloſyria: and appointed them to be gouerned by him who then was Preſident for the Romans; making them keepe within the bounds of their owne country. And in fauour of *Demetrius* of Gadara (a libertine of his) he reedified Gadara, which the Iewes had deſtroied: he deliuered the Mediterranean Cities from their gouernment (for they had not as yet deſtroyed them, becauſe they were ſuddenly preuented) namely, Hippon, and Scythopolis, and Pella, and Samaria, and Mariſa, and Azotum, and Iamnia, and Arethuſa. The townes alſo vpon the ſea-coaſts, Gaza, and Ioppe, and Dora, which before was called Stratons tower, and afterward by *Herod* was altered, who builded moſt ſumptuous buildings in that place, and called it Cæſarea: All theſe Cities he reſtored vnto the inhabitants, and made them vnder the rule of Syria. And of this place and Iudæa, and of all places from the borders of Egypt vnto Euphrates, he made *Scaurus* Gouernor, leauing him two legions of ſouldiers. Which done, he tooke his iourney to Rome by Cilicia, leading *Ariſtobulus* and his family captiues, who had two daughters and two ſonnes, the elder whereof called *Alexander*, eſcaped in the way; as for the younger whoſe name was *Antigonus*, he with his ſiſters was carried to Rome.

Pompey cauſeth the chiefeſt conſpirators to bee beheaded.

Pompey deliuereth many goodly Cities from the ſubiection of the Iewes.

Ariſtobulus and his family carried to Rome.

CHAP. VI.

Of the warre of ALEXANDER, *with* HIRCANVS, *and* ARISTOBVLVS.

Ant. li. 14. c. 9. The Arabian is reconciled to Scaurus.

AT that time *Scaurus* tooke his iourney into Arabia: but by the difficulty of the place he was ſo hindred, that he could not come to Petra, yet waſted hee all the countrey adioyning to Pella; although whileſt he ſtaied to doe this, he endured much euill: For there aroſe a great famine in his army, notwithſtanding that *Hircanus* by *Antipaters* meanes ſent them victuals. *Scaurus* alſo ſent the ſame *Hircanus* as his familiar friend vnto *Aretas*, to perſwade him that by diſburſing ſome money, hee ſhould worke his peace. Vpon whoſe motion *Aretas* condeſcended and gaue him three hundred talents, and ſo *Scaurus* with his army departed out of Arabia.

Ant. li. 14. c. 10

Alexander Ariſtobulus ſon gathers a great power againſt Hircanus.

The yeere of the world, 3904. before christs Natiuitie, 60.

In the meane time *Alexander* the ſonne of *Ariſtobulus* (who in the way to Rome eſcaped from *Pompey*) gathered together a great army, and deſperately ſet vpon *Hircanus*, waſting all Iudæa, which he hoped quickly to winne; yea the wall which was deſtroyed by *Pompey* at Ieruſalem, had been builded vp againe as he hoped, had not *Gabinius* (who was ſent into Syria to ſucceed *Scaurus*) who had oftentimes before ſhewed his valour, at that time alſo with an army come againſt *Alexander*. Who fearing the worſt, aſſembled all the forces that he could to make reſiſtance, ſo that he had tenne thouſand footmen, and a thouſand and fiue hundreth horſemen: he fortified alſo the commodions places of the countrey, to wit, Alexandrium, Hircanium, and Machærunt, which were neere vnto the mountaines of Arabia. *Gabinius* ſent *Marcus Antonius* before him with part of the army, and followed after with the reſt; and certaine choſen men out of *Antipaters* company, and other companies of the Iewes, whereof *Malichus* and *Pitholaus* were made chiefe, ioyned themſelues with *Marcus Antonius*; and preſently after them followed *Gabinius* with all his company, who all went to meet *Alexander*.

Alexander gathereth 10000. footmen, & 1500. horſemen.

Antipater with his forces goeth out to meet Alexander.

Alexander fighteth with his enemies, and loſeth ſix thouſand mē.

Marcus Antonius a captain

But *Alexander* perceiuing himſelfe vnable to encounter with all their vnited forces, fled: but drawing neer vnto Ieruſalem, he was conſtrained to hazzard the fight; where loſing to the number of ſixe thouſand (whereof ſome three thouſand were taken aliue, and other three thouſand ſlain) he eſcaped with the reſt. But *Gabinius* as ſoon as he came to the Caſtle called Alexandrium, vnderſtanding that many had forſaken their places, he by promiſing them pardon ſought to vnite them vnto him before the war began: but when he perceiued that they hammered on no abiect reſolution, he ſlew the moſt of them; as for the reſt he ſhut them vp in the Caſtle. In this battell Captaine *Marcus Antonius* did many things worthy of renowne, and although he had alwaies and at all times ſhewed himſelfe valiant, yet there eſpecially his valour appeared. *Gabinius* leauing ſome to winne the Caſtle, went vnto the Cities, and ſtrengthened thoſe that were not yet aſſaulted, and reedified thoſe that were deſtroied, and by his commandement Scythopolis and Samaria, and Anthedon, and Apollonia, and Iamnia, and Raphia, and Mariſa, and Dora, and Gadara,

What cities the Iewes receiued to inhabit.

A Gadara, and Azotus, and many more began to be inhabited; ſo that their inhabitants ioyfully peopled and dwelt therein. Which when he had done, he returned to Alexandrium, and began a more vrgent ſiege: whereat *Alexander* being terrified and made deſperate, he ſent Embaſſadors to him, beſeeching him to pardon his offences, promiſing to render vnto him the caſtles of Macherunt and Hircanium, which were in his power, and beſides them Alexandrium: All which *Gabinius* by counſell of *Alexanders* mother deſtroied, leſt they might be occaſion of new warres. This woman accoſted and flattered *Gabinius*, for that ſhee feared leſt her husband and the reſt of the captiues at Rome ſhould be any wayes damnified. After this, *Gabinius* carried *Hircanus* to Ieruſalem: and committing the Temple vnto his charge, he made others of the Nobility rulers of B the Commonwealth, and diuided the whole nation of the Iewes into fiue parts and gouernments, whereof one was eſtabliſhed at Ieruſalem, another at Doris, the third at Amathunt, the fourth at Iericho, the fift at Sephoris a city of Galilee: and the Iewes being deliuered from the gouernment of one man only, willingly ſuffred themſelues to be ruled by the Nobility. But ſhortly after, *Ariſtobulus* eſcaping from Rome raiſed new troubles: who gathering a great army partly of thoſe that deſired a change, partly of them that loued him before, tooke Alexandrium and began to compaſſe it againe with a wall: but hearing that *Gabinius* had ſent *Siſenna*, *Antonius*, and *Seruilius* againſt him with an army, he went to Macherunt; and forſaking thoſe that were not fit for war, he tooke with him almoſt 8000. armed men, amongſt whom was *Pitholaus* gouernor of them that were reuolted, who with 1000. men fled out of Ieruſalem. But the Romans followed and purſued C them: and ioyning battell with them, *Ariſtobulus* with his men fought valiantly, till being by force ouercome, the Romans ſlue fiue thouſand of them, & almoſt two thouſand fled into a mountaine; and the other thouſand breaking the rankes of the Romans with *Ariſtobulus*, were forced to Macherunt; where the King hiding himſelfe the firſt night amongſt the ruines, hoped that hauing reſpit, he might gather another army, and fortifie the caſtle: but hauing for two daies ſuſtained the forces of the Romans, although vnable to do it; at laſt was taken: and with his ſon *Antigonus*, who had bin impriſoned with him at Rome, he was carried to *Gabinius*, and from thence to Rome, and the Senate put him in priſon: but his ſons they ſent into Iudæa, becauſe *Gabinius* writ that he had ſo promiſed *Ariſtobulus* his wife vpon condition the caſtles might be yeelded. Now *Gabinius* being prepared to war againſt the Parthians, *Ptolomeus* hindred him, who returning from Euphrates D went into Egypt, leauing *Antipater* and *Hircanus* his friends to diſpoſe of all things belonging to the warre: for *Antipater* helped him with money, weapons, corne, and men, and he perſwaded the Iewes who kept the wayes that lead vnto Peluſium, to ſuffer *Gabinius* to paſſe. Now in the other part of Syria, at the departure of *Gabinius* there began a commotion, and *Alexander Ariſtobulus* ſonne once more incited the Iewes to rebellion, and hauing gathered a mighty power, purpoſed to deſtroy all the Romanes that were in that countrey: which *Gabinius* fearing (who was returned out of Egypt at the beginning of theſe tumults) he ſent *Antipater* before, who perſwaded ſome of the rebels to be quiet, yet 30000. remained with *Alexander*. For which cauſe he was very forward to fight, and went out to battell: the Iewes came againſt him, and neere vnto Itabyrium they fought, where 10000. were ſlaine, and the reſt were put to flight: and *Gabinius* returned to E Ieruſalem through the counſell of *Antipater*: who hauing eſtabliſhed that eſtate, went frō thence and ouercame the Nabathæans in battell: he likewiſe permitted *Mithridates* and *Orſanes* priuily to depart, who were fled from the Parthians, ſaying that they had eſcaped from the ſouldiers. In the meane time *Craſſus*, who was appointed to be his ſucceſſor, had Syria deliuered him, who toward the maintenance of the Parthian wars tooke all the gold that was in the Temple of Ieruſalem, and 2000. talents which *Pompeius* had forborne to doe: who paſſing ouer Euphrates, was both himſelfe and his whole army vtterly ouerthrowne: of which thing it behooueth vs not to ſpeake in this place. After the death of *Craſſus*, the Parthians endeauoured themſelues to enter Syria; but *Caſſius* who ſucceeded him in the gouernment, repulſed them: and hauing gotten the vpper hand he ſpeedily reſorted into Iudæa, and taking Tarichea, he carried away about 3000. men F captiues; and put *Pytholaus* to death, for gathering a company of ſeditious people vnto *Ariſtobulus* his part. He that cauſed and counſelled his death was *Antipater*, who was married vnto a noble woman of Arabia called *Cypris*, by whom he had foure ſonnes, *Phaſaelus* and King *Herod*, *Ioſeph*, and *Pheroras*, and one daughter called *Salome*; who ſought the friendſhip of all Potentates round about him by courteſie and hoſpitality, and eſpecially he got the good will of the King of Arabia by affinity, vnto whoſe fidelity he committed his ſonnes, becauſe he had vndertaken the wars againſt *Ariſtobulus*. But *Caſſius* made a truce with *Alexander*, and in the meane time went to Euphrates to hinder the paſſage of the Parthians, of which we will ſpeake hereafter.

The yeere of the world, 3804. before Chriſts birth, 60.

Ant. lib. 14. cap. 11. Alexanders mother ſtriueth to pacifie Gabinius with rewards.

The change of the gouernment of the Iewes.

Ant. li. 14. cap. 12. Ariſtobulus eſcaping from Rome, raiſeth new troubles.

Ariſtobulus fighteth with the Romanes.

The Romanes obtaine the victory, and carry away Ariſtobulus and his ſonne to Rome.

Alexander Ariſtobulus ſonne once more prouoketh the Iewes to rebellion.

The Iewes ouercome by the Romanes. Gabinius ouercommeth the Nabathæans in battell. Ant. l. 14. c. 13. Marcus Craſſus taketh away the reſt of the gold of the Temple.

Antipaters wife a noble woman of Arabia.

The yeere of the world, 3917. before Christs birth, 47.

CHAP. VII.

Of the death of ARISTOBVLVS, *and the warre betweene* ANTIPATER *and* MITHRIDATES.

Ant.lib.14. cap.14. Cæsar deliuereth Aristobulus from his bonds. Aristobulus and his sonne slain by Pompeis friends.

AFter that *Cæsar* had forced the Senate and *Pompey* to flye beyond the Ionian sea, and by that meanes made himselfe sole Master of all at Rome, hee set *Aristobulus* at liberty, and with two legions of men sent him in haste into Syria, hoping through his meanes speedily to win both it and also all places adioyning to Iudæa: but both the hope of *Cæsar* and the forwardnesse of *Aristobulus* was ouerthrowne through enuy: for he was poisoned by *Pompeis* fauourites, and euen in his owne countrey his body lay vnburied, which notwithstanding was preserued from putrefaction with hony, till such time as *Antonius* sent it vnto the Iewes, commanding them to bury it in the Kings sepulcher. His sonne *Alexander* also was beheaded at Antiochia by *Scipio*, being first according to the tenor of *Pompeis* letters accused before the tribunal seat, of such things as he had committed against the Romans, *Ptolomæus* the son of *Minæus*, who ruled Chalcis which was vnder Libanus, hauing taken his brethren, sent his sonne *Philippio* with them to Ascalon; and he violently taking away *Antigonus* and his sisters from the wife of *Aristobulus*, brought them to his father, and falling in loue with the yongest, took her to wife: for which cause he was afterward put to death by his father. For *Ptolomæus* hauing slaine his sonne, married *Alexandra*; and for that affinity sake, was more carefull for her brethren. After the death of *Pompey*, *Antipater* sought all meanes to get *Cæsars* fauour: and when *Mithridates* of Pergamenus was hindred by the Garrison at Pelusium to passe any further with an army into Egypt, and was by that meanes staied at Ascalon, he perswaded the Arabians to assist him, the rather, because he was but a stranger, and he himselfe also seconded him with almost three thousand armed Iewes.

Ant.lib.14. cap.5. Ptolomeus sonne marrieth Antigonus yonger daughter, and for that cause is slaine by his father.

Ant.lib.14.c.16.

Moreouer, he incited the Potentate of Syria, and *Ptolomæus* who inhabited Libanus, and *Iamblicus* and another *Ptolomæus* to assist him; for whose sakes the cities of that country did willingly vndertake the wars. And now *Mithridates* strengthned by *Antipaters* meanes, came to *Pelusium*, and because they would not suffer him to passe, he besieged the city, in which siege *Antipater* shewed his valour: for making a breach on that side of the wall, where his quarter was, he first of all with his company brake into the city, and so *Pelusium* was taken. But the inhabitants of *Onias* country who were Egyptians and Iewes, suffred him not to passe any further: yet did *Antipater* handle the matter so discreetly with them, that they did not onely suffer him to passe, but also prouided victuals for his army. Wherupon the city of Memphis would not fight, but yeelded of their owne accord vnto *Mithridates:* so that passing thorow Delta, he fought with the other Egyptians in a place called the tents of the Iewes; and being with all his company in danger, he was rescued by *Antipater*, who marching along the riuer side, set vpon and discomfited the left wing of the enemies battell, and rushing vpon them that pressed vpon *Mithridates*, he slew many, and pursued the rest that fled, till he got their tents & all with the losse of fourescore men. But *Mithridates* flying, lost eight hundreth men, and being against all hope preserued out of those wars, was without all enuy a true witnes before *Cæsar* of al that which *Antipater* had both done & deserued. Wherupon *Cæsar* redoubled his courage with praise and promises vnto him, and made him forward to hazard himselfe for him. In a word, he prooued and shewed himselfe a stout warriour, and hauing many wounds in euery part of his body, he bare a badge and testimony of his valour and vertue. Afterward when the state of Egypt was quiet, he returned into Syria, where he made him a citizen of Rome, and granted him the immunities therof: and did so honour him in other things and vse him so friendly, that he made him a patterne for all to imitate: and for his sake confirmed *Hircanus* in the high priesthood.

Mithridates goeth to Pelusium, and thereby obtaineth Antigonus helpe.

Mithridates victory against the Egyptians.

Antipater performeth many noble exploits, and exposeth himselfe to all danger for Cæsars sake.

Cæsar maketh Antipater a free citizen of Rome.

CHAP. VIII.

How ANTIPATER *was accused before* CÆSAR: *of the Priesthood of* HIRCANVS: *and how* HEROD *made warre.*

Antigouus Aristobulus son commeth to Cæsar to accuse Pompeis friends for his fathers death.

AT the same time *Antigonus* the sonne of *Aristobulus* repairing to *Cæsar*, against his will was a cause of *Antipaters* greater felicity: for comming to complaine of his fathers death (who was as it was thought through *Pompeis* enuy poisoned) and to accuse *Scipio* of cruelty which was vsed against his brother; whereas he should haue abandoned all passion which moued him to mingle hatred with his miseries, contrariwise he accused *Hircanus* and *Antipater*

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A as though they had vniuſtly driuen him and his brethren out of their natiue ſoile, and grieuouſly iniured the people, to obtaine their intent; alledging that they had ſent aide into Egypt to *Cæſars* forces, not for good will, but for feare of ancient enmity, and that hereby they might acquite themſelues of the good will they bare to *Pompey*. At theſe words *Antipater* (caſting away his veſture) ſhewed the number of his wounds, ſaying, it was not needfull to vſe words to prooue what affection hee had borne to *Cæſar*; for his very body would ſhew it, although hee himſelfe held his peace: adding, that he admired the impudent boldneſſe of *Antigonus*, who being ſonne to an enemy of the Romanes, and a fugitiue from the Romanes, and ſtill continued his fathers purpoſe of nouelty and ſedition, ſhould dare to accuſe others before the Romane Emperour; B demanding of him how he durſt hope to obtaine any good thing, who ought to bee contented with his life onely: alleadging, that hee craued not maintenance for that hee wanted, but that he might raiſe a rebellion amongſt the Iewes, and againſt them who ſhould beſtow any thing vpon him.

The yeere of the world, 3917. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 47.

Antigonus falſly accuſeth Hircanus and Antipater.

Antipater caſting off his garment, ſheweth his many wounds

Which when *Cæſar* heard, he ſaid that *Hircanus* was moſt worthy to be High Prieſt, and bade *Antipater* wiſh what dignity he would haue: who leauing that to the pleaſure of the giuer, he was made Gouernour of all Iudæa. And moreouer, he obtained to reedifie the razed wals of his coun- trey, and *Cæſar* commanded that thoſe honours ſhould be engrauen in the Capitoll, that it might be a token in time to come of *Antipaters* iuſtice and vertue. *Antipater* hauing attended *Cæſar* out of Syria, firſt of all repaired the ruined wals of his countrey which *Pompey* had razed: and going C thorow out all the countrey, he threatned the obſtinate, and perſwaded the ſeditious to obedience, admoniſhing them, that if they obeyed *Hircanus*, they might liue in wealth and peace, and enioy happineſſe and an vniuerſall felicity: but if they ſuffred themſelues to be led with the vaine hopes of thoſe, who for their priuate commodities ſought for alteration, that then they ſhould find him inſtead of a Procurator, the Lord of all; and *Hircanus* inſtead of a King, a Tyrant, and the Romans and *Cæſar*, inſtead of friends, deadly enemies: for that they would not ſuffer his power to be o- uerthrown, whom they themſelues had eſtabliſhed for King. But notwithſtanding he ſpake theſe words, yet (becauſe he ſaw *Hircanus* more dull, and not of ſo feruent aſpirit as the care of a King- dome required) he himſelfe ſettled the eſtate of the countrey, and made *Phaſaelus* his eldeſt ſonne Gouernour of the army, and the Lord of Ieruſalem and of his owne liuing, and ſent *Herod* his D yongeſt ſonne to gouerne Galilee (although he was very yong:) who being by nature of a valiant courage, found out a preſent occaſion to ſhew his braue minde: for he tooke *Ezechias* which was captaine of theeues, who as he vnderſtood was woont to prey vpon the confines of Syria with a great multitude, and put him to death with many other theeues: which thing was ſo gratefull vnto the Syrians, that in all townes and villages they made ſongs of *Herod*, as though he had re- ſtored them to peace, and to their poſſeſſions.

Cæſar createth Hircanus high prieſt, & to Antipater he giueth the gouernment of Iudæa. Ant. l. 14. c. 16.

Antipater repaireth the walles of his countrey.

Antipater chargeth his ſubiects to obey Hircanus.

Phaſaelus and Herod, Antipaters ſons.

Herods fortitude.

Herod baniſheth the theeues out of Syria.

At length, the glory of this fact came to the eares of *Sextus Cæſar*, who was *Cæſar* the Empe- rours kinſman, who then ruled Syria. *Phaſaelus* alſo did ſtriue to ouercome the towardneſſe and good reputation of his brother, by daily increaſing and winning to himſelfe the good wils of the inhabitants of Ieruſalem: ſo that during the time he gouerned the City, he did nothing inſolent- E ly through might or power: for which cauſe the people honoured *Antipater* as their King, and reuerenced him as Lord of all, yet was his fidelity and good will neuer the leſſe towards *Hirca- nus*. But it is impoſſible that any man that liueth in proſperity, ſhould not be enuied. For *Hircanus*, although beforetime he were moued ſomething at the glory of theſe young men, and eſpecially with the proſperous ſucceſſe of *Herod*, being often annoyed with frequent meſſengers, who ſpred his praiſe for euery thing he did: yet in particular hee was ſtirred vp by many enuious perſons, who are woont to haunt the Courts of Princes, who were grieued that *Antipater* and his ſonnes ruled without offence. Theſe men told *Hircanus* that he onely enioyed the bare name of a King, and that *Antipater* and his ſonnes ruled all; and that he ſo long would permit and winke at them, till that at the laſt they would make themſelues Kings; for they now did no more ſo much as F pretend themſelues to be Procurators. But leauing that title, they tooke vpon them the digni- ties of Lords and Maſters, without any regard or reuerence towards him; for *Herod* had put to death a great multitude of Iewes againſt the law, whereas neither by word of mouth, nor by writing, the King had giuen him any ſuch authority: and that *Herod*, if he were not a King, but a priuate perſon, was to be brought into iudgement, there to anſwer the matter, and ſhew the King a reaſon, and ſatisfie the lawes of his countrey; which permitted no man to be put to death before by law he was conuicted. By theſe perſwaſions *Hircanus* grew angry: ſo that not concealing his wrath, he cauſed *Herod* to be ſent for to anſwer the matter: who both for that his father aduerti-

Phaſaelus obtained the fauour of the people of Ieruſalem.

Hircanus animated by enuious men againſt Antipater and his ſonnes.

Herod called to his anſwer before the Councell.

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The yeere of the world, 3922. before Christs birth, 24.

ſed him thereto: and becauſe he truſted to the equitie of his cauſe, firſt leauing a Garriſon in Galilee, he repaired vnto the King; and came accompanied with a ſtrong guard, leſt either he ſhould ſeeme to derogate from *Hircanus* dignity, if he ſhould lead forth many; or that for want of defence, he ſhould expoſe himſelfe to the enuy of his aduerſaries. *Sextus Cæſar* alſo fearing the yong man leſt any euill ſhould betide him amongſt his enemies, ſent vnto *Hircanus*, manifeſtly warning him to free *Herod* from the crime of murther. For which cauſe *Hircanus* who loued *Herod*, and was willing ſo to do of his owne accord, did acquite him. Whereupon, he ſuppoſing that he had eſcaped againſt the Kings will, went to Damaſcus vnto *Sextus*, purpoſing not to obey, if hereafter he were ſent for. Natheleſſe, *Hircanus* was once againe incited by bad people againſt *Herod*, who certified him that he was gone away in a rage, and that he would enterprize ſomething againſt him: which *Hircanus* beleeuing, knew not what to doe, ſeeing his enemy more potent then himſelfe.

Hircanus abſolueth Herod.

Hircanus once more incited by the wicked.

Shortly after, *Sextus Cæſar* proclaimed him Generall of the army, both in Syria and Samaria: ſo that now he was greatly to be feared, not only for that he was highly in fauour with the communality, but alſo for the forces which he cõmanded. So that hereupon *Hircanus* fel into an extreme feare, verily perſwading himſelfe that *Herod* with his whole army would preſently come againſt him. Neither was his ſuſpition in vaine: for *Herod* angry at the pretended crime whereof he was accuſed, came with a great army to Ieruſalem, intending to depoſe *Hircanus*; which he had effected, had not his father and brother gone forth to meet him, and pacified him, intreating that hee would account that terror (wherein he had put his enemies) and his owne indignation for a ſufficient reuenge, and that he ſhould ſpare the King, by whoſe fauour he came to be ſo potent: adding moreouer, that he ſhould not thinke it a diſdaine that he was called to anſwer his accuſations; but ſeeing that he was acquited of them, he ſhould ſhew himſelfe gratefull to the King. Neither ought he ſo to reuenge the diſcontent he had taken, that he ſhould ſhew himſelfe vnthankfull to him who had ſaued his life. Moreouer, he was to conſider the fortune of warres, together with the cauſe thereof, and thinke that the warres he now pretended, were very vniuſt; bidding him not to be too confident of the victory, being to fight againſt his owne King, who had alwaies bin gracious vnto him, and neuer cruell; onely being as it were vrged thereunto by ſome of his councell, who being meerely enuious, rather to ſatisfie their owne miſlikes, then in regard of his diſgraces, framed a ſhadow of an accuſation. *Herod* pacified herewith, ſuppoſed it to be ſufficient for him to obtaine the thing he hoped for, to haue ſhewed his forces vnto his nation.

Herod gathering a great army, commeth to Ieruſalem to depoſe Hircanus

Herod diſſwaded by Antipater from attempting againſt Hircanus.

At this time began ciuill war among the Romanes neere vnto Apamia: for *Cæcilius Baſſus*, for the loue he bare to *Sextus Pompey*, ſlue *Sextus Cæſar* at vnawares, and made himſelfe Gouernour of his army: and other captaines of *Cæſars*, to reuenge his death, made after *Baſſius* with all their forces, vnto whom *Antipater* by his two ſonnes ſent aide both for *Cæſars* ſake that was ſlaine, as for *Cæſars* ſake that was yet aliue: for he was an entire friend and well-willer vnto them both, and theſe warres continuing long, *Marcus* came out of Italy to ſucceed *Sextus*.

Baſſus murthereth Sextus Cæſar by treaſon.

Marcus, Sextus ſucceſſor.

Chap. IX.

Of the diſſenſion amongſt the Romanes after Cæſars *death, and of the treacherie of* Malichus.

Ant. lib. 14. cap. 2.

At this time aroſe great and bloody ciuill warres amongſt the Romanes, at ſuch time as *Cæſar* was traiterouſly ſlaine by the treaſon of *Caſſius* and *Brutus*, after he had ruled the Empire three yeeres and ſeuen moneths. By reaſon of which murther their troubles daily increaſed, and the nobility being at variance amongſt themſelues, euery one followed that courſe, that they thought moſt expedient for themſelues. Whereupon *Caſſius* preſently marched into Syria, to take poſſeſſion of the gouernment of the army which was about Apamia, where hee made *Marcus* and the legions that were at variance, and *Baſſus* friends: and raiſing the ſiege from Apamia, and leading the army in his owne perſon, he forced euery city to be tributary: ſo that he grew to exact without meaſure. Whereas therefore he commanded the Iewes to contribute ſeuen hundreth talents; *Antipater*, who feared his diſpleaſure, appointed his ſonnes, and other of his friends preſently to gather the mony; and eſpecially among the reſt he gaue this charge to one *Malichus* a friend of his, being by neceſſity enforced thereunto. But *Herod* firſt of all got *Caſſius* his fauour, who brought a hundreth talents which he had collected out of Galilee, which was his part or Prouince: for this cauſe *Caſſius* accounted him as a deare friend. As for the reſt, he accuſed

Iulius Cæſar ſlaine by Brutus & Caſſius.

Caſſius leuieth money in the cities.

Herod, Caſſius friend.

Caſſius ſeuere in his exactions.

A cuſed them of negligence, and was angry at the other Cities: So that for that cauſe he deſtroyed Gophna and Ammauntes, and other two of the baſeſt cities, marching onward as if he intended to kill *Malichus*, for that he had beene ſo careleſſe and negligent in gathering the tribute money. But *Antipater* (preſently disburſing vnto *Caſſius* a hundreth talents) ſaued both him and all the reſt of the Cities. Yet *Malichus* after *Caſſius* was departed, did no more remember how beneficiall *Antipater* had beene vnto him, but oftentimes did treacherouſly lye in wait for to murther *Antipater*, who hindred and withſtood his villanous pretence; notwithſtanding that himſelfe had often confeſſed that *Antipater* had ſaued his life. *Antipater*, fearing both his power and ſubtiltie, paſſed ouer the riuer Iordan to gather an army that he might reuenge thoſe treacheries.

The yeere of the world, 3922. before Chriſts birth, 42.

Malichus forgetfull of Antipaters kindneſſe.

B But *Malichus* being diſcouered, by his impudencie ouercame *Antipaters* ſonnes: for through many oathes and excuſes, hee wonne *Phaſaelus* chiefe of the garriſon in Ieruſalem, and *Herod* alſo who was maſter of the armory, that they ſhould bee a meanes to reconcile him to *Antipater*. Whereupon, *Antipater* intreating *Marcus* (who was Generall of the armie in Syria, and had determined to kill him) he was ſaued. The reaſon that *Marcus* would haue put him to death, was becauſe *Malichus* ſought to make an alteration.

Antipater gathereth an army againſt Malichus.

Now *Cæſar* being young, and *Antonius* warring againſt *Caſſius* and *Brutus*; *Brutus* and *Caſſius* hauing gathered an army in Syria, in conſideration that *Herod* had ſtood them in ſtead where need required, they made him Procurator of all Syria; giuing him a band of horſemen and footmen. Moreouer, *Caſſius* promiſed him that if the warres had a happy end, hee would make him C King of Iudæa. But it ſo came to paſſe, that the power and expectation which all men had of *Herod*, was the cauſe of *Antipater* his fathers death. For *Malichus* being hereby put in feare, hired one of the Kings officers for a certaine ſumme of mony to poiſon *Antipater*, by which meanes he dyed, being thus vniuſtly rewarded for his good will toward wretched *Malichus*. He was a worthy man and fit to gouerne, who had recouered the kingdome being loſt, for *Hircanus*. *Malichus* (perceiuing that the people was incenſed againſt him, becauſe they ſuſpected that hee had poyſoned *Antipater*) pacified and moderated their diſpleaſure by denying the fact; yet to the intent he might be ſtronger, he gathered about him a guard of armed men: for he thought that *Herod* would not let the matter ſlip ſo, but that he would preſently come with an army to reuenge his fathers death. But by the counſell of his brother *Phaſaelus* (who ſent him word that he ſhould D not openly be reuenged vpon *Malichus*, leſt a ſedition might ariſe among the people) he patiently permitted it ſo to be, and ſuffred *Malichus* to purge himſelfe, and permitted him to be freed from ſuſpicion, and celebrated a moſt ſolemne funerall for his father: which done, hee went vnto Samaria, and appeaſed the ſedition, wherewithall the Citie was diſquieted. After this, he returned to Ieruſalem, intending in that place to celebrate the feſtiuitie, ſending certaine of his armed men before him, and appointing the reſt to accompany him. But *Malichus*, who feared this approach of his, had ſolicited *Hircanus* to giue order, that no ſtrangers ſhould intermingle themſelues among the people who were at that time purified.

Octauius Auguſtus ſucceedeth after Cæſar.

Caſſius promiſeth Herod after the warr to make him King of Iudæa.

Antipater poyſoned by Malichus.

Herod intendeth to reuenge his fathers death.

But *Herod*, contemning both him that commanded, and his commiſſion, entred the Citie by night: whereupon *Malichus* once more came vnto him, and wept for *Antipater*. *Herod*, although E he could very hardly bridle his diſpleaſure, yet diſſembled he the ſame: and ſent letters vnto *Caſſius*, wherein he complained of his fathers death: the memory of whoſe hate being refreſhed by this offence, he writ againe vnto *Herod*, willing him to reuenge his fathers death: which that he might the better effect, he ſecretly commanded the Captaines of his Regiment that they ſhould aſſiſt *Herod*. Now for that after the ſurprizall of Laodicea, all the beſt of the citie came to *Herod*, bringing gifts and crownes, he appointed this for a fit time of his intended reuenge. Now *Malichus*, ſuſpecting that *Herod* would worke reuenge at Tyre, purpoſed ſecretly to get away his ſon, who was there a pledge, and he himſelfe purpoſed to flye into Iudæa: But deſpaire of his owne ſafetie vrged him to greater matters; for hee hoped to incite the Iewes to take armes againſt the Romanes, for that *Caſſius* was now buſie in the warres againſt *Antonius*: ſo that he thought he F might eaſily depoſe *Hircanus*, and ſo make himſelfe King. But he was preuented by the deſtinies: for *Herod* ſuſpecting his purpoſe, inuited him and *Hircanus* to ſupper: at which time he made a ſhew as though he had ſent one of his ſeruants, to cauſe a banquet to be prepared, but indeed he ſent him to the Captaines to foretell them that they might lie in wait for *Malichus*: who remembring what charge *Caſſius* gaue them, came forth of the Citie vnto the ſhore next adioyning vnto the towne, all armed with ſwords; where compaſſing *Malichus* round about, they killed him with many wounds. *Hircanus* hereat aſtoniſhed, fell in a ſwoune, and being ſcarcely come to himſelfe, he demanded who killed *Malichus*? One of the Captaines anſwered, that *Caſſius* gaue

Malichus ioyneth with Hircanus. Caſſius chargeth Herod by letters to reuenge his fathers death.

The decree of fate laugheth at humane hope.

Herods tribunes murther Malichus.

that

that commandement: whereupon he answered, Truly *Cassius* hath preserued me and my countrey, in killing him who was a traitor to vs both: but whether heerein hee spake as he thought, or that for feare he approued the fact, it is vncertaine. And thus was *Herod* reuenged vpon *Malichus*.

The yeere of the world, 3923. before Christs birth, 41.

CHAP. X.

How HEROD *was accused and reuenged.*

AFTER *Cassius* was departed from Syria, there arose another sedition amongst them in Ierusalem: for *Fœlix* came with an armie against *Phasaelus*, thinking so to bee reuenged vpon *Herod* for killing *Malichus*. It chanced that *Herod* at that time was at Damascus with *Fabius* a Romane Captaine, who comming to assist *Phasaelus*, by the way fell sicke; so that he could not succour him: but it so fell out, that *Phasaelus* without any helpe, did of himselfe ouercome *Fœlix*, and therwithall reproued *Hircanus* as vngratefull, who had both fauoured *Fœlix*, and suffered *Malichus* his brother to take and keepe his castles (for already had he seized many of them, and especially one of greatest strength called Massada) yet all these did not protect him from the violence of *Herod*, who was no sooner recouered of his sickenesse, but presently he tooke all the rest, and Massada: and at *Hircanus* humble sute, permitted him to depart from thence. He also chased *Marion* the tyrant of the Tyrians out of Galilee, who occupied 3. castles in that country: as for all the Tyrians that he took, he spared their liues, and sent some away with rewards; wherby he got the good will of the city, and the hatred of the Tyrant. This *Marion* was made Tyrant of Tyria by *Cassius*, who through the meanes of such like instruments had gotten into his hand all Syria: & *Marion* for the hatred he bare to *Herod*, tooke with him *Antigonus*, *Aristobulus* his son: & by *Fabius* his meanes, whom *Antigonus* had gained vnto himselfe for mony, he also got *Ptolomæus* to assist him in this expedition. Now *Ptolomæus*, who was father in law to *Antigonus*, furnished him with all necessaries: *Herod* likewise preparing himselfe against them, gaue them battell in the entrance into Iudæa, and got the victory: & hauing put *Antigonus* to flight, he returned into Ierusalem, where he was honoured by all men for his desert in that victory, so that euen they that before despised him, by reason of his affinity newly cõtracted with *Hircanus*, sought his friendship & familiarity. This *Herod* long before this time had a wife which was a noble woman of that country, named *Doris*, & had by her a son named *Antipater*: but he then married *Mariamme*, *Alexanders* daughter, who was *Aristobulus* his son, & *Hircanus* his neece, by reason whereof he came to be familiar with the king. But when *Cassius* was slaine neere vnto Philippi, *Cæsar* departed into Italy, & *Antonius* into Asia: at which time the chiefe of the Iewes came and accused *Phasaelus* and *Herod*, alledging that they by force got vnto themselues the rule & disposition of the country, & left *Hircanus* onely the bare name of a king. But *Herod* being thẽ present, so won & wrought himselfe into *Antonius* fauor by a great sum of money, that he permitted not his enemies to speak one word more; who thereupon returned home. Afterward, a hundreth men of the most honourable amongst the Iewes, repaired to Daphne neer Antiochia vnto *Antonius* (now doting on the loue of *Cleopatra*) who being chosen frõ amongst the rest, because of their eloquence & nobility of birth, propounded an accusation against the two brethren. *Messala* presented himselfe to returne thẽ answer, being assisted by *Hircanus* by reason of the affinity that was betweene him and *Herod*. *Antonius* hauing heard both parties, demanded of *Hircanus* whom he thought to be the fittest to gouerne their Common-wealth: who answered, *Herod* and his brethren. Whereat *Antonius* was exceeding glad (for he had bin their fathers guest, and was most courteously entertained by *Antipater*, when he came with *Gabinius* into Iudæa) and thereupon he made them both Tetrarchs, leauing vnto them the rule of all Iudæa: which when the Iewes Embassadours misliked, he tooke 15 of them and put them in prison, where he almost killed them, and reiected and derided the rest: whereupon there arose greater tumults amongst them in Ierusalem. At last the Iewes sent another Embassage of a thousand men vnto Tyre, where *Antonius* soiourned with an intent to come to Ierusalem with violence. *Antonius* hearing their exclaimes, sent out the Magistrates of Tyre against them, commanding them to kill all they could catch of the Iewes, charging them also to confirme their authority, whom he himselfe had constituted Tetrarchs. But *Herod* & *Hircanus* went before thẽ toward the Sea shore, admonishing them earnestly to be cõtented, lest they by this their indiscreet proceeding should become not onely the cause of their owne deaths, but also of war against their country: but for that they would not be reclaimed by these admonitions, *Antonius* sent out certaine armed men, who killed many of them, and wounded the rest. *Hircanus* after this disaster both caused the dead to be buried, & the wounded to be cured: notwithstanding all this, they that escaped would not containe themselues in peace, but they so troubled the city, that *Antonius* in his displeasure slew those that he had in hold.

Ant. lib. 14. cap. 20. Fœlix commeth with an army against Phasaelus. Phasaelus ouercommeth Fœlix, & toucheth Hircanus with ingratitude.

Antigonus Aristobulus sonne put to flight by Herod.

Doris, Herods first wife, of good birth, by whom he had Antipater.

The chiefest Iewes repaire to Cæsar, to accuse Phasaelus & Herod. Ant. lib. 14. cap. 21.

The Iewes once more complaine against the two brothers. Antonius maketh the two brothers Tetrarchs. Antonius cõmandeth in Tyre. Sedition in Ierusalem against the brethren. Antonius slew the captiues.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Of the warre of the Parthians against the Iewes: of the flight of HEROD *and his fortune.*

The yeere of the world, 3923. before Christs birth, 41.

TWO yeeres after this, *Barzapharnes* Gouernour of the Parthians, accompanied with *Pacorus* the Kings sonne, seized vpon Syria, and *Lysanias* who succeeded his father *Ptolomæus*, sonne of *Minæus*, promising a thousand talents and fiue hundreth women, perswaded him to put *Antigonus* in possession of the kingdome of Iudæa, and depose *Hircanus*. *Pacorus* induced by these promises, went himselfe along the Sea-coast, giuing commandement to *Barzapharnes* to passe thorow the midst of the countrey; but amongst the rest of the places bordering on the Sea, the Tyrians would not receiue *Pacorus* (notwithstanding that the Citizens of Ptolemais and Sidon had giuen him entertainment) wherefore he gaue part of his horsemen vnto one who was the Kings Butler, called *Pacorus*, as himselfe was; commanding him to passe into Iudæa, and learne what their enemies meant to doe, and to helpe *Antigonus* where need required. Who as they wasted the countrey about Carmelus, many Iewes came of their owne accord and ioyned with *Antigonus*, shewing themselues very prompt to fight: for which cause he sent them before to take a place called Drymos; where hauing fought with his enemies and put them to flight, he pursued them with all speed as farre as Ierusalem: and his number being augmented, he came vnto the Kings house. But *Hircanus* and *Phasaelus* met them with a strong company, and fought with them in the market-place: where the enemies were forced to flye, and part of them were by *Herod* shut vp in the Temple; and he appointed sixty men to keep them, which he placed in the houses next adioyning; but the people bearing a grudge to his two brethren, burnt them with fire: whereat *Herod* being angry (for that his men were consumed with fire) set vpon the people, and killed a great many of them, and euery houre one laid wait for another: so that euery day some was murthered. Now the feast of Pentecost drawing nigh, all places about the Tẽple, & all the whole city was filled with people of the country, wherof the most part was armed, and *Phasaelus* kept the walles, and *Herod* with a small company kept the Kings palace, who assaulting their enemies vpon a sudden as they were in the suburbs, kild a great many of them, and put all the rest to flight: part of them he couped vp in the citie, others he shut in the Temple, & the rest betweene the vttermost Rampire. Whereupon *Antigonus* requested that *Pacorus* might come and conclude a peace betwixt them. *Phasaelus* moued by these his prayers, receiued the Parthian into the citie, and entertained him into his house, accompanied with fiue hundreth horsemen, who came vnder a pretence to make peace; but in effect he resorted thither to help *Antigonus*: he craftily conspiring against *Phasaelus*, perswaded him to repaire vnto *Barzapharnes* as an Embassador to treat a peace; notwithstanding that *Herod* altogether disswaded him, willing him to kill the Traitor, and not to trust his subtiltie: adding that the Parthians were naturally vnfaithfull.

Pacorus departing out of the citie, tooke *Hircanus* with him that he might be the lesse suspected, and leauing some horsemen with *Herod* named * *Eleutheri*, he followed *Phasaelus* with the rest. When they came neere vnto Galilee, they found the inhabitants at variance and vp in armes, and met with *Barzapharnes* (who craftily with pretence of courtesie and friendship hid his treachery) who after he had bestowed gifts vpon them, and that they were retired, laid an ambush for them: whereof they had intelligence at such time as they came to a place of the Sea-coast named Ecdippon. For in this place they vnderstood of the thousand talents that were promised, and how that *Antigonus* had giuen the Parthians more then fiue hundreth women of those that were amongst them, and that oftentimes they had beene laid wait for, and that they had beene lately taken, but that delay was made till such time as *Herod* was surprized in Ierusalem, for feare lest he hearing what was become of them, might prouide for himselfe. Now they might perceiue that these were not only words: for they might behold their Keepers not farre off, yet would not *Phasaelus* forsake *Hircanus*, notwithstanding that *Offilius* often exhorted him to flye (vnto whom *Saramalla* the richest among the Syrians had declared all the plat-forme of their treason:) but he chose rather to goe vnto *Barzapharnes*, and to vpbraid him to his face that he had treacherously laid wait for him: but especially for that in regard of mony he had suffred himselfe to be corrupted, whereas he himselfe would haue giuen more for his life & libertie, then *Antigonus* had done for the kingdome. At these words the Parthian with othes & protestations craftily freed himself frõ suspicion, & no sooner repaired he to *Pacorus*, but presently the Parthians, who stayed

Ant. lib. 14. cap. 21. Lysanias perswadeth Barzapharnes to depose Hircanus, and enstate Antigonus.

A sore fight in the market-place, betwixt Antigonus & Hircanus. Daily slaughters in Ierusalem.

Phasaelus entertaineth the Parthian, and with him fiue hundreth horse.

Pacorus treason and subtiltie.

The yeere of the world, 3924. before Christs birth, 40.

* Or free.

Herod in Ierusalem, and Phasaelus in the campe are in danger of their liues.

ſtayed behinde, and had charge ſo to doe, laid hands on *Phaſaelus* and *Hircanus*, who openly exclaimed againſt their falſehood and periury.

The yeere of the world, 3924. before Chriſts birth, 40.

In the meane time a Butler was ſent out for that purpoſe, who ſought to ſurprize *Herod*, & by ſome ſtratagem to toule him out of the Citie, who wrought by all the meanes he could, according as he was inſtructed. But *Herod*, who was alwaies wont to miſtruſt the perfidious practices of barbarous nations, being certaine that thoſe letters which diſcouered the treaſons, were falne into the enemies hands, would not goe foorth; though *Pacorus* pretended a iuſt cauſe, inciting him to ride out and meet them that brought the letters: wherein was contained neither the taking of *Phaſaelus*, nor the treaſons, but onely what *Phaſaelus* had done. But long before this, *Herod* by others vnderſtood, that his brother *Phaſaelus* was taken; and *Mariamme* a very wiſe woman, *Hircanus* daughter, with many intreaties perſwaded *Herod* not to goe forth: but that hee ſhould beware how he truſted himſelf to the mercy of that barbarous people, who did now as it were openly aſſault him. Whileſt *Pacorus* was conſulting with his accomplices how he might priuily effect his treaſons (ſeeing it was not poſſible openly to circumuent a man of ſo great wiſedome) *Herod* in the night time, whileſt his enemies neither knew nor ſuſpected his intent, tooke his neereſt kinsfolke and fled into Idumæa: which being once knowne, the Parthians followed him. For which cauſe, he made his mother, his brethren, and the young maiden deſpouſed, and her mother and youngeſt brother to keepe on their iourney, and he with his ſeruants warily aſſaulted the Parthians; and hauing in euery aſſault killed a great number of them, he haſted towards the Caſtle of Maſſada, and in his retreat ſuſtained more harme by the Iewes, then by the Parthians: who as they had bin alwaies troubleſome, ſo now ſome threeſcore furlongs from the towne, ſet vpon him; where *Herod* obtaining the victory, killed a great many of them, and in remembrance of that valiant act, he builded vpon that place a moſt rich palace for the King, and erected there a moſt ſtrong tower, which by his owne name he called Herodium. And when he fled, many ioyned with him: but when he came to Threſa, a towne of Idumæa, his brother *Ioſeph* met him, and perſwaded him to leſſen the number of his followers: for Maſſada would not receiue ſuch a multitude (for the number of the multitude was aboue nine thouſand:) for which cauſe *Herod* according to his counſell diſmiſſed thoſe that were vnfit for his turne, and ſent them into Idumæa, giuing them neceſſaries for their iourney. As for thoſe that were choſen men and fit for his purpoſe, hee retained them with him, and ſo was he receiued into the Caſtle: where leauing eight hundred ſouldiers to defend the women, and prouiſion ſufficient for thoſe that were within, he himſelfe went vnto Petra, a citie of Arabia.

Herod is laid for to be betrayed.

Herod in the night time flieth into Idumæa.

Herod more hotly purſued by the Iewes then the Parthians.

Herods victory.

Herodium.

Maſſada.

Petra a citie of Arabia.

The yeere of the world, 3925. before Chriſts birth, 39.

Now the Parthians at Ieruſalem began to ſack the houſes of them that were fled, & the Kings palace; they onely abſtained from *Hircanus* money, which did amount to more then three hundred talents: as for other mens goods they found not ſo much as they expected; for *Herod* long before that time ſuſpecting the infidelitie of the Parthians, had carried all his riches & iewels into Idumæa; & euery one of his followers did the like. When the Parthians had taken the ſpoile, they were ſo impious that they left no place of the whole countrey free from their tyrannous war. They deſtroyed the citie of Marſa alſo, and bound *Phaſaelus* & *Hircanus*, and deliuered them to *Antigonus* to be ſcourged, who preſently with his teeth bit off *Hircanus* eares, to the end that if by ſome alteration he chanced hereafter to get looſe, he might be no more high Prieſt: for none might offer ſacrifice that wanted any member of his body. But *Phaſaelus* his fortitude preuented the crueltie of *Antigonus*; who hauing neither weapon nor his hands at libertie, beat out his owne braines againſt a ſtone and dyed, demonſtrating himſelfe by that act, to be the true brother of *Herod*, and that *Hircanus* had degenerated: he dyed manfully by a worthy death, and anſwerable to ſo famous a life. Yet ſome reported that he recouered after that hurt, and that *Antigonus* ſent a Chirurgion vnder pretence to cure the wound, who filled the ſame wtth venemous medicines, and ſo killed him. Well, be it as it was, it was in him a gallant reſolution.

Antigonus biteth off Hircanus eares.

It is reported likewiſe, that vnderſtanding before his death by the meanes of a certaine woman that *Herod* was eſcaped, he ſpake theſe words: Now I ſhall die with a courage, who leaue behind me one that will take vengeance of my enemies, and ſo he dyed. Although the Parthians had not yet receiued the women (which was the chiefe thing they lookt for) yet leauing them, they eſtabliſhed *Antigonus* in Ieruſalem, and led *Hircanus* priſoner into Parthia. But *Herod* with all ſpeede haſted into Arabia, as if his brother had beene yet aliue, to the intent he might borrow money of the King of Arabia, wherewith onely he hoped that the crueltie of thoſe barbarous Parthians might be mitigated towards *Phaſaelus*: for his opinion was that although the Arabian had now forgot his fathers friendſhip, and were hard hearted, yet at leaſt he would lend him

Phaſaelus words before he dyed.

The Parthians eſtabliſh Antigonus King.

A him money, ſeeing it was to redeeme his brother, whoſe ſonne he meant to leaue in pawne for it. For *Herod* tooke with him a ſon of his brothers into Arabia that was ſeuen yeeres old, and purpoſed to haue giuen three hundreth talents for his ranſome, and had made the Tyrians interceſſors for him to the Parthians: but fortune preuented his endeuours, ſo that his loue and care for his brother preuailed nothing. He found alſo that the Arabians had now caſt away the league of amitie: for *Malichus* their King ſent to him as he was yet in the way, charging him with all ſpeed to depart out of his dominions, framing an excuſe that the Parthians had ſent Embaſſadors vnto him, to requeſt him to driue him out of his countrey; but indeed the cauſe was, that he would not repay that which *Antipater* had deſerued, nor recompence his ſonnes now com-
B fortleſſe, for thoſe good turnes that he had receiued at their fathers hands: and thoſe who counſelled him to this, were ſuch as offered to forſweare thoſe ſummes, which *Antipater* had put them in truſt with, who were the chiefeſt men about him. For which cauſe, *Herod* perceiuing the Arabians to be his foes, for that which he thought would haue procured him friendſhip, anſwered the meſſenger according as griefe mooued him, and tooke his iourney towards Ægypt: and the firſt night he lodged in a countrey temple, to the intent that thoſe of his company that were behinde him might ouertake him. The next day comming to Rhinocolura, his brothers death was told him; where, after he had there mourned his fill, he went forward.

The yeere of the world, 3925. before Chriſts birth, 39.

Animaters to impudence. Herod perceiueth the Arabians to be his enemies.

Now the King of Arabia (though too late) repented himſelfe of that which he had done to *Herod*, and ſent ſpeedy meſſengers after him, to will him to returne, repenting himſelfe that hee
C had ſo iniuriouſly intreated him. When *Herod* was come to Peluſium, the watchmen of the citie would not permit him to paſſe: for which cauſe he himſelfe in perſon went to the gouernours, who reuerencing the fame and dignitie of the man, conducted him to Alexandria; whither he no ſooner reſorted, but *Cleopatra* receiued him very honourably, intending to make him the Generall of Her army which Shee was preparing at that preſent. But he neither regarding the offers and requeſt of the Queene, nor yet diſcouraged by the hard winter ſeaſon, nor the dangers of the Seas, tooke his iourney towards Rome; and being in great danger of ſhipwracke neere vnto Pamphilia, both he and the reſt of the paſſengers were inforced to caſt away the moſt part of their loading: with much adoe he arriued ſafe at Rhodes, which had beene ſore moleſted by *Caſſius* warres; there was he intertained by certaine of his friends, *Ptolomæus* and *Saphinius*: and
D although his money grew ſcant, yet there he builded a great galley with three rankes of oares, and in it (being accompanied with his friends) he ſayled to Brunduſium, and from thence went preſently to Rome. Where firſt of all (in regard of familiaritie betweene his father and him) he went to *Antonius*, declaring vnto him both his owne calamitie, and the miſerable deſolation of the whole countrey; and how leauing his deareſt friends beſieged in a Caſtle, himſelfe in humble manner through the ſtormy winter ſeas was come vnto him, humbly crauing ſuccour at his hands. Whereupon *Antonius* compaſſionating his calamitie, and remembring his familiaritie with *Antipater*, and contemplating the vertue of *Herod* who ſtood before him, determined vpon the preſent to make him King of the Iewes, whom before he himſelfe had made Tetrarch: for
E he loued not *Herod* ſo well, but he hated *Antigonus* as much: for he held him both for a ſeditious perſon, and for an enemy to the Romanes. Now to the accompliſhing of this, hee found *Cæſar* farre more ready then himſelfe, who called to minde the ſeruice that *Antipater* did in Ægypt vnder his father, and his entertainment and friendſhip in all things: and beſide all theſe, he was wrought and wonne by *Herods* courage and valour. For which cauſe, hee procured the Senate to be aſſembled; at which time *Meſſala*, and after him *Aratinus* in the preſence of *Herod* recounted his fathers deſerts and fidelitie towards the Romanes, declaring *Antigonus* to be an enemy; not only becauſe that not long before he had reuolted, but for that now laſtly in deſpite of the Romanes he had by the aſſiſtance of the Parthians vſurped the kingdome. Vpon which conſiderations the Senate being mooued, and *Antonius* affirming it to be expedient for the Romane warres, that *Herod* ſhould be created King, the whole Senate condeſcended: and after the Senate
F was diſmiſſed, *Antonius* and *Cæſar* went forth with *Herod* betweene them, and the Conſuls went before accompanied with other Magiſtrates to offer ſacrifice, and to regiſter the decree of the Senate in the Capitoll. And *Antonius* feaſted *Herod* the firſt day of his raigne.

Herod in great dangers repaireth to Rome.

Herod repairing to Rome, hath conference with Antonius.

Ant. l. 14. c. 13. Herod findeth both Cæſar & Antonius fauourable vnto him.

Herod praiſed before the Senate. Herod made King by the Romane Senate.

The yeere of the world, 3925. before Christs birth, 39.

Chap. XII.

Of Herods *warre after he returned from Rome to recouer Ieruſalem, and againſt the theeues.*

Ant. lib. 14. cap. 23. Antigonus getteth Maſſada.

AT this time *Antigonus* beſieged thoſe that were left in the caſtle of Maſſada, who had great ſtore of victuals; and wanted nothing but water. For which cauſe *Ioſephus Herods* brother purpoſed to flye vnto the Arabians with two hundreth of his deareſt friends, for that hee had intelligence that *Malichus* repented him that hee had giuen *Herod* no better entertainment. Yea hee had forſaken the Caſtle, had not great ſtore of raine falne that very night, wherein he intended to flye: for the welles and ciſternes being now filled with water, there was no cauſe to flye: ſo that voluntarily iſſuing out of the Caſtle, he aſſaulted *Antigonus* ſouldiers, and killed very many of them; ſometime in open warre, and ſometime by policy: yet fought they not alwaies with fortunate ſucceſſe, but returned ſometimes with loſſe. In the meane time, *Ventidius* (who was Generall of that Romane army which was ſent to expulſe the Parthians out of Syria) after he had repulſed them, reſorted into Iudæa, vnder pretence to ſuccour *Ioſeph* and the reſt that were beſieged, but in effect to get *Antigonus* money. When as therefore he drew neere vnto Ieruſalem and had receiued the money he looked for, he departed with the greateſt part of his army, leauing *Silo* behinde him with a few to colour his pretence: and *Antigonus* hoping for a ſecond ſupply from the Parthians, fee'd *Silo* not to moleſt him for the preſent, ſeeing he was in great poſſibilitie. By this time *Herod* hauing ſayled from Italy to Ptolemais, and gathered a great army of ſtrangers and his owne countreymen together, came into Galilee againſt *Antigonus*, being aſſiſted with the forces of *Ventidius* and *Silo*, whom *Delius* who was ſent from *Antonius*, perſwaded to eſtabliſh *Herod* in his kingdome. But *Ventidius* was buſie in appeaſing the broyles that the Parthians had made in the cities, and *Silo* was corrupted by *Antigonus*: yet did not *Herod* want ayde, for euery day the further he marched into the countrey, the more his army increaſed, for all Galilee (a very few excepted) yeelded vnto him. Whereupon he purpoſed firſt of all to goe to Maſſada, to deliuer his friends that were there beſieged, but Ioppe hindered his purpoſe; which for that it was an enemy towne, hee thought it beſt to take it before he went further, leſt that whileſt he was going to Ieruſalem, his enemies ſhould haue a place behinde him to flye vnto. Now *Silo* ioyned armies with *Herod*, reioycing that he had found occaſion to reſiſt, becauſe he was perſecuted by the Iewes; whom *Herod* with a looſe wing of his army and a ſmall company of men, terrified, and preſently put to flight, and ſaued *Silo* alſo who had much adoe to make reſiſtance againſt them. This done and Ioppe taken, hee haſted to Maſſada, and the people of the countrey (ſome of them for his fathers ſake, other-ſome for his owne, and many for both) ioyned themſelues vnto him: many alſo came vnto him for hope, becauſe hee was now King; ſo that now he had a very puiſſant army: but *Antigonus* hindred his iourney, by planting certaine ambuſhes in places conuenient where *Herod* was to paſſe, and yet for all this he little harmed him.

The wars betweene Antigonus ſouldiers and Ioſeph, Herods brothers.

Ventidius the Romane Generall taketh money from Antigonus.

Ant. lib. 14. cap. 24. Herod againſt Antigonus.

Herod intendeth, after he hath taken Maſſada and Ioppe, to beſiege Ieruſalem.

Herod hauing eaſily taken Maſſada, and reſcued his friends from thence, he went to Ieruſalem; where both *Siloes* ſouldiers, and many of the Citie came and followed him, being now terrified with the greatneſſe of his forces: there pitching their tents at the Weſt ſide of the towne, they that guarded that part aſſaulted them with darts and arrowes; and others iſſuing by troupes foorth of the Citie, aſſaulted the forefront of the army. Whereupon *Herod* cauſed one to goe about the walls of the Citie, and to proclaime how that he was come for the good of the whole Citie, and that he would not take reuenge of any, though hee were his open enemy, and that he would pardon euen them that had beene moſt ſeditious. But when *Antigonus* his followers with loud exclamations hindred the cryers voyces from being heard, leſt any man ſhould alter his minde: *Herod* preſently commanded his men to beat the enemies off from the wall, who with their arrowes ſpeedily forced all that were in the towers to flye. At this time *Silo* was detected to haue bin hired with money: for he ſollicited many ſouldiers to cry out, that they wanted all things; and to aske money and victuals, and to craue to be diſmiſſed and ſent into ſome place of opportunitie, there to abide during the winter, nay he himſelfe ſought to be gone. But *Herod* went vnto the Captaines that ſerued vnder *Silo*, and called many of the ſouldiers together, requeſting them not to forſake him at that exigent, whom *Cæſar*, *Antonius*, and the whole Senate as they knew had ſent thither, promiſing them that within one day he would relieue all their neceſſities. When he had thus entreated them, himſelfe went about the fields, and brought them ſo

Herod begirteth Ieruſalem with a ſiege, and proclaimeth the cauſe of his comming.

Siloes ſubtilitie being corrupted by the Iewes.

Herod gathereth great ſtore of proviſion.

A so much prouision that he cut off all *Siloes* excuses: and forecasting lest hereafter there should be any want, he sent letters to Samaria (for that citie about this time had rendred it selfe vnto him) willing them to bring victuals, and wine and oyle, and cattell vnto Iericho. *Antigonus* hearing this, presently sent certaine of his men to lye in ambush in the fields, and suddenly to set vpon those that came for prouision, and kill them, and so hinder them from carrying any victuals to the campe: who obeying his commandement, went with a great number of souldiers to Iericho, and placed themselues vpon the mountaines, with an intent to espy if any body carryed prouision to the army. In the meane time *Herod* rested not; for taking with him ten companies (fiue of the Romanes, and fiue of the Iewes, amongst whom were mixed three hundreth that were hired, B and besides them a few horsemen) he came to Iericho, where he found the citie without inhabitants, and 500 with their wiues and families had placed themselues vpon the tops of the mountaines; whom when he had surprized, he permitted them to depart. But the Romanes brake into the citie, and sacked it, where they found the houses stored with all manner of riches: and the King leauing a garrison at Iericho, returned. He sent likewise the Romane souldiers to the cities which were on his side, to wit, Idumæa, Galilee, and Samaria, that they might abide there till winter was past. *Antigonus* also through *Silo* his meanes (whom he by money had made his friend) obtained that a part of his army might (during the winter time) abide at Lydda, for *Antonius* sake: and the Romanes being now discharged from the warres, abounded in all things.

The yeere of the world, 3925. before Christs birth, 39.

Herod accompanied with ten troupes commeth to Iericho.

The Romanes got a great prey.

All this time *Herod* was not idle, for accompanied with two thousand footmen, and fiue hun-C dreth horse, he went about Idumæa, & sent also his brother *Ioseph*, lest by *Antigonus* his meanes the people should rebell. And he himselfe hauing carried his mother and the rest of his kindred, whom he tooke from Massada, into Samaria; and hauing placed them where no danger might betide them; himselfe went into Galilee, to subdue that part of the country, which as yet was not in his hands, and to expell from thence the garrisons left by *Antigonus*. And when he was come to Sephoris, notwithstanding it shew mightily, he easily took it; for the garrison before he assaulted it fled; and finding there great store of prouision, he refreshed his souldiers, which now with winter weather were sore tyred, and then sent them against the theeues, that lay lurking in dens and caues; who making often incursions vpon the country, molested the inhabitants no lesse then if they had bin an army of enemies. And sending before three companies of footmen, and one D troupe of horsemen, into a village called Arbela, himselfe fortie dayes after came thither with the whole army. For all this the theeues feared him not, but arming themselues, came to meet him, trusting to their experience in warlike affaires, and their owne desperate courage: and ioyning battell, the right wing of their battell put the left wing of *Herods* to flight: but he with his right wing presently succoured them, and recalled his men that fled; and rushing violently vpon his enemies, he a little asswaged the forces of the enemy, till at last the forefront of their battell, not able to stand any longer, fled. *Herod* pursued them euen vnto Iordan, and killed many of them; those that escaped fled ouer the riuer; and thus he freed Galilee from that feare, saue that yet he had left some lurking in the caues, and therefore he was constrained there to make a longer abode. Wherefore first of all he gaue the souldiers the fruit of their labours, and distri-E buted to euery one of them an hundreth and fiftie drachmes of siluer, and vnto the Captaines more, and so sent them where they should passe the winter. Also he writ vnto his youngest brother *Pheroras* to prouide necessaries for them in the market; and to build a wall about the Castle of Alexandrium: which he performed.

Ant. lib. 14. cap. 24. Herod taketh the citie of Sephoris.

Herod fetteth forth against the theeues.

In the meane-while *Antonius* passed the time about Athens, and *Ventidius* sent for *Silo* and *Herod* to assist him in the warre against the Parthians, charging them, that before their comming they should settle the estate of the Iewes. Now *Herod* gladly & willingly sent *Silo* vnto *Ventidius*: and in the meane time he with his army went against the theeues in the caues. These caues were in very steepe mountaines, so that there was no way to come vnto them, saue onely by crooked and very narrow passages: and these mountaines were all rocks of stone cleane throughout, han-F ging ouer the vallies; so that the King a great while was doubtfull what to doe, seeing the place was so difficult to come to. At last, *Herod* deuised a way scarcely heard of before; for he put the valiantest of all his men into coffers, and so let them downe into the edge of the caues, and they killed the theeues and their families, and cast fire at them that resisted. And *Herod* seeking to saue some of them, caused a cryer to bid them come vnto him: but there was not one that willingly came vnto him, and those that were forced chose rather to dye, then be his captiues. So that an old man hauing seuen sons and a wife, who all requested that they might goe forth to the King, and saue their liues, killed them all after this manner: Himself stood before the doore of the caue,

The yeere of the world, 3926. before Christs birth, 38.

Ant. lib. 14. cap. 25.

The description of the caues where the theeues kept.

The yeere of the world, 3926. before Christs birth, 38.

and bade them come forth one by one, and alwaies as one of them came forth, hee killed him. And *Herod* being in a place where he might behold this spectacle, being mooued with compassion, stretched forth his hand and requested him to spare his children: but hee beeing nothing mooued to compassion by *Herods* words, vpbraided *Herods* base minde: and hauing butchered his sonnes, he also killed his wife, and casting the dead bodies downe into the vallies, finally he cast himselfe likewise downe headlong.

Herod hauing thus taken the caues, and slaine those that were in them, leauing a part of his army, so much as he thought might suffice to represse any that should attempt any rebellion, and making *Ptolomæus* chiefe ouer that part; returned into Samaria, carrying with him three thousand footmen, and sixe hundreth horsemen against *Antigonus*. After whose departure those that were accustomed to trouble Galilee, and molest it, hauing now (as they thought) opportunitie, assaulted *Ptolomæus* at vnawares and killed him: and wasted the country, retiring themselues into marish grounds and secret places. Which when *Herod* vnderstood, hee presently came to succour the country, and killed the most part of the enemies; and hauing taken all the castles by force, he exacted a hundreth talents for recompence of that reuolt to be payed by the cities. Now the Parthians being put to flight, and *Pacorus* slaine, *Ventidius* being willed thereto by letters from *Antonius*, sent vnto *Herod* a thousand horsemen, and two legions of footmen to assist him against *Antigonus*. Now *Antigonus* writ letters to the Generall of the foresaid company named *Machæra*, desiring him to helpe him; and complaining that *Herod* iniured him, promised him a summe of money. But he thinking it not best to forsake him he was sent to succour, especially seeing that *Herod* would giue more, would not be suborned by him: yet counterfeiting himselfe to be *Antigonus* his friend, meaning vnder that pretence to creepe into the knowledge of his secrets; which not regarding *Herods* counsell he went to discouer, notwithstanding that *Herod* dissuaded him from it: But *Antigonus* perceiuing his intent, shut him out of the Citie, and like an enemy draue him away from the walles, till such time as *Machæra* was ashamed of that he had done; and so returned to Amathunt vnto *Herod*. And being in a rage that things fell out against his expectation, he killed all the Iewes he found, not respecting whether they fauoured *Herod* or *Antigonus*. *Herod* hereat was mooued, and thought to be reuenged vpon *Machæra* as vpon an enemy; yet he bridled himselfe and hasted to *Antonius* to let him vnderstand *Machæras* crueltie. *Machæra* remembring how he had offended, followed the King, and with many entreaties besought him to be friends, and obtained it. Yet *Herod* kept on his iourney to *Antonius*, and hearing that he was now with a great armie besieging Samosata (which was a very strong Citie neere vnto Euphrates) he made the more haste; thinking it now a fit time to shew his vertue, and that hereby he might winne *Antonius* fauour the more. So soone as hee came to *Antonius* hee ended the siege, killing a great number of enemies, and had for his labour a great part of the spoile: and *Antonius* though before hee admired his vertue; yet then was his opinion encreased, so that hee had a greater hope of his honour and attaining to the kingdome. So *Antigonus* was constrained to render the Citie.

Ptolomey Captaine of Herods souldiers slaine.

Machæras iniquitie.

The yeere of the world, 3927. before Christs Natiuitie, 37.

Antonius admireth Herods valour.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the death of IOSEPH: *how* HEROD *besieged Ierusalem: and how* ANTIGONVS *was slaine.*

Ant. lib. 14. cap. 25.

IN the meane season *Herods* affaires in Iudæa went backward: for hee left his brother *Ioseph* Gouernour of all, commanding him to doe nothing against *Antigonus* till his returne. For he little trusted to *Machæras* helpe, because of the parts hee had played before. But *Ioseph* vnderstanding his brother to bee farre off, not regarding what charge was left him, went to Iericho accompanied with fiue companies which *Machæra* sent with him, thinking now in haruest time to haue taken away their corne: but being assaulted by the enemy vpon the mountaines and in difficult places, himselfe was there slaine, shewing himselfe in that fight a worthy and valiant man: and there was not one left aliue of all the Romane souldiers; for they were all newly gathered out of Syria, and they had no old souldiers amongst them to assist them who were ignorant in warfare. *Antigonus* not contented with the victory, became such a tyrant, that he caused the dead corps of *Ioseph* to be scourged: and hauing the dead bodies in his power, hee cut off *Iosephs* head, although *Pheroras* his brother offered fiftie talents to redeeme the same.

Antigonus crueltie against Iosephs carcasse.

After *Antigonus* had obtained this victory, there was such a change in Galilee, that those who

A who fauoured him, tooke the chiefeſt of *Herods* fauourites, and drowned them in a pond. Alſo there aroſe a great change in Idumæa; where *Machæra* repaired the wals of a certaine caſtle called Githa. All this while *Herod* heard nothing of the newes; for after *Samoſata* was taken, *Antonius* made *Soſius* Gouernour of Syria, leauing order with him, that hee ſhould helpe *Herod* againſt *Antigonus*, and ſo he departed into Egypt. *Soſius* ſent two companies of Souldiers with *Herod* into Iudæa to helpe him, and he himſelfe with the reſt of the army followed. When *Herod* was at Antiochia neere Daphne, his brothers death was manifeſted vnto him in a dreame: And whileſt he was troubled thus, ſo that he leapt out of his bed, euen at the ſame inſtant the meſſengers who brought tydings of his death, entred into the houſe: and weeping a little for griefe, B as it were deferring his ſorrow till another time, he went towards his enemies; ſo that he haſted aboue his ſtrength. When hee came to Libanus, hee tooke eight hundreth inhabitants of that mountaine to helpe him, and ioyned vnto them one of the Romane legions; and not expecting the day-time, with them he entred into Galilee, and meeting with his enemies, he forced them to flye vnto the place from whence they came: and euery day he aſſaulted their Caſtle: But before he could take it, being wearied with cruell winter, he was conſtrained to lead his army into the next village. Within a few dayes his number being increaſed by one other legion which *Antonius* ſent, he put his enemies in ſuch a feare, that they in the night time fled and forſooke the Caſtle. And now he haſted to Iericho to bee reuenged vpon thoſe that killed his brother: where there befell him a moſt ſtrange accident, from the which being againſt all hope deliuered, C he perſwaded himſelfe that God bare an eſpeciall loue vnto him. For when many Nobles that night had ſupped with him, ſupper being ended, and euery one being gone forth, incontinently the houſe wherein hee ſupt fell downe: *Herod* tooke this as a Præſagium both of the dangers and proſperous ſucceſſe he was to haue in his warres. And the next morning early he remooued from thence, and about 6000. of the enemies deſcending from the mountaines, aſſaulted the vantguard, but they durſt not ioyne battell with the Romanes, but moleſted them ſtanding afarre off with ſtones and darts, and they wounded many: ſo that alſo *Herod* himſelfe paſſing along, was wounded in the ſide with a dart. *Antigonus* deſirous to ſhew himſelfe moſt potent, as well in multitude of men, as alſo in courage, ſent *Pappus* a friend of his, with an army into Samaria, who there got the victory of *Machæra*. *Herod* went about the enemies countrey and tooke there D fiue townes, and deſtroyed two thouſand of the inhabitants, and firing the houſes, he returned to his army neere vnto a village called Cana.

The yeere of the world, 3927. before Chriſts birth, 37.

Herod certified of his brothers death in a dreame.

Herods dining roome fell after he had forſaken it, and gone to bed.

Euery day there came flocking vnto him a very great number of Iewes, both from Iericho and from other parts of the countrey, ſome of them hating *Antigonus*, other ſome louing *Herod* for his valiant deeds: for many without any reaſon deſired an alteration. Whileſt thus he haſted to fight, *Pappus* with his men neither fearing the multitude, nor ſtrengh of their enemies, came fiercely vpon them, and offered battell. The battell being begun, the others a while abſtained, onely *Herod* remembring his brothers death, ventured more then the reſt, to the end to bee reuenged vpon them that were the authors thereof: and ſo he eaſily ouercame the enemies army; and ſtill aſſaulting the freſh men, hee put them all to flight. There was a mighty ſlaughter: for E many being forced to flye into the village from whence they came, he purſued them and ſlew an infinite number. Laſtly, ruſhing amongſt the enemies that fled, he brake into the village, where all the houſes were full of armed men, and euery houſe toppe full of men to defend it: and becauſe he eaſily ouercame thoſe that were abroad, he ouerthrew the houſes, and ſo forced them that were within to come forth. Others hee killed in companies with the ruines of the houſes wherein they were; and if any one chanced to eſcape, the ſouldiers without that were already armed, with ſwords kild them: ſo that there were ſuch heaps of dead bodies, that they who had the victory could not paſſe thorow the ſtreets for them. The enemies were ſo diſcouraged with this ouerthrow, that the whole multitude of them (ſeeing thoſe that were ſlaine in the village) fled away: and *Herod* by the benefit of his good fortune had euen then come to Ieruſalem, had not F winter ſtormes hindred him, which was the onely cauſe that he at that time got not a full conqueſt; and that *Antigonus* was not vtterly ouerthrowne, who through feare and deſperation was purpoſed to leaue the City. But *Herod* towards night hauing giuen his friends leaue to depart to reſt their wearie bodies, being himſelfe heated with his armour, after the manner of ſouldiers, went to waſh himſelfe, accompanied onely with one Page. And before hee came to the bath, one of his enemies met him hauing a ſword drawne in his hand; and then another; and afterwards a third; and after them more: and theſe eſcaped out of the battell, and came to the bath to hide themſelues; and ſeeing the King there, they were ſore afraid, and ſought to hide themſelues,

The number of the carkeſſes hinder the ſouldiers paſſage.

The yeere of the world, 3928. before Christs birth, 36.

and ſo paſſed by him being aſtoniſhed and amazed, although the King at that time was naked and weaponleſſe: and in ſo much as none were preſent there to ſurprize them, they eſcaped; and *Herod* was very well contented that he had no harme by them. The next day after, hee beheaded *Pappus*, who was the Generall of *Antigonus* his army, and ſent his head to his brother *Pheroras*, who was ruler of his army, in reuenge of his brother that was ſlaine: for *Pappus* was he that ſlew *Ioſeph*.

Herod beheadeth Pappus Antigonus captaine. Ant. l. 14. c. 12.

The winter being paſt, hee with his army came to Ieruſalem, and beſieged it, pitching his tents before the Temple, where it was eaſieſt to take the City, and where beforetime *Pompey* had entred it (which was about the third yeere after *Herod* was made King in Rome.) Now when he had quartered his army as he thought beſt for his purpoſe, and cut off the ſuburbs, he cauſed three rampires to be raiſed, and towres to be builded vpon them: and leauing there his truſty friends that would not ſlack their buſineſſe, he went into Samaria to viſit his betrothed, which was the daughter of *Alexander*, who was ſon to *Ariſtobulus*, who (as we before made mention) was deſpouſed vnto him: and he wedded her euen in the time of the ſiege, as who ſhould ſay, now he contemned his enemies: after his marriage rites were performed, he returned to Ieruſalem with a farre greater army: *Soſius* alſo ſeconded him with a great army of footmen, and horſmen, whom he ſent before him thorow the midſt of the countrey; and he himſelfe came after by Phœnicia. Now when all his whole army was aſſembled together, to the number of about ſome 11. legions of footmen, and ſix thouſand horſemen, beſides the Syrians that came to helpe him, which were no ſmall number, he laied his aſſault and battery to the northermoſt wall; and the rather becauſe he thought himſelfe warranted by the decree of the Senate, wherby he was declared to be King. *Soſius* alſo was warranted by *Antonies* letters, whereby he commanded him to helpe *Herod* with all the army that was vnder his gouernment. Meane while thoſe Iewes that were within the city were diuerſly troubled: for a multitude of the weaker ſort, gathering themſelues together about the Temple, grew to this reſolution; that whoſoeuer ſhould fortune to die in this attempt, ſhould bee moſt happy and beloued of God. But thoſe who were hardieſt amongſt them, ioyning themſelues together, robbed and tooke away from the reſt what they could, but in eſpeciall they tooke victuals from that part that was next the city: ſo that they neither left meat for horſes nor men, and the valianteſt of them all being ſet to defend the wals againſt thoſe that beſieged them, hindred the aduerſary from erecting their rampires; ſo that they ſtill found ſome new deuice to hinder the force of their engines; neither did they any wayes preuaile ſo much as by their mynes which they made. As for the theeues, the King ſought to repreſſe their incurſions, by placing an ambuſh of men to intercept them; by which meanes hee relieued the want and ſcarcity of victuals, by fetching prouiſion from places farre diſtant: But notwithſtanding they in their fight failed in no ſort to expreſſe their incredible valour; yet did that military experience which the Romans had, ouer-maſter them by ods. Natheleſſe, notwithſtanding the imminent danger wherin they were plunged, they fought with them in open field: but where it chanced that the Romans by digging two ſeuerall mynes, brake all at once into the midſt of them; yet ſuddenly repaired they the breach that was made in the wall, and fortified the other part thereof. In a word, they neither ſpared hands nor engines, but were all of them determined to fight it out euen vnto the laſt caſt: and although they were beſieged with ſo huge an army, yet they defended the town from them fiue moneths, till ſuch time as certaine of *Herods* choſen men, valiantly ſcaling and clearing the wals, brake into the City, and after them *Soſius* his Centurions. Thoſe places that neereſt adioyned the Temple, were the firſt of all that they intercepted; and the whole army entring the city, it was lamentable to ſee how in euery corner the people were maſſacred: for the Romanes being diſpleaſed that the ſiege continued ſo long time, became more cruell, and *Herods* army endeauoured to let no one of the aduerſe part eſcape. By which meanes many were ſlaine, both in the narroweſt places of the ſtreets, as alſo in their owne houſes: yea euen then alſo when they fled into the Temple, without reſpect of age or woman-hood. For although the King intreated the ſouldiers to ſpare the people: yet for all that, they neuer reſtrained their cruell hands, but like mad men they raged againſt all; men, women, and children. At that time alſo *Antigonus* neither reſpecting his former condition, nor his preſent eſtate, came and proſtrated himſelfe at *Soſius* his feet, beſeeching him to be mercifull vnto him; but *Soſius* nothing compaſſionating his calamity, cruelly derided him, and called him *Antigona*: yet did hee not permit him to depart free as a woman, but put him in priſon.

The yeere of the world, 3929. before Christs Natiuitie, 35.

The Iewes valiantly defend themſelues.

Herods ſouldiers after fiue moneths ſiege enter the city.

Slaughter in Ieruſalem.

Soſius taketh Antigonus.

Now when *Herod* had conquered his enemies, hee endeauored to the vtmoſt to appeaſe the fury of the ſouldiers; for all the whole multitude were deſirous to ſee the Temple, and the holy

A holy veſſels therein: but he reſiſted them, appeaſing ſome by threatnings, reclaiming others by force, and the reſt by intreaties, ſuppoſing that it had been better for himſelfe to haue beene conquered, then by obtaining the victory, to miniſter a meanes whereby thoſe things ſhould be diſcouered which were not lawfull to bee reuealed. Hee therefore preſently repreſſed the ſouldiers from ſacking the city, inueying much againſt *Soſius*, and obiecting againſt him, that the Romanes would deſolate the city both of men and money, and leaue him King of a place without ſubiects: adding further, that he eſteem'd not the Empire of the whole world to be a recompence for ſuch a maſſacre of his citizens. Hereunto *Soſius* replied, that in equity the ſouldiers were to haue the ſacking of the towne, in recompence of that labour they had ſpent in the ſiege. But *Herod* gaue B him this anſwer, that he had rather recompence euery man out of his owne treaſury; and by this meanes he redeemed as it were the reliques of his deſolate countrey: and in the end performed that which he had promiſed. For he bountifully rewarded euery ſouldier and captain, according to his merit, and gaue *Soſius* a Kingly reward: ſo that no man went away without money. This done, *Soſius* dedicated a golden crowne vnto God, and ſo departed, leading *Antigonus* captiue with him, to the end to preſent him vnto *Antonius*. This man deſirous to continue his life, and entertaining himſelfe with this cold hope euen vntill the laſt, receiued in the end that reward which his faint heart deſired, and was beheaded.

The yeere of the world, 3929. before Chriſts birth, 35.

Herod liberally beſtowes money vpon the ſouldiers.

Antigonus beheaded. Ant. l 11. c. 1.

Herod being now King, made a diſtinction betweene the citizens; and thoſe who had fauoured him, he vſed very honourably, and put thoſe to death who had followed *Antigonus*: and C when money failed, he diſtributed all his kingly ornaments, and ſent them to *Antonius* and his company. Yet did he not quite redeeme himſelfe from all annoyances: for *Antonius* being now captiuate through *Cleopatra* her loue, in all things yeelded vnto her deſire: and *Cleopatra* hauing raged ſo againſt her owne kindred, that ſhee had not left one of them aliue, now turned her fury vpon ſtrangers, and accuſing the Nobility of Syria vnto *Antonius*, ſhee perſwaded him to put them to death, that ſhe might thereby the eaſier obtaine their poſſeſſions. Afterward, her couetous mind ſought to effect the like againſt the Arabians, and the Iewes alſo: inſomuch that ſhee ſecretly went about to cauſe the Kings of thoſe places, *Malichus* and *Herod*, to be put to death. *Antonius* made a ſhew as though he would haue granted her requeſt; yet he thought it great impiety to kill good men, and ſo great Kings: yet notwithſtanding, he no more accounted them his D friends, but tooke a great quantity of ground from the limits of both their countries, and a vineyard in Iericho, where Balme grew; and gaue her all the Cities on this ſide the riuer Eleutherus, (Tyre and Sidon onely excepted.) Now when ſhee had obtain'd the dominion of theſe cities, ſhee followed *Antonius* vnto Euphrates, who ſet forward to make warre againſt the Parthians, and afterward by Apamia and Damaſcus ſhee came into Iudæa: where *Herod*, hauing ſomething pacified her angry minde with great gifts, obtained to pay her yeerly two hundreth talents for that part of his countrey, which *Antonius* had giuen her; and ſeeking by all meanes poſſible to get himſelfe an intereſt in her fauour, he conducted her vnto Pelluſium: and not long after, *Antonius* returned out of Parthia, and brought *Artabazes*, the ſonne of *Tigranes*, captiue, and gaue him to *Cleopatra*: for all the money and riches which he had got, and the captiues likewiſe, were be-E ſtowed on her.

Cleopatras cruelty againſt her kindred.

Cleopatras couetouſneſſe.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of the treacherous practice of CLEOPATRA *againſt* HEROD: *of* HERODS *warre againſt the Arabians, and of a very great earthquake.*

ABout ſuch time as the Actiacum warre was afoot, *Herod* prepared himſelfe to attend *Antonius*; ſeeing for the preſent all troubles were pacified in Iudæa, and he had already got the caſtle of Hircanion, which *Antigonus* ſiſter had in her poſſeſſion. But *Cleopatra* craf-F tily preuented him in this his iourney; ſo that hee could not go with *Antonius*: for ſhee deſiring the ruines of both the Kings (as was before mentioned) perſwaded *Antonius* that he ſhould cauſe *Herod* to make warre againſt the Arabians: whom if he ouercame, then ſhe ſhould be made Queene of Arabia; and if ſo be himſelfe were ouercome, then ſhee ſhould be Queene of Iudæa: intending hereby, that one of theſe Potentates ſhould ruinate the other. But this practice of hers was greatly to *Herods* gaine: for firſt of all, making head againſt thoſe of Syria that were his enemies, with all the power of horſemen he could make, which was very many, and meeting them at Dioſpolis, he ouercame them, though they valiantly reſiſted: who hauing the ouerthrow, ſtir-

The yeere of the world, 3934. before chriſts birth, 30. Ant. l. 15. c. 5.

Cleopatras ſubtill treaſon againſt Herod

red

The yeere of the world, 3934. before Christs birth, 30. Ant. l. 15. c. 6.

red vp a mighty army of the Arabians to helpe them, ſo that an infinite company was gathered together about Cœloſyria, expecting the Iewes neere vnto the city called Canatha. Where King *Herod* meeting them, purpoſed not to fight vnaduiſedly, but to compaſſe his owne army round about with a wall: but his army remembring their former victory, would not be counſelled, but violently aſſaulted the Arabians, & at the firſt onſet put them to flight. *Herod* purſuing his enemy, was greatly endangered by the treaſon of the inhabitants of Canatha (who were ſet on by *Athenio*, that was one of *Cleopatras* captains, who had alwaies borne him ill will) for the Arabians encouraged by their help, returned againe to battell; and they two ioyned their forces together, and ſet vpon *Herod* in ſtony and difficult places, and put his army to flight, and ſlew many of them: and thoſe that eſcaped fled into a little village hard-by, cald Ormiza; where the Arabians compaſſing them about, tooke both the men and their tents with all their furniture. Not long after this ouerthrow of *Herods* ſouldiers, he came and brought helpe, but too late, and to little purpoſe: but the cauſe hereof was, for that the captains of his army would not obey his commandement: for if they had beene obedient, *Athenio* had not had opportunity to worke him that iniury; yet was he reuenged vpon the Arabians, and daily made incurſions vpon their borders, and ceaſed not to inuade and ſpoile them, vntill by many, he had cried quittance with them for their one victory.

The Arabians defeat Herods army.

The Actian warre betweene Antonius and Auguſtus.

While thus he purſued his enemies, a great calamity befell him in the ſeuenth yeere of his raigne, and in the midſt of the Actian warre: for about the beginning of the ſpring time, there chanced a great earthquake, which ſlew an infinite multitude of beaſts, and thirty thouſand people: yet the army had no harme, for it lay in an open place. With the report hereof, the Arabians were highly encouraged (for ſuch as report an euill occurrent, doe alwaies redouble the miſery thereof in relating it) for which cauſe, the Arabians, making account that all Iudæa was ouerthrowne, and that there was no man left aliue to reſiſt them, entred into Iudæa, aſſuring themſelues to conquer the countrey: and before their comming, they ſlew the Embaſſadours of the Iewes that were ſent vnto them. *Herod*, perceiuing his countriemen terrified by the ſudden approach of their enemies, and not onely broken, but wearied with the greatneſſe and continuance of their calamities, rowzed vp their drouping ſpirits that were tired with ſuſpect, and encouraged them on this wiſe: I ſee no reaſon of your preſent feare, neither do I admire, that you were terrified with the puniſhment of Gods indignation: but it is a cowardly mind to be daunted by the comming of your enemies, who are but men; and whoſe violence, if your ſelues pleaſe, yee may repreſſe. For mine owne part, I am ſo farre from being diſcouraged by the approach of my enemies, that I rather thinke that God hath of his prouidence ſent this earthquake as a bait to allure and incite the Arabians to inuade vs, to the end, that through our meanes he may puniſh them: for the cauſe that moueth them to aſſault vs, is, not the truſt they repoſe in their owne valour and great army, but it is our miſery that inuiteth them. Yet who knowes not that the hope is fruſtrated that is founded not vpon a mans priuate vertue, but vpon another mans misfortune? There is nothing aſſured in humane affaires, in reſpect either of proſperous ſucceſſe, or aduerſe fortune, which a man may perceiue to alter vpon all occurrents: as we our ſelues may witneſſe by our own experience. For in the firſt conflict ye ouercame; in the ſecond yee were ouercome; and now the third time (for ought I can coniecture) they, thinking themſelues ſure of the victory, ſhall by vs be ouercome: for they who miſdoubt nothing, are raſh in their proceedings, whereas they that are feareſull and timorous, prouidently ſeeke to preuent their dangers: ſo that I am encouraged to hope for victory euen by your feare.

Another calamity of Herods.

Herods oration to his diſmaied ſouldiers.

Feare giueth confidence.

For when as you were too confident, and againſt my will and direction ruſhed in vpon your enemies, *Athenio* found opportunity to hurt vs: but now ſith I perceiue in your minds a certaine remiſneſſe and a forecaſt, it is an euident token vnto me of an aſſured victory. It behoooueth you therefore not onely before the conflict to continue your accuſtomed mindes, but alſo in the conflict to ſhew that ye are men, armed both with hearts and hardineſſe; to the end, that our impious enemies may well ſee, that neither any humane calamity, nor diuine puniſhment can daunt the courage of the Iewes, whil'ſt their breath is in their bodies: and that neuer a one of you all will ſuffer the Arabians to domineere ouer your goods and poſſeſſions, whom many times you haue almoſt made your ſlaues. Bee not therefore terrified with this motion of a body that hath no ſoule: neither yet perſwade your ſelues, that the earthquake portendeth any maſſacre, for euen the elements themſelues by their owne nature are ſubiect to ſuch defects, and portend no other miſhappe, but that which they bring with them. Perhaps the plague, and famine, and earthquake, haue ſome tokens demonſtrating them before they come: but when they are once come, they ſignifie nothing elſe; but at laſt, end and ceaſe of themſelues. But ſay we ſhould

be

A be ouercome, can war enforce more harme against vs, then the earthquake hath done? Truely, it is an euident token of our enemies ruine, and that by their owne cause, who most cruelly, contrary to the law of all nations, butchered our Embassadors, offring to God such sacrifice for the good successe of their wars. They cannot hide themselues from the sight of God, and from his mighty power, but presently they shall feele punishment for their offence, if filled with the courageous spirit of our nation, we be stird vp to reuenge that impious violating the law of all nations, and so euery one march on to fight, not for his wife and children, or country; but to reuenge the murther of our Embassadors: who will lead our army, and know better then we that are aliue to direct the same. For mine owne part (if you will be ruled by mee) I will be the first that B will lead you, and will hazzard my selfe for you: for you know full well, that if your valour be not eclipsed by some headlong rashnesse, there is nothing that may make head against you.

The yeer of the world, 3934. before christs birth, 30.

Herods peroration.

After he had by these or such like perswasions sounded his souldiers, and found them in some sort encouraged therby, he offred sacrifice to God. And presently after, with all his army he passed ouer Iordan: and pitching his tents at Philadelphia, not far from his enemy, he made a shew to assault a Castle that was between them and him, and so skirmished with them afarre off, desirous to draw them to the battell: for the enemies had sent to intercept the castle; but *Herods* forces gaue them the repulse, and in despight of them kept the hill. Thus euery day made he an offer to fight, brauing the Arabians: and seeing they would not come to the shocke (for they were in great feare, and *Athemus* their Generall for very feare was ready to giue vp the ghost) he as- C saulted them in their trenches, and cast down their rampier, so as they were constrained to come forth to battell, without any order; and their horsemen and footmen were confusedly mixt together. And although the Iewes in number were inferiour vnto them, yet they were inferiour to the Iewes in courage; yet they became now more hardy, because they despaired of the victory: and so long as they stood to it, they had no great losse: but when they turned their backes, then many were slaine by the Iewes, and many perished being troden on by their fellowes. Those that escaped, were forced to retire themselues into their trenches, where *Herod* besieged them: and although they were all ready to be put to the sword, yet was there such penury of water, that for drinke they were all like to perish. For which cause, they sent Embassadors to the King, offring him fifty talents to let them goe: but he contemned them, and so much more earnest was he, by D reason that their want of water was so great, that comming out by flocks of their owne accord, they offred themselues to the Iewes: so that in this sort there came forth foure thousand in fiue daies, and the sixt day the whole multitude (despairing of their liues) came out to fight, with whom *Herod* conflicting, slew about seuen thousand. Hauing in this sort weakned the Arabians, that he had now extinguished all their strong men, the countrymen admired him, and were so much daunted at his puissance, that they wished him for their Ruler.

Herod sacrifi-ceth to God before the battell.

The Arabians through extreme thirst are enforced to yeeld to the Iewes.

CHAP. XV.

How HEROD *was exalted to the Kingdome.*

E

INcontinent after this his prosperous successe, there did betide vnto him a sea of cares and griefes, in respect of the loue which he bare vnto *Antonius*, whom *Cæsar* had now lately ouerthrowne at the battell which was fought at Actium: yet was hee more affraid then hurt by this his suspicion: for *Cæsar* accounted not *Antonius* fully conquered, so long as *Herod* and he kept together. Wherefore, the King timely foreseeing those dangers that might ensue, went to Rhodes, where at that time *Cæsar* abode: in which place, in the habit of a priuate man, and without a Crown, but with a Kingly courage, he presented himselfe before him, and with vnfained constancie spake vnto him in such manner as followeth; I was, O *Cæsar*, made King of Iudæa by *Antonius* his meanes: and I must confesse, that I haue beene a King, who, what in me lay, F haue serued his turne, and sought his profit: yea, I must not deny, but that (had not the Arabians hindred me) I had with all the power I could haue made, seconded and assisted *Antonie* against thee: yea, although personally I could not goe, yet did I what I could to helpe him, and sent him many thousand measures of corne. Nay, though he had the ouerthrow at Actium, yet did not I forsake him, who had deseru'd wel at my hands: & althogh I was not able to assist him with force of armes, yet I confirmed him by my counsell the best I could, inculcating oftentimes vnto him, that there was one onely way to redresse his aduersity, to wit, by the death of *Cleopatra*, whom if he killed, I promised him to assist him with money, strong holds, and an army; yea, and with mine

Ant. lib. 15. cap. 7.

Herods oration to Augustus Cæsar.

Herod speakes freely before Cæsar.

The yeere of the world, 3914. before Christs birth, 30.

mine owne person against thee: but the loue of *Cleopatra*, and God who had already designed the victory vnto thee, stopped his eares. For which cause, O *Cæsar*, I am conquered with *Antonius*, and haue forsaken my Crowne and dignity with his fortunes: and I am come vnto thee, hoping that at thy hands I may obtaine pardon. To this *Cæsar* answered: Liue in safety, and raigne now with greater security then before; for thou deseruest to rule others, who with such constancy didst defend and maintaine thy friendship. At this time endeauour thy selfe to continue faithfull toward them that are more fortunate then *Antonius* was: for, for my part I haue conceiued a great hope and expectation of thy valour and prowesse; yet did *Antonius* well, in that he rather obeyed *Cleopatra* then thee: for by his follies haue we now purchased thy friendship. That thou hast begun to doe well, it hereby appeareth, because *Ventidius* hath signified vnto me, that thou hast sent him succours against his enemies. For which cause, by this my present decree, be thou established in thy kingdome, and I will shortly let thee know, that I will be beneficiall vnto thee: so as thou shalt haue no cause to bewaile the losse of *Antonius*. By this speech he exhorted the King not to misdoubt of his friendship, and withall put a Crowne vpon his head, and made a decree, and sealed it, testifying how he had remitted all things done by *Herod*, and confirmed him in his kingdome, and rehearsed many things therein, greatly tending to *Herods* praise. *Herod* (hauing first pacified *Cæsar* with many gifts) requested him to pardon *Alexander*, one of *Antonius* his friends, who earnestly and in humble manner desired the same: but *Cæsar* being very angry, answered, that he for whom he entreated, had greatly and many times offended, and so repeld *Herod* with this answer.

Cæsars answer to Herod.

Herods gratulation toward Cæsar.

Afterward, *Cæsar*, trauailing into Egypt through Syria, was entertained by *Herod* with all royall pompe possible: and that was the first time that he shewed himselfe to take part with *Cæsar*, when neere vnto Ptolemais he took a view of the souldiers with *Cæsar*, and made a banquet for him and all his friends, and feasted the whole armie likewise. And in as much as he trauailed to Pelusium thorow dry grounds, when they returned againe, he prouided water for them, and furnished the army with all necessaries: so that both *Cæsar* and the souldiers thought the kingdome a small recompence for his deserts. For which cause, after he came into Egypt, and that *Antonius* and *Cleopatra* were now dead, hee did not onely increase his honour, but also restored vnto him that portion of his country which was taken away, and giuen to *Cleopatra*: and besides that, Gadara, and Hippon, and Samaria, and other cities, about the sea-coast; to wit, Gaza, and Anthedon, and Ioppe, and Stratons tower: and moreouer gaue him foure hundreth Galathians, which before were *Cleopatra* her guard: and there was nothing that so much moued *Cæsars* liberalitie, as the courageous minde of him vnto whom he was so liberall. After the first Actian solemnity, he added vnto *Herods* dominion Trachon, and Batanæa, and Auranitis bordering vpon it. For this cause *Zenodorus* (who for money hired *Lysanias* his house) continually sent theeues out of Trachon to robbe the people of Damascus: who in humble manner went to *Varus* (who was at that time Gouernour of Syria) entreating him to informe *Cæsar* of their calamity. *Cæsar*, vnderstanding thereof, writ backe againe, commanding him to extinguish all the theeues: whereupon *Varus* with an armie went to those places which were most suspected, and rid the countrey of the theeues, and tooke the territory from *Zenodorus*: and *Cæsar* (lest it should againe be a refuge for theeues to spoile Damascus) gaue it to *Herod*, and made him ruler ouer all Syria. And tenne yeeres after, returning to his owne countrey, he commanded the Gouernours to doe nothing without *Herods* counsell: and after *Zenodorus* his death, he gaue him all the country between Trachon and Galilee. But that which *Herod* esteemed aboue all the rest, was, that *Cæsar* loued him best of all next to *Agrippa*: and *Agrippa* loued him most of all men next vnto *Cæsar*. Thus now he touched the very top of felicitie: and so increasing in high mind, he imployed himselfe chiefely to piety.

Cæsar increaseth Herods dominion.

Herod made Gouernour of Syria.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Cities and buildings reedified and built by HEROD, *and of his liberality towards strangers, and of his felicity.*

The yeere of the world, 3947. before Christs birth, 17.

IN the fifteenth yeere of his raigne hee repaired the Temple, and enclosed twice so much ground as was before about the Temple with a strong wall, whereon hee bestowed great costs and charges to beautifie it: as the great porches will testifie, which hee built about the Temple, and a Castle on the North-part thereunto adioyning, which he built euen from the foundation. The Castle was so rich and sumptuous, that it was equall vnto the Kings Palace, and in

Ant. li. 15. ca. 10. 12, 13, 14. Herods buildings.

A in the honour of *Antonius*, he named it Antonia. He builded himselfe also a Palace in the vpper part of the City, and in it two houses, huge, and richly adorned: so that the Temple was not to be compared vnto them. And calling them by his friends names, he tearmed one of them Cæsarea, and another Agrippa; whose names and memories he did not onely solemnize, and write in his priuate houses, but also throughout the whole country, and in euery part of the city. For in the countrey of Samaria he compassed a towne with a wall, which was about twenty stounds, and called it Sebaste; and he sent thither six thousand inhabitants, giuing them a most fertill soile and demeasnes. There also amongst other buildings, he erected a very huge Temple, and dedicated it to *Cæsar*, and gaue the inhabitants of that place especiall priuiledges. About the Temple *The yeere of the world, 3947. before christs birth, 17.*

B was there a piece of ground containing three stounds and a halfe. For this monuments sake, *Cæsar* added vnto his dominion another country; for which cause he erected another Temple vnto him, neere vnto the head of Iordan, of white marble, in a place called Panium, where there is a mountaine rising an infinite height into the aire, at the side whereof there is an obscure valley, where there are high rocks, that (by drops of water falling on them) are made hollow: so that the water, standing in their concauity till they run ouer, falleth down with a streame of such a length as is admirable. At the foote of this valley on the outside, there spring certaine fountaines, and many thinke this to be the head of the riuer Iordan; which, whether it be true or no, we will declare hereafter.

C At Iericho also (between the castle of Cyprus, and the other ancient Kings houses) he erected other buildings, fairer and more commodious for them that came thither, calling them after the names of his friends. Finally, there was no conuenient place in the whole kingdome, wherein he erected not some thing in honour of *Cæsar*: and hauing in euery place of his owne kingdome deuised and dedicated Temples vnto him, he in Syria also where he ruled did the like, founding in very many Cities, Temples, which he called by the name of *Cæsar*. And perceiuing, that amongst the Cities of the sea-coast, there was one called Stratons tower, which, being very old, was ruinated; and for the situation thereof deserued reparation and cost: he repaired it all with white stone, and built a very royall Palace therein, wherein chiefly he shewed a mighty minde. For this City standing in the midst betweene Dora and Ioppe, there was no port or hauen in that coast: so that whosoeuer sailed from Phœnicia into Egypt, were in great danger, by reason of the violent *The fountain-head of Iordã.*

D winds that blew from Africa; which blowing but a very easie gale, inforce the water with such a violence against the rocks on the shore, that the waues, rebounding back again a good way within the sea, make the whole sea tempestuous. But the King, with his liberality and cost ouercomming nature, builded a port or hauen in that place, far bigger then that of Piræum, and within it made most safe stations for ships. And although the nature of that place was altogether contrary to his intent, yet he so ouercame that difficulty, that the sea could do that building no harme: and it was so gallant and beautifull to behold, as though there had bin no let any way to hinder the adorning thereof. For hauing measured out such a place (as we haue spoken of) for the port, he laid a foundation in the bottome twenty elles deepe of stone, whereof most of them were fif- *Herod makes a greater port then that of Piræum.*

E ty foot long, nine foot thicke, and tenne foot broad, and some bigger; and all the bottome of the hauen where the water came, was laid with these stones. Which done, he raised a wall of two hundreth foot; whereof a hundreth foot was builded to breake the violence of the waues, and had a name according to the vse it serued for. The other hundreth foot serued for a foundation of the wall whereof the hauen was compassed, which was repleniſhed with many goodly towers; the greatest and faireſt whereof he named Drusius, after the name of *Cæsars* kinsman. There were very many vaults also to conduct such things into the towne as were brought into the hauen, and about them a paued place for them to walke in, that came out of the ships: The entrance therunto was on the North side; for by reason of the situation of the place, the North-wind there is the calmest. *An apt description of a hauen.*

F Before the entrance were 3. great colossus held vp on euery side with pillars: they wch are on the left hand, are propt vp by a tower being a solid rock of stone. But at the entrance on the right hand were two huge stones ioynd together, which make a greater tower then the other. There is also a house adioyning vnto the hauen built of white stone: The streets of the cities comming to that place, are of one bignes and proportion. Vpon a hill opposite to the mouth of the hauen, was there builded a temple very beautifull and exceeding great, which he dedicated to *Cæsar*, wherin was placed *Cæsars* colossus, fully as great as *Iupiters* at Olympus: for it was made after that example, equal to that at Rome, and that of *Iunoes* at Argos. The city he builded for the inhabitants of that Prouince, and the port or hauen for seafaring men. The honour and credit he attributed to

Cæsar,

The yeere of the world, 3947. before Christ, Natiuitie, 17.

Cæsar, and by his name called it Cæsarea. He also made other buildings, as the Market, the Theater, and the Amphitheater, which are worth the memory. And he euery fift yeere ordained certaine sports, and called them after the name of *Cæsar*. And himselfe first proposed very ample rewards in the 192. Olympiade; insomuch that he not only gaue royall gifts to the victors, but also to the second and third after them. He repaired Anthedon also, which was destroied by the wars, and called it Agrippium: and louing *Agrippa* very dearely, he caused her name to be engrauen ouer the portall he builded in the Temple. Neither was he vnmindfull of his parents: for in the richest soile of the whole kingdome he built a city for a monument of his father: and by his name called it *Antipatris*, being a very rich soile, both for trees and riuers. At Iericho also he built a very gorgeous and strong Castle, and called it Cyprus, in honour of his mother. He likewise built a tower in memory of his brother *Phasaelus*, at Ierusalem, and cald it *Phasaelus* his tower (of the compasse and beauty of this tower we will speake hereafter.) He also called another City Phasaelus, which is situate in a valley beyond Iericho, towards the North.

Cæsarea in time past cald the tower of Straton. Ant. lib. 15. cap. 10. 12. & lib. 17. cap. 5. Agripplum. Antipatris. Cyprus. Phasaelus tower.

Hauing thus eternized the memory of his friends and kinsfolke, he did not forget to doe the like to himselfe: for he built a castle on a mountain neer Arabia, hauing on one side a strong place of defence, and this Castle he called Herodium after his owne name. By the same name also he called a tombe, which he builded sixty stounds from Ierusalem, artificially made in manner of a womans dug, which he richly adorned: for within compasse of the top of it, he caused round turrets to be placed: and round about it he builded princely houses, gallantly adorned both within and without. He also brought water from a great way off, with great cost and charges, and made a paire of staires of pure white marble, to go vp, which had two hundreth steps. For the whole hil was made by art, and it was made of an exceeding height: at the foot thereof likewise he built another Palace, and houses to receiue his friends and their carriages: so that this castle, for the abundance of all necessary places, seemed a city, and yet was it all the Kings Palace. Hauing erected thus many buildings, he shewed his braue mind in strange cities likewise: for at Tripolis, and Damascus, and Ptolemais he builded publike baths, which are called exercises. He builded the wall of Biblus; and seats, porches, temples, and markets at Berytus and Tyre: at Sidon and Damascus he builded a Theater, and a water-conduit at Laodicea, a sea-towne. At Ascalon he built fountaines or lakes very sumptuous, and baths with pillars, that for greatnesse and gallant worke were miraculous. To other places he gaue woods and ports: and to many cities he added fields, as though they had been fellow-cities of his kingdome. Also, toward the maintenance of baths he gaue a yeerely annuity for euer: as namely, to those at Cous, to the intent he might be an eternall benefactor. Moreouer, he gaue all poore people corne; and he often and in sundry places gaue the Rhodians money to build a Nauie of ships. At his owne proper cost he repaired Pythium, which was burnt with fire. What should I say of his liberality which he extended to them of Lycia and Samia? or the magnificent gifts which he vsed toward all the people of Ionia; yea, all things that their hearts could desire: whereby he relieued all their necessities? Nay, both the Athenians, and Lacedemonians, and Nicopolites, and the citizens of Pergamus in Mysia, receiued very many benefits at his hands. He paued also a large street in Antiochia of Syria, which was in length twenty stounds, and that with faire marble. This street before that time was so full of durt, that no man could goe thorow it; and all along it he built galleries, that people might goe dry thorow it in rainy weather.

Herodium.

Herodium a Castle resembling a city.

Herods bounty to all men.

Herod famous thorow the world.

The yeere of the world, 3954. before Christs birth, 10.

Some one may say, that these benefits he thus bestowed, were done for the proper vse of those people on whom he bestowed them: but no man can deny, but that which he did for the citizens of Elis, was not onely common to those of Achaia, but to all the world, where the games, called *Olympica Certamina*, were solemnized. For, *Herod* seeing them decay onely for want of maintenance, and that this was the onely remainder of all the ancient monuments of Greece, he not onely in his person at that time became one of the proposers of rewards in that Olympiade which he assisted when he went to Rome; but also gaue a yeerely stipend to maintaine the same, least for want it should be left off. It is not to be told what debts and tributes he remitted; for he deliuered the Phasaelites and Balaneotes, and other townes of Cilicia, from the paiment of a yeerely tribute: yet was he not so liberall to them as he would haue beene, fearing least the enuie of some might accuse him of some further meaning, if he should be more bountifull to the cities then those that were the owners thereof. He exercised his body likewise in exercises fit for so valiant a mind: for he was a very skilfull hunter, wherin he had alwaies his purpose, by reason of his skill in riding; so that in one day he kild forty wild beasts. That country hath many Boars, but it hath more store of Harts and wild Asses. He was such a warriour as no man was able to encounter

Herod a great hunter.

A counter withall; ſo that many were aſtoniſhed to ſee him exerciſe himſelfe, who admired him for caſting a dart, and ſhooting an arrow. Beſide the vertue both of his mind and body he had alſo good fortune; for very ſeldome the euent of warre was otherwiſe then he expected: which if it ſometime chanced, it was not through his fault, but through the raſhneſſe of his ſouldiers, or elſe through treaſon.

The yeer of the world, 3954. before Chriſts birth, 8.

Herod beſides the vertue of mind & body had the bleſſings of fortune.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the diſagreement betweene HEROD *and his ſonnes,* ALEXANDER *and* ARISTOBVLVS.

B

BVt his priuate and domeſticall ſorrowes ſeemed to enuy him his publike felicity, & moſt aduerſe fortune befell him through the meanes of a woman, whom he loued as himſelfe. For being now made King, he put away his wife, which he firſt married (which was a Lady borne in Ieruſalem, whoſe name was *Doris*) and married *Mariamme* the daughter of *Alexander*, who was *Ariſtobulus* ſon, which cauſed troubles in his houſe, both before, but eſpecially after he returned from Rome. For he baniſhed his eldeſt ſon *Antipater*, whom he had by *Doris*, out of the city, only for his childrens ſake that he had by *Mariamme*; licenſing him only at feſtiual times to come vnto the city in regard of ſome ſuſpicion of treaſon intended againſt him. And afterward he ſlew *Hircanus* his wiues vncle (notwithſtanding that hee returned out of Parthia vnto him) becauſe after he ſuſpected that he intended ſome treaſon againſt him; whom *Barzapharnes*, after he had taken all Syria, tooke away priſoner with him. But his owne countrimen that dwelt beyond Euphrates, in commiſeration redeemed him from thraldome; and had he bin counſelled by them and not come vnto *Herod*, he had not bin killed: but the marriage of his neece cauſed his death: for, for that cauſe, and eſpecially for the loue of his natiue ſoile, he came thither. That wch moued *Herod* to kill him was, not for that he ſought the kingdome, but becauſe he had right vnto the kingdom. *Herod* had fiue children by *Mariamme*, two daughters, and three ſons. The youngeſt was ſent to Rome to ſtudy, where he died. The other two he brought vp like Princes, both for their mothers nobility ſake, and for that they were borne after he was King. But that which D aboue all other was moſt forcible, was the loue he bare to *Mariamme*, which from day to day tormented him more violently, in ſuch ſort, that he felt not any part of thoſe griefes which this his beſt beloued enforced againſt him. For *Mariamme* hated him as much as he loued her: and hauing a iuſt cauſe and colour of diſcontent, and moreouer being imboldned by the loue which he bare her, ſhe euery day vpbraided him with that which he had done vnto *Hircanus* her vncle, and vnto her brother *Ariſtobulus*. For *Herod* ſpared him not, although he was a child; but after he had made him high Prieſt in the ſeuenteenth yeere of his age, he preſently put him to death, after he had ſo honoured him: who when he came to the altar clothed in ſacred attire vpon a feſtiuall day, all the people wept: and the ſame night was he ſent to Iericho, and drowned in a lake E by the Galatians, who had receiued commiſſion to performe the murther. Theſe things did *Mariamme* daily caſt in *Herods* teeth, and vpbraided both his mother and ſiſter, with very ſharpe and reproachfull words: yet he ſo loued her, that notwithſtanding all this he held his peace. But the women were ſet on fire: and that they might the rather moue *Herod* againſt her, they accuſed her of adultery, and of many other things which bare a ſhew of truth: obiecting againſt her that ſhe had ſent her portraiture into Egypt vnto *Antonius*; and that through immoderate luſt ſhee did what ſhe could to make her ſelfe knowne vnto him, who doted vpon womens loue, and was of ſufficient power to doe what wrong he pleaſed.

Ant. lib. 15. cap. 3. 8. & l. 16. c. 13.

Herod expelleth Antipater out of the city, and killeth Hircanus his wiues grandmother.

Herods children by Mariamme.

Mariamme hatefully vpbraideth Herod with Hircanus death.

Herods mother and ſiſter doe falſely accuſe Mariamme to him.

Hereat *Herod* was ſore moued, eſpecially for that he was iealous of her whom he loued, bethinking himſelfe vpon the cruelty of *Cleopatra*, for whoſe ſake King *Lyſanias* and *Malichus* King of Arabia were put to death; and now he meaſured not the danger by the loſſe of his wife, but F by his owne death which he feared: For which cauſe being drawne by his affaires into the countrey, he gaue ſecret commandement vnto *Ioſeph*, his ſiſter *Salomes* husband (whom he knew to be truſty, and one who for affinity was his wel-willer) to kill his wife *Mariamme*, if ſo be *Antonius* ſhould haue killed him. But *Ioſeph* not maliciouſly, but ſimply to ſhew her how greatly the King loued her, diſcloſed that ſecret vnto her: and ſhee when *Herod* was returned, and amongſt other talk with many oaths ſware that he neuer loued woman but her; indeed (quoth ſhe) it may well be knowne how greatly you loue me by the commandement you gaue to *Ioſeph*, whom you charged to kill me. *Herod* hearing this which he thought to be ſecret, was like a mad man, and

Herod ſecretly chargeth Ioſeph to kill his wife.

Herods ſuſpicion betwixt Ioſeph and his wife.

The yeere of the world, 3954. before Christs birth, 10.

presently perswaded himselfe that *Ioseph* would neuer haue disclosed that commandement of his, except he had abused her; so that hereupon he became furious, and leaping out of his bed, he walked vp and downe the Palace: whereupon his sister *Salome* hauing fit opportunity, confirmed his suspicion of *Ioseph*. For which cause, *Herod* growing now raging mad with iealousie, commanded both of them to be killed. Which done, his wrath was seconded by repentance; and after his anger ceased, the affection of loue was presently renued: yea so great was the power of his affection, that he would not beleeue she was dead, but spake vnto her as though she were aliue, vntill in processe of time being ascertained of her funerall, he equalled the affection he bare her during her life, by the vehemency of his passion for her death. *Mariammes* sonnes succeeded their mother in her wrath, and recogitating what an impious act it was, they accounted their father as a mortall enemy, both before and after they went to study at Rome, and especially after they came againe into Iudæa. For as they encreased in yeeres, so did the violence of their minde increase. And they being now marriageable, one of them married the daughter of their aunt *Salome*, who accused their mother; the other married the daughter of *Archelaus* King of Cappadocia. And now to their hatred was there ioyned a liberty to speake more freely against them, and by this occasion of their boldnesse many were animated to calumniate them: so that some did openly tell the King that both his sonnes sought to worke treason against him, and that the one of them prepared an army to helpe the other to reuenge the death of their mother; and that the other (to wit he that was sonne in law to *Archelaus*) purposed to flye, and accuse *Herod* before *Cæsar*. *Herod* giuing eare vnto those calumniations, sent for *Antipater* whom he had by *Doris*, to the end he might defend him against his two sons, and sought to aduance him aboue them. But they thought this alteration intolerable; seeing one, whose mother was but a priuate woman, so preferred: and they moued with their owne nobleness of birth, could not containe their indignation, but vpon euery occasion shewed themselues offended; yet were they euery day lesse accounted of. As for *Antipater*, he wrought himselfe into fauour: for he knew how to flatter his father, and raised many slanders on his two brethren, partly inuented by himselfe, partly diuulged by some of his fauourites, whom he set aworke about the matter, till that at last he put his brethren out of all hope of hauing the kingdome. For he was now by the Kings Will and Testament declared King, so that he was sent as a King vnto *Cæsar* in a Kingly habit and pompe, onely he wore no Crowne: and in time he so preuailed, that he wrought his mother into *Mariammes* stead; and with flatteries and calumniation so mooued the King, that he began to deliberate about the putting to death of his sonnes. For which cause, he conducted his son *Alexander* with him to Rome, and accused him before *Cæsar*, that he had giuen him poyson. But hee with much adoe hauing obtained liberty to plead his owne cause, and that before an vnskilfull Iudge, yet more wise then *Herod* or *Antipater*, hee modestly held his peace in all things that his father had offended in: and first of all he purged his brother from danger of that crime, and taking the whole matter vpon himselfe, he in very good sort acquitted himselfe thereof. And afterwards he inueighed against *Antipaters* subtiltie, and complained of those iniuries, which had been offered him, hauing beside the equity of his cause, sufficient eloquence to acquit himselfe: for hee was a vehement orator; and knew well how to perswade. Last of all, he obiected that his father hauing a desire to put both him and his brother to death, had laid an accusation vpon him: wherat the whole audience wept, and *Cæsar* was so moued, that not regarding the accusations that were laid vnto them, he presently made *Herod* and them friends, vpon these conditions, that they in all things should be obedient vnto their father; and that their father should leaue the kingdome to whom he pleased.

Herod commandeth both Ioseph and Mariamme to be slaine. Mariammes sons inheritors of her displeasure.

The yeere of the world, 3956. before Christs birth, 8.

Herods debate with those sons he had by Mariamme. Ant. lib. 16. cap. 4.

Antipater by disgracing his brothers, is declared his fathers heire.

Herod accuseth Alexander before Cæsar.

A reconciliation betweene Herod and his sons.

Hereupon *Herod* returned from Rome, and though he seemed to haue forgiuen his sonnes; yet laid he not his iealousie and suspicion aside. For *Antipater* still vrged his argument to make *Herod* hate his other two sons, though for feare of him that reconciled them, he durst not openly shew himselfe an enemy vnto them. Afterward *Herod* sailed by Cilicia, and arriued at Elæusa, where *Archelaus* receiued him very courteously, thanking him for the safety of his son in law, and very ioyfull for that they were made friends: for he wrote vnto his friends at Rome with all speed possible, that they should be fauourable vnto *Alexander*, when he came to plead his cause. And after this entertainment, he conducted *Herod* vnto *Zephyrius*, giuing him gifts to the value of thirty talents, and so tooke his leaue of him. *Herod* as soone as he came to Ierusalem assembled the people together, & being assisted by his three sons, he shewed vnto them the cause of his going to Rome, and blessed God, and thanked *Cæsar*, who had appeased the discord of his house, and that had made his sons friends; which he esteemed more then his kingdom: and I (quoth he) will

Archelaus kindly entertaineth Herod and his sons. Herods worthy oration to the people, wherein hee distributeth honors to his three sonnes.

A wil make their friendſhip firme. For *Cæſar* appointed me King, and gaue me leaue to chuſe whom I pleaſed for my ſucceſſour, for the which I giue him hearty thanks. And now I here conſtitute all three of my ſons Kings: which purpoſe of mine firſt I beſeech Almighty God, and ſecondly you to fauour: for the one of them for his yeers, the other for their nobility of birth, haue right to the Crowne and kingdome: which is ſo large, that it may ſuffice many; ſo that you for your parts reuerence them whom *Cæſar* conioyned, and I their father ordained, giuing them not vnfit, nor vnlike honours, but ſuch as they haue deſerued. For a man cannot doe a greater pleaſure vnto him whom he honoureth aboue his yeers, then he ſhall giue diſcontent vnto him whom he diſhonoureth. For which cauſe, I will conſtitute to euery one of them ſuch friends and wel-willers, as with whom they be moſt conuerſant, and of them I will require pledges of a concord and vnity amongſt them. For I know that diſcords and contentions ariſe by malice of thoſe who are conuerſant with Princes, and that if they be well diſpoſed, they will increaſe friendſhip. And I requeſt not onely theſe, but alſo all ſuch as beare rule in my army, that they hope in me onely for the preſent: for I giue not my ſons the Kingdome, but the honour and dignity thereof; and they ſhall haue pleaſure as though they were Kings themſelues, yet I my ſelfe will beare ſway, although I am vnwilling to doe it. Let euery one of you conſider my age, my courſe of life, and piety: for I am not ſo old that any one may quickly deſpaire of me, nor I haue not accuſtomed my ſelfe to ſuch kind of pleaſure, as is wont to ſhorten young mens daies; and we haue bin ſo religious, that we are in great hope of long life. But if any one deſpiſe me, and ſeeke to pleaſe my ſons, ſuch a one will I puniſh. I doe not forbid them to be honoured, whom my ſelfe haue begotten, for that I enuy them: but becauſe I know well that ſuch applauſes nouriſh pride and arrogancy in the fierce minds of yong men. Wherfore if all they that apply thēſelues in their ſeruice, conſider that I will be ready to reward the good; and that thoſe who are ſeditious, ſhall find their malice to haue an vnprofitable euent at their hands, whom they ſo flatter: I eaſily perſwade my ſelfe that all men will be of my mind, that are of my ſons mind. For it is good for them that I raigne, and that I am friends with my ſons. And you O my good ſonnes, retaine in your minds that ſacred nature, which maketh the verie brute beaſt to entertaine naturall affection: then reuerence *Cæſar* who reconciled vs: and laſt of all obey me who requeſt, and entreate that at your hands, which I might command, namely that you remaine brethren. And I will now giue you both Kingly attire and honour, and I pray God that if you will continue and remaine friends, I may continue in this minde.

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Herod giueth not the kingdome to his ſons, but the honors of the kingdome.

Herod conuerteth his ſpeech to his ſonnes.

After he had thus ſpoken, he ſaluted them very louingly, and diſmiſſed the people, ſome praying that it might be as hee had ſaid: others (who deſired alteration) made as though they had heard nothing. Yet for all this, the diſſenſion amongſt the brethren was not appeaſed, but each of them miſtruſting worſer euents, departed from one another. For *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* ſtomaked the matter, that *Antipater* had his deſert confirmed, and *Antipater* was grieued that his brethren ſhould haue the ſecond place after him; yet he could ſo craftily carry himſelfe, that no man could perceiue his hatred towards them. And they deriued of a noble race ſpake all they thought, and many endeuoured to ſet them on; and others as friends inſinuated themſelues into their companie, to learne what newes: ſo that *Alexander* could not ſpeake a word, but preſently it was carried to *Antipater*, and from him to *Herod* with an addition; ſo that when *Alexander* ſpake any thing ſimply, meaning no harme, it was preſently interpreted in the worſt ſenſe poſſible: and if he chanced at any time to ſpeake freely of any matter, preſently it was made a great thing. *Antipater* ſuborned men to ſet him on, that ſo his lies might be ſhadowed with colour of truth; and that if he could prooue any one thing true, all lies and tales elſe diuulged, might thereby be iuſtified to be true. Now all *Antipaters* familiars were either naturally ſecret, or elſe hee ſtopped their mouthes with bribes, leſt they ſhould diſcloſe his intents: ſo that one might iuſtly haue tearmed his life a ſecrecy of malice. All *Alexanders* friends were either corrupted by money, or flattering ſpeeches, wherewith *Antipater* ouercame all, and made them theeues and proditors of ſuch things as were either done or ſpoken againſt him: and himſelf doing all things, he dealt ſo warily, that at laſt thoſe calumniations came vnto *Herods* eare: and he counterfeited his brothers perſon, and ſuborned other tale-carryers, telling what they could againſt *Alexander*; and pretending good will towards his brother, at firſt fainedly reproued them, and afterward ſeriouſly alleadged their ſayings as accuſations: ſo that hereby *Herod* was very wroth, but turned all as though *Alexander* went about treaſon, and ſought to kill his father: and nothing made ſo much credit be giuen to theſe calumniations, as that *Antipater* colourably excuſed his brother. *Herod* incenſed hereat, euery day withdrew his affection more and more from the two

Herod by his words did not vtterly extinguiſh the hatred between his ſonnes.

Antipaters treaſon againſt his brother Alexander.

By what means Antipater corrupted his brother Alexanders friends.

Antipater whetteth Herod and his courtiers againſt Alexander.

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brethren, and daily encreaſed his loue towards *Antipater*. The nobility alſo were inclined after the ſame maner: partly of their own accord, and partly for that they were ſo commanded: ſo did *Ptolomæus* the chiefeſt of all the nobility, and the Kings brethren, and all his kinred; for all mens expectation was vpon *Antipater*. And that which grieued *Alexander* the more, was, that all theſe miſchiefes, wrought to his ouerthrow, were done by the counſell of *Antipaters* mother; for ſhee being a ſtepmother, was cruell, and hated them being borne of a Queene, farre more then a ſtepmother doth her ſons in law. And although all men followed *Antipater* for the hope which they had of him, yet were they alſo compelled thereunto by the Kings command, who gaue an eſpeciall charge to their deareſt friends, that none ſhould follow *Alexander* or his brother: ſo that he did not onely terrifie thoſe of his owne kingdome, but alſo thoſe of other forrain nations. For *Cæſar* had giuen him ſuch authority: for he gaue him licence to take any one that was a fugitiue from him, out of any City, although it were not vnder his dominions. And the young men were ignorant of the offences laid vnto their charge, and ſo were more eaſily entrapped being vnaware of them: for their father did not openly tell them of any matter, but they euery day perceiued their fathers good will towards them to decay, which ſo much the more encreaſed their griefe. In like manner *Antipater* by little and little mooued *Pheroras* their vncle and *Salome* their aunt againſt them, daily conſulting with his wife, whom he ſhould incite againſt them.

Glaphyra Alexanders wife encreaſed their malice euery day, recounting her owne nobility, and bearing her ſelfe aboue all that were in the whole kingdom: for ſhe deriued her pedigree by the fathers ſide, from *Timenus*; by the mothers ſide, from *Hyſtaſpis* his ſonne called *Darius*: inueying very much againſt the baſeneſſe of *Herods* wiues, and his ſiſter, who were choſen for their beauty, and not for their nobility of birth. For *Herod* (as we haue ſaid) had many wiues, both for that it was lawfull by the cuſtome of their countrey, and becauſe *Herod* delighted in many; and all of them hated *Alexander*, for *Glaphyras* pride and contumelious ſpeeches. And *Ariſtobulus* made *Salome* his enemy, although ſhe was his wiues mother: for ſhee was before mooued by *Glaphyras* ſpeeches, and he often vpbraided his wife with her baſe birth, ſtill telling her that he had married a priuate woman, and his brother *Alexander* a Queene. And his wife often with weeping teares told this to her mother: adding moreouer, that *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* threatned, that if they got the kingdome, they would make their other brethrens mothers weaue with their maides; and that they would make them notaries of villages, deriding that they applied themſelues to learning. *Salome* mooued hereat, could not containe her ſelfe, but told all to *Herod*, who eaſily beleeued her, becauſe ſhe ſpake againſt her ſonne in law. Moreouer, another accuſation was laid to their charge, whereat the King was greatly moued: for he was enformed that *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* did often bewaile their mother, and lament her hard hap with ſighes, and curſed him: and that often when he beſtowed ſome of *Mariammes* cloathes vpon his latter wiues, they threatned that in ſhort time in ſtead of princely attire, they ſhould weare a black habit. Whereupon *Herod*, though he feared the conſtant minds of the young men, yet becauſe he would not take away all hope of amendment, he called them vnto him (for he was to ſaile to Rome) and as a King threatned them in few words, and like a father gaue them many admonitions, and requeſted them to loue their brethren, promiſing them forgiueneſſe of their former offences, ſo that hereafter they amended all: But they beſeeching him not to beleeue accuſations forged againſt them vpon malice, and anſwering that the effect of matters would eaſily acquite them, requeſted him not ſo eaſily to beleeue tales, but refuſe to giue malignant people opportunity and recourſe vnto him: for that there would alwaies be ſome that would maliciouſly inuent tales to tell, whileſt there was any one that would giue them the hearing and beleeuing thereof. For they knew that *Salome* was their enemy, and *Pheroras* their vncle, and both of them bare cruell minds, and were hard-hearted; and eſpecially *Pheroras*, who was fellow with his brother of all, ſauing only the Crowne, and had his owne reuenues amounting to a hundreth talents a yeere, and receiued all fruits of the whole countrey beyond Iordan, which was giuen him by his brother. *Herod* alſo had obtained of *Cæſar*, to make him Tetrarch, and beſtowed vpon him a Princeſſe for his wife, deſpouſing vnto him his wiues ſiſter, after whoſe deceaſe he deſpouſed vnto him his eldeſt daughter, and gaue him three hundreth talents with her for a dowry. But *Pheroras* fell in loue with his maid, and forſooke a Princeſſe: whereat *Herod* being angry, married his daughter vnto his brothers ſonne, who was afterwards ſlaine by the Parthians; but *Herod* preſently pardoned *Pheroras* offence. Diuers before this time were of opinion that in the lifetime of the Queene, he would haue poiſoned *Herod*; and *Herod* although he loued his brother very

Glaphyra Alexanders wife increaſed his conceiued ſuſpicion by her words.

Ariſtobulus obiecteth to his wife her baſe birth. Ant. lib. 16. cap. 7.

Alexander & Ariſtobulus oftentimes bewaile their mother, and by that means prouoke their father.

The two brothers excuſe themſelues before their father Herod.

very well; yet becauſe many who had acceſſe vnto him told him ſo, he began to miſdoubt: and ſo examining many that were ſuſpected, laſtly he came to *Pheroras* friends, and none of them confeſſed it: yet they confeſſed that he was determined to flye vnto the Parthians with her whom he was ſo in loue withall, and that *Coſtabarus*, *Salomes* husband was priuy thereunto, vnto whom the King married her, after her firſt husband for ſuſpicion of adultery was put to death. *Salome* her ſelfe alſo was not free from accuſation: for *Pheroras* accuſed her that ſhe had contracted matrimony with *Syllæus*, who was Procurator to *Oboda*, King of Arabia, who was a great enemy of the Kings: and ſhe being conuicted both of this and all things elſe, whereof her brother *Pheroras* accuſed her, yet obtained pardon, as likewiſe *Pheroras* did: ſo that the whole tempeſt of all their family was turned againſt *Alexander*, and light vpon his head.

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The King had three Eunuches whom he loued dearly, and euery one knowne by their offices: for one of them was his butler; the other was his cooke; and the third got him to bed, and lay with him: theſe three *Alexander* with great gifts ouercame. Which the King vnderſtanding, by torments forced them to confeſſe it, and declared with what promiſes they were thereto by *Alexander* induced, and how he had deceiued them: affirming that there was no truſting to *Herod* who was a ſhameleſſe old man; and that he died his haire, to make himſelfe ſeeme young: and that he in deſpite of him would be his Succeſſor, and then he would be reuenged vpon his enemies, and make his friends happy, and eſpecially them: and that the whole Nobility did ſecretly obey him, and the Captaines of the army and Gouernours did priuily come vnto him. Hereat *Herod* was ſo terrified, that he durſt not preſently diuulge their confeſſions, but night and day he ſent ſpies to learne what was ſaid or done; and whom he ſuſpected, them he preſently killed: ſo that his whole Kingdome was full of iniquity. For euery one as his malice mooued him, fained calumniations, and many deſirous of blood-ſhed, abuſed the Kings wrath as they pleaſed againſt their enemies, and credit was giuen to euery lie, and no man was ſo ſoone accuſed, but preſently he was puniſhed; and he who preſently before accuſed others, was now accuſed himſelfe, and carried to be puniſhed with him whom he accuſed. For the Kings perils ſhortned the time of triall for their liues, and he became ſo tyrannous, that he afforded not a good looke vnto them that were not accuſed, and ſhewed himſelfe moſt fierce and violent euen to his deareſt friends: ſo that he baniſhed many out of his Kingdome, and railed againſt ſuch as he had no power ouer. *Antipater* increaſed this miſchiefe more and more, and gathering together a great company of his friends, he omitted no kind of calumniation. The King likewiſe was terrified by the rumors and tales of pickthankes, that he thought alwayes that hee ſaw *Alexander* before him with a drawne ſword. For which cauſe hee ſuddenly tooke him and caſt him in priſon, and tortured his friends, many of which died in torments, becauſe they would not confeſſe more then in conſcience was true: others not able to endure the torments, were forced to confeſſe that *Alexander* and his brother *Ariſtobulus* thought to haue wrought treaſon againſt their father, and that they expected their time till he went a hunting; reſoluing in themſelues that hauing kild him, they would preſently flie to Rome. Although theſe and ſuch like calumniations were no waies probable, yet extremitie of paine forced men *extempore* to inuent them, and the King willingly beleiued them, as it were comforting himſelfe thereby, in that hee might not bee thought to haue impriſoned his ſonne vniuſtly. *Alexander* perceiuing that it was impoſſible for him to aboliſh his fathers ſuſpicion, thought it better to yeeld himſelfe guilty: and ſo wrote foure books againſt his aduerſaries, and confeſſed the treaſon: affirming that he had many partakers therein, namely, *Pheroras*, and *Salome*, who were the chiefe; auouching that before that time he had had the vſe of her body in the night time: and how though he himſelfe was vnwilling, yet ſhe forced him therunto. Now the bookes came vnto *Herods* hands, which charged the greateſt amongſt the Nobility with moſt hainous matters. *Archelaus* fearing his ſon in law and daughter to be in great danger, ſpeedily came into Iudæa, and ingeniouſly appeaſed the Kings wrath: for ſo ſoone as hee came vnto *Herod*, he cried, Where is that wicked ſonne in law of mine, or where may I ſee the face of that wretch that goeth about to murther his father, that I may teare him in pieces with mine owne hands, and marry my daughter anew to a better husband? for although ſhee be not priuy to his counſell, yet is ſhee defiled, for that ſhe was wife to ſuch a man. Nay I admire thy patience who art in ſuch danger, and ſuffereſt *Alexander* yet to liue: for I came thus haſtily out of Cappadocia, thinking hee had beene put to death, to talke with thee concerning my daughter, whom I married to him for thy ſake and honour. Wherefore now let vs take counſell what to doe with them both: and ſeeing thou art too fatherlike and not able to puniſh thy ſonne, thy treacherous ſonne; let vs change roomes, and let me be in thy place to reuenge thee: with ſuch like inuectiues

Alexander corrupteth his fathers Eunuches, and telleth them he is to ſucceed in the Kingdome.

Herod feareth his ſonne Alexander.

Ant. l. 17. c. 8. Herods cruelty.

Herod caſteth Alexander into priſon, and tortured his friends.

Alexander during his impriſonment wrote foure books againſt his enemies.

Archelaus King of Cappadocia.

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he deceiued *Herod* (though otherwise firme in his purpose.) Then *Herod* shewed him the bookes that *Alexander* had writ: and reading euery chapter with deliberation, *Archelaus* took occasion fit for his purpose; and by little and little laid all the fault on *Pheroras*, and those that were accused in the book. And perceiuing the King to giue eare vnto him, let vs (quoth he) consider whether the yong man was not circumuented by the treachery of so many lewd persons, & not thou by the yong man: for there appeares no cause why he should fall into such wickednes, who now enioyed the kingdome and hoped to succeed thee therein, had hee not beene perswaded thereto by other men, who seeing him a yong man, entised him vnto such naughtines. For wee see that through such men, not only yong men, but also old men, and most noble families, yea, & whole kingdoms are ruinated. *Herod* vpon these speeches began somewhat to relent, so that he appeased his wrath toward *Alexander*, and encreased it towards *Pheroras*; for he was as it were the subiect of the whole booke. Who perceiuing the King so to trust to *Archelaus* friendship, that hee was led by him to doe what he pleased; leauing *Alexander*, he in humble manner came to *Archelaus*, seeking impudently for succor at his hands, of whom he had not deserued any fauour. *Archelaus* answered him, that he knew no waies to obtain his pardon, who was guilty of so hainous crimes, and conuicted manifestly to haue practised high treason against the Kings owne person, and to bee the cause of all these miseries that had now befallen the yong man, except that hee would lay aside all subtile dealing, and denying of his fact, and confesse the crimes whereof hee was accused; and so in humble wise go vnto his brother who loued him dearely, and craue pardon; promising him that if hee would so doe, hee would do him what good he could. Hereupon *Pheroras* obeyed *Archelaus* his counsell, and putting on a blacke attire, he in pitifull manner and with teares prostrated himselfe at *Herods* feete, and craving pardon, obtained it, confessing himselfe to be a most wicked and vile person, and to be guilty of all that which was obiected against him, and that the cause which moued him to do all those things, was the frantick and mad fits he fell into for the loue of that woman. Now when *Pheroras* became his owne accuser, and a witnes against himselfe, then *Archelaus* endeauoured to mitigate *Herods* wrath towards him, and excuse his faults with fit examples: for he alleadged that his brother attempted greater matters against him, whom notwithstanding for natures cause he pardoned: adding that in euery Kingdome as in mighty bodies, alwaies some part began to swell, which notwithstanding was not presently to be cut off, but to be cured by easie meanes.

Archelaus & Herod consult vpon Alexanders books.

Herod is incensed against his brother Pheroras.

Pheroras attired in a mourning garment with tears falleth before Herods feet and craueth pardon.

Pheroras by Archelaus meanes pacifieth Herod.

Archelaus vsing many speeches vnto *Herod* to this purpose, at last quite appeased his wrath toward *Pheroras*, still counterfeiting himselfe to bee angry with *Alexander*, affirming that hee would take his daughter away with him, till at last he forced *Herod* of his owne accord to entreat for the young man, requesting him againe to despouse his daughter vnto him. *Archelaus* after much entreaty answered, that hee was willing that the King should bestow his daughter vpon any saue *Alexander*, for hee greatly esteemed the law of affinity. *Herod* replied, that if hee did not diuorce his daughter from *Alexander*, hee should thinke that hee bestowed his sonne vpon him: for they had no children, and his daughter was dearely loued of the young man; so that if hee would permit her to stay still there, for her sake he would pardon all *Alexanders* offences. Hereto *Archelaus* with much adoe agreed, and so was reconciled vnto his sonne in law, and he vnto his father. Yet *Herod* affirmed that he must needs be sent to Rome to speake with *Cæsar*, for he had written the whole matter vnto *Cæsar*. Thus *Archelaus* craftily deliuered his sonne in law from danger, and after his reconciliation was made, they spent the time in feasting and mirth. Vpon *Archelaus* departure, *Herod* gaue him seuenty talents, and a Throne of pure gold, adorned with precious stones, and Eunuches, and a concubine named *Panichis*; and rewarded euery one of his friends according to their deserts. And all the Kings kinred by the Kings appointment and consent, bestowed rich gifts vpon *Archelaus*, and both hee and all his Nobility accompanied him to Antiochia.

Archelaus cõpelleth Herod of his own accord to be entreated for Alexander.

Herod dismisseth Archelaus & his friends with great presents.

Ant. l. 16. c. 11.

Eurycles the Lacedemonian secretly accuseth Alexander to his father, and is the cause of his death.

Not long after, there came one into Iudæa far more subtile then *Archelaus*, who both disannulled the reconciliation made for *Alexander*, and caused his death also. This man was a Lacedemonian borne named *Eurycles*, who by mony sought to haue obtained the Kingdome. This man brought vnto *Herod* rich gifts as it were for a bait of that he intended; hee had so behaued himselfe in Greece, that it could no longer tolerate his excesse: and *Herod* againe rewarded him with farre greater gifts then those were that he gaue him: but hee esteemed his liberality as nothing, except hee bought it with the blood of Princes. For which cause hee circumuented the King, partly by flattering him, partly by praising him fainedly, and especially by his owne craft and subtiltie: and quickly perceiuing his inclination, he both in word and deed sought to please him;

so

A so that the King accounted him among his chiefeſt friends. For both the King and all the Nobility honoured him the more for his countrey ſake, in that he was a Lacedemonian. But he very eaſily perceiuing the feeble ſtay of *Herods* houſe, and the hatred betweene the brethren, and how the King was affected towards euery one of them, he firſt of all entertained himſelfe at *Antipaters* houſe, making a ſhew in the meane while of good will towards *Alexander*, pretending and proteſting, that in times paſt he had been *Archelaus* companion; and by this meanes he quickly crept into fauour with him, as an approued friend: which was the cauſe that he was ſuddenly entertained for a faithfull man. He preſently likewiſe brought him into friendſhip with *Ariſtobulus*; and hauing ſounded euery mans diſpoſition, he accommodated himſelfe to all humors: and to begin

The yeere of the world, 3956. before Chriſts Natiuitie, 8.

Eurycles by fained friendſhip deceiueth Alexander.

B withall, he became *Antipaters* penſioner, and a traytor to *Alexander*. And he often vſed hot words to *Antipater*, as it were chiding him, that he being eldeſt of the brethren, ſo ſlenderly looked after them, who pretended to put him beſides the Crowne, which was his right. He many times likewiſe vſed the like words to *Alexander*, admiring him who was borne of a Queene, and husband to a Queen, and yet would permit ſuch a one who was deſcended of a priuate woman to ſucceed in the Kingdome, eſpecially ſeeing he had ſuch occaſion and opportunity to effect the contrary: for he might aſſure himſelfe of *Archelaus* his helpe in any thing. *Alexander* ſuppoſed he had ſpoke as he thought, becauſe he counterfeited friendſhip with *Archelaus:* ſo that hee miſdoubting nothing, diſcloſed vnto him all his mind concerning *Antipater*, ſaying, that it was no wonder though *Herod* diſinherited them of the Kingdome, ſith beforetime he had ſlaine their mother.

C *Eurycles*, counterfeiting himſelfe both to pitty them, and to be ſorrowfull for their miſchance, enticed *Ariſtobulus* to ſpeake the like: and hauing animated them both to complaine in this ſort againſt their father, he preſently went to *Antipater*, and diſcloſed to him all their ſecrets, forging alſo the treachery which thoſe two brethren intended againſt him, which was to diſpatch him with their ſwords. For this cauſe *Antipater* gaue him a great ſumme of money, and commended him to his father, and being hired to effect the death of *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, hee himſelfe became their accuſer: Whereupon hee came to *Herod*, and told him how in regard of thoſe benefits hee had receiued at his hand, hee would now beſtow his life vpon him, and the light of this world for recompence of his hoſpitality; affirming that *Alexander* had lately ſtretched out his hand with his ſword drawne to kill him, and hee onely was the cauſe that hee performed it

D not, ſtaying his hand, and promiſing him to aſſiſt him in the matter: adding that *Alexander* vſed theſe ſpeeches; That *Herod* was not contented to enioy a Kingdome which was another mans right, nor yet as it were to diſmember his Kingdome after *Mariammes* death, but hee would alſo leaue the Kingdome, belonging vnto their anceſtors, vnto a pernicious baſtard, *Antipater*: and for that cauſe hee would reuenge *Hircanus* and *Mariammes* death: And that it was not conuenient to receiue the Kingdome from ſuch a father without blood; and euery day hee had occaſion giuen him ſo to do: for he could ſpeake nothing without calumniation. For if any mention were made at any time of any ones Nobility, preſently he was vpbraided without cauſe, for his father would preſently ſay, There is none noble but *Alexander*, whoſe fathers baſe birth is a ſhame and diſcredit vnto him. And that going a hunting, if he held his peace, his father was offended; if

E he praiſed, then it was ſaid he mocked: ſo that in euery thing he found his fathers affection turned from him, and that he was onely fauourable to *Antipater:* ſo that he would die with all his heart, if he failed of his purpoſe; if he kild him, his father in law *Archelaus* would worke his ſafety, to whom he might eaſily flee. And after, he would goe to *Cæſar* (who as yet knew not *Herods* manners) for he would not ſtand before him then, as hee did before, being terrified becauſe his father was preſent: neither would he onely ſpeake of his owne wrongs, but of the wrongs of the whole nation, who were oppreſſed by exactions euen vnto death. And then he would lay open in what pleaſure, and after what ſort the money gotten with blood was conſumed: and who and what kind of men they were, that were thereby enriched; and what was the cauſe of the affliction of the city: and that there he would bewaile the death of his vncle, and his mother, and vn-

F fold all *Herods* wickedneſſe: which being once made manifeſt vnto the world, no man would account him a murtherer of his father. *Eurycles* hauing falſely reported this of *Alexander*, fell preſently to praiſe and extoll *Antipater*, affirming that he onely loued his father, and hindered ſuch practices.

Another falſe accuſation of Alexander and his brother, moues Herod to indignation.

The King, yet not thorowly appeaſed for that which had paſt, grew into an exceeding agony, and *Antipater* once againe ſuborned other falſe witneſſes againſt them, who affirmed that they were wont to haue ſecret talke with *Iucundus* and *Tyrannius*, who ſometime were Generals of the Kings horſemen, who were then diſplaced for ſome offence they had committed. Whereupon

Herod

The yeere of the world, 3956. before Christs birth, 8.

Herod being very angry, presently tortured them: and they affirmed, that they were ignorant of G
all that which was laid to their charge. But there was found and brought to the King a letter, as
though it had beene written by *Alexander*, vnto the Gouernour of the castle of Alexandrium;
requesting him, that he would receiue him and his brother *Aristobulus* into the Castle, when he
had killed his father, and to assist them both with weapons and other necessaries. *Alexander* af-
firm'd, that this letter was counterfeited by *Diophantus*, the Kings Secretary, who was both bold,
and could counterfeit any ones hand; and hauing counterfeited many, was at last for the same
put to death.

Diophantus the Kings notary, writeth fained letters in Alexanders name.

Herod caused the Gouernour of the Castle to be tortured, but he confessed nothing that was
laid against him: and although he had no good proofe of any thing, yet he commanded his two H
sonnes to bee kept in hold. He likewise called *Eurycles* (who was the bane of his house, and the
breeder of all the mischiefe) author of his safety, and one who had well deserued at his hands,
and gaue him fifty talents: who, departing from Iudæa before matters were well knowne, went to
Archelaus, and faining that hee had reconciled *Alexander* and *Herod*, hee receiued there a piece of
money. From thence he went into Achaia, and spent that he had euilly gotten, in as bad manner
as he got it. Lastly, hee was accused vnto *Cæsar*, that he had caused dissension in all Achaia, and
spoiled the cities: for which cause he was banished. And this was the punishment which was in-
flicted vpon him for *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* troubles.

Cous Euaratus.

It is not amisse heere in this place, to compare *Euaratus* of Cous, vnto this *Eurycles:* who be-
ing a deare friend vnto *Alexander*, and arriuing about the same time that *Eurycles* did, being I
put to his oath, sware that he heard the young men say nothing: yet his oath nothing preuailed
nor profited them poore soules. For *Herod* would onely heare and giue eare vnto accusations;
and he highly esteemed them that would beleeue them with him, and shew themselues moued
thereat.

Ant. l. 16. c. 12.

Moreouer, *Salome* increased his cruelty towards his sonnes: for *Aristobulus* minding to bring
her into the same trouble with himselfe, who was his mother in law and his Aunt, sent vnto her,
willing her to looke to herselfe, as though the King was minded to put her to death. Who being
now cald in question for the matters whereof shee was before accused, to wit, that shee purposed
to marry with the Kings enemy, *Syllæus* the Arabian, to whom she priuily reuealed the Kings se-
crets: this was the vtter ruine of the young men, wherewithall they were ouerthrowne, as it were K
with a violent tempest. For presently *Salome* went vnto the King, and told him what *Aristobulus*
had admonished her of: and he being now outrageous, caused both his sonnes to bee bound and
imprisoned in seuerall places. Then sent he *Volumnius*, who was the Generall of his Army, and
Olympus, one of his familiar friends, vnto *Cæsar*, to carry the informations against his sonnes in
writing: who saying to Rome, after their arriuall deliuered the Kings letters. And *Cæsar* was ve-
ry sorry for the young men, yet he permitted the father to doe what he would with his children:
and so wrote vnto him, that he should haue licence to doe what he thought good: yet he signified
vnto him, that he should doe better to call his Nobles together, and let them make enquiry con-
cerning the treasons: and then if he found them guilty of those things whereof they were accused,
to put them to death. L

Herod by Salomes counsell imprisoneth his sons.

The yeere of the world, 3961. before Christs Natiuitie, 3.

Ant. l. 16. c. 13. Herod gathereth a councell against Alexander & Aristobulus.

Hereupon *Herod*, according to *Cæsars* letters and appointment, came vnto Berytum, and there
gathered an assembly to sit in iudgement; the chiefe in that iudgement were the Gouernours
that *Cæsar* in his letters appointed, *Saturninus* and *Pedanius* Embassadours, and with them *Volum-
nius*, Procurator: next, the Kings kinred, and *Salome* and *Pheroras:* and then the Nobility of Syria,
Archelaus onely excepted, who because he was father in law to his sonne, *Herod* suspected him to
be partiall. But he suffred not his sonnes to come into iudgement: for he knew that the very sight
of them would haue moued all men to compassion. And moreouer, if they were permitted to
speake for themselues, that then *Alexander* would easily haue acquited them both: for which
cause they were kept in Platan, in a castle of Sidonia. The King beginning his oration, was as ve-
hement, as though they had beene present against whom he spake; and he was halfe afraid to ob- M
iect any treason against them, for that he had no proofe thereof: and therefore he prosecuted their
opprobrious words, iniuries and offences, which they had committed against him, the which he
affirmed to be more grieuous then death.

Herod accuseth his sons in open iudgement.

At last (when no man contradicted him) hee began to lament, as though by ouercomming in
such sort, himselfe was also ouercome, and thereupon requested euery one to giue their verdict.
And first of all *Saturninus* condemned his sons, but not to die: saying, that he had three sons pre-
sent, and he thought it not lawfull to adiudge other mens sons to death. The two Legats also af-
firmed,

Herods sentence against his sonnes.

firmed the ſame, and many followed their aduice: But *Volumnius* was the firſt that pronounced the ſorrowfull ſentence: after whom all the reſt followed, ſome to flatter *Herod*, ſome for hatred they bare him, but none for any indignation againſt the yong men. Then all Iudæa and Syria expected an end of this tragedy; yet no man thought *Herod* to be ſuch a tyrant, as that he would haue put his two ſonnes to death. *Herod* cauſed his ſonnes to be brought to Tyre, and from thence by ſhip he conuayed them to Cæſarea, bethinking himſelfe what death he ſhould put them to. In the meane time, there was an old ſouldier of the Kings, named *Tiro*, who had a ſonne belonging to *Alexander*, and highly in his fauour, and he himſelfe greatly loued the two young men: who being very much grieued in minde at that which had paſt, went about, crying, that iuſtice was troden vnder foot, truth oppreſt, that nature was confounded, and the life of man full of iniquitie; and whatſoeuer elſe griefe put into his minde, who nothing eſteemed his owne life. At laſt, this *Tiro* came boldly to the King, and ſaid vnto him: O King, thou ſeemeſt to me moſt vnhappy, who doeſt giue credit to wicked and vile perſons againſt thy deareſt ſons. For *Pheroras* and *Salome* thou beleeueſt before thine owne children, whom notwithſtanding thou haſt often found to haue deſerued death; and thou perceiueſt not that they doe this, to the intent to make thee want lawfull ſucceſſors, and leaue thee none but *Antipater*, whom they with their hearts would haue King, becauſe they can rule him as they liſt. But bethinke thy ſelfe (O King) how all thy ſouldiers will hate him for the death of his two brethren; for there is no man that doth not pitie the two young men, and many of the Nobilitie are diſpleaſed hereat. After he had ſpoken this, he named them who were diſpleaſed: whereupon the King commanded them, and him, and his ſonne to be laid hold on: and preſently one of the Kings Barbers, named *Tryphon*, ſhewing himſelfe to be in I know not what fury, came forth, and ſaid vnto *Herod*; *Tiro* perſwaded me to kill thee with my razour, promiſing me, that if I would ſo do, *Alexander* would giue me great rewards. *Herod* hearing this, cauſed *Tiro* and his ſonne, and the Barber to be tortured; and they denyed all, & the Barber affirmed nothing more then he had already ſaid. Then he commanded *Tiro* to be more tormented. Whereupon his ſonne, mooued with compaſſion towards his father, promiſed to diſcloſe all the matter to the King, ſo that he would pardon his father: who being releaſed of his torments, preſently declared how his father through *Alexanders* meanes and procurement was purpoſed to haue kil'd him. Many that were preſent thought this was a deuice of the young man, to free his father from torments: and yet others were perſwaded that it was true. Vpon this, *Herod* made a ſpeech vnto the people, wherein he inueighed againſt the Gouernours of his army, and *Tiro*, and made the people arme themſelues, and kill both them and the Barber with ſtaues and ſtones. Now he ſent his ſonnes vnto Sebaſte, which was not farre from Cæſarea, and there he cauſed them to be ſtrangled: and hauing quickly diſpatcht the matter, he cauſed them to be brought into the Caſtle Alexandrium, there to be buried with their mothers vncle. And this was the end of *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*.

The yeere of the world, 3961. before Chriſts birth, 3.

Tiro, an old ſouldier, exclaimeth againſt Herods crueltie.

Tiro with his ſon are by the Kings command laid hands on. Ant. l. 16. c. 13.

Another falſe accuſation againſt Tiro.

Herod commandeth his ſons to bee ſtrangled, and to be buried with Alexander their mothers vncle.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of ANTIPATERS *conſpiracy againſt* HEROD *his father.*

BVT *Antipater* now hoping without all controuerſie to ſucceed in the kingdome, was generally hated of the whole nation: for it was openly knowne, that he by falſe calumniations had cauſed his brethrens deaths. And on the other ſide, hee ſtood in no little feare of his brothers children, whom he perceiued now to begin to grow to yeeres: for *Alexander* had by *Glaphyra* two ſonnes, *Tigranes* and *Alexander*: and *Ariſtobulus* had by *Bernice*, daughter to *Salome*, fiue children, to wit, three ſonnes, *Herod*, *Agrippa* and *Ariſtobulus*, and two daughters, *Herodias* and *Mariamme*. *Herod*, after he had put *Alexander* to death, ſent away *Glaphyra* with her dowry into Cappadocia, and married *Bernice Ariſtobulus* his wife vnto *Antipaters* vncle: for *Antipater* deuiſed this match to become friends with *Salome*, whom he before-time hated and enuyed. Hee alſo by his great gifts ſought to get *Pheroras* fauour, and the friendſhip of ſuch as were friends vnto *Cæſar*, ſending to that end great ſummes of money vnto Rome. Hee gaue *Saturnius* and all the reſt great riches in Syria. But the more he gaue, the more he was hated of all men: for euery one iudged that he did not conſume ſuch wealth, for that he was liberall, but that he lauiſhed it out for feare, ſo that he got not the loue of them, vpon whom he beſtowed it; & they to whom he gaue nothing, were ſo much the more his enemies. Yet he became euery day more bountifull, ſeeing, againſt his expectation, *Herod* made much of their children, whoſe parents he had ſlaine; intending to ſhew how much he repented their deaths, by the pitie and

Ant. lib. 17. cap. 21.

Antipater ſtriueth by gifts & bribes to creepe into mens fauours.

The yeere of the world, 3961. before Christs birth, 3.

Herod grieuously bemoned his sons, expressing the same by his commiseration toward their children.

Herod betrotheth his nephewes.

and compassion he tooke vpon their children. For assembling together his friends, he caused the children to be placed by him, and the teares standing in his eyes, he said: Hard, cruell, and sinister fortune tooke away from me the fathers of these children: but I pitie to see them orphans, and naturall affection commendeth them vnto me. Wherefore I will endeuour, that seeing I haue bin an infortunate father, I may be a wiser and happier grandfather, and leaue them who are most deare vnto mee, to raigne after me. Wherefore brother *Pheroras*, I betroth thy daughter vnto *Alexanders* eldest sonne, that for that cause thou maist be carefull to prouide for him, and assist him: and vnto thy sonne *Antipater* I assure the daughter of *Aristobulus*, that so thou maist bea father to her who wants a father; and my sonne *Herod*, whose mothers vncle was high Priest, shall marry with her sister. And this is my will and pleasure touching this matter, and let no man who loueth mee seeke to alter this. And I beseech Almightie God, for the good of my countrey, and of these my nephews, to prosper these marriages, and to looke vpon these children with a more fauourable eye then he did their fathers. Hauing thus spoken, he wept, and ioyned the childrens hands, and courteously saluting euery one, he dismissed the Councell.

Vpon this, *Antipater* was amazed, and all the Orphans well perceiued how sorrowfull he was. For now he thought himselfe dishonored by his father, and that his good fortune was endangered, seeing that *Alexanders* sonne was like to haue both *Archelaus* and *Pheroras* the Tetrarch to assist him. Moreouer, he considered how he was hated, and how the people did compassionate the children, for that they were fatherlesse; and affected them, remembring their fathers who were dead, & were terrified at his wickednesse. Wherefore he attempted all meanes possible to breake off the marriages, yet hee feared to insinuate any thing to his father cunningly, who was now very seuere, and wary, and mistrustfull. And therefore went openly vnto him to make his humble sute, and request him, that he would not leaue him without honour, nor depriue him of that dignitie, which before-time he had iudged him worthy of, giuing him onely the bare Title of a King, and leauing the substance of the kingdome in other mens powers. For it would bee impossible for him to obtaine the kingdome, if *Alexanders* sonne (beside *Archelaus* his fauour) were by marriage made sonne in law vnto *Pheroras*. Wherefore he earnestly besought him, that seeing he had a great many daughters, to change the marriages: for the King had nine wiues, and by seuen of them he had children: *Antipater* by *Doris*, *Herod* by *Mariamme*, daughter of the high Priest, and *Antipas* and *Archelaus* by *Malthace*, the Samaritane, and his daughter *Olympias*, whom his brother *Ioseph* married: and by *Cleopatra* of Ierusalem, *Herod* and *Philip*; and by *Pallas*, *Phasaelus*: he had two other daughters also, *Roxane* and *Salome*; one of them by *Phædra*, and the other by *Elpis*. He had likewise two wiues, by whom he had no issue, his cousin, and his neece: and beside these, he had two daughters by *Mariamme*, sisters to *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*. Wherefore *Antipater* seeing his father had such choice of daughters, hee requested the marriages to be altered.

Herods children by his seuen wiues.

The King, well perceiuing his minde and purpose towards the Orphans, was very angry: and calling to remembrance the misfortune of his sonnes, whom he had put to death, he greatly feared, lest *Antipater* by some false accusations should ouerthrow them, and so with sharpe words did driue him off for that time; yet afterward he so flattered *Herod*, that he got the marriages to be altered. And first of all he ioyned *Aristobulus* daughter with *Antipater* himselfe, and his son to *Pheroras* daughter. Heere one may see what *Antipater* could doe by flattering speeches: for *Salome* in the like matter could not speed, although shee was his sister, and procured many times *Iulia*, *Cæsars* wife, to speake for her, that she might marry with *Syllæus* the Arabian: yet was not she permitted so to doe. But *Herod* sware that he would account her as an vtter enemy, except she would desist from that purpose, and afterward against her will he married her vnto one *Alexas*, a friend of his: and one of her daughters to *Alexanders* sonne, and the other to *Antipaters* vncle.

Herod is perswaded by Antipaters flatteries so breake off the marriages.

Ant. lib. 17. cap. 3. Antipater buildeth vpon the kingdome.

As for *Mariammes* daughters, one of them was married to *Antipater*, his sisters sonne, the other vnto *Phasaelus*, his brothers sonne. When *Antipater* had quite ouerthrowne the hope of the Orphans, and ioyned affinitie as he thought good, he now held himselfe on a sure ground: and adding confidence to his malice, he became intolerable to all men. And seeing he could not auoide their hatred, he now sought by feare to worke his owne safety; and so much the more, because *Pheroras* now assisted him, as one that was confirmed and established for King. Also the women in the Court fell at variance, and raised a new broile: for *Pheroras* wife, with her mother and her sister, & the mother of *Antipater* did vse themselues very insolently in many things, abusing also two of the Kings daughters very contumeliously: to which matter she was chiefly set on by *Antipater*, who hated them, hauing the others at his command, onely *Salome* hindered their agree-

A debate betwixt the Ladies in the court.

A greement: who went vnto the King, and told him that their meetings were not for his profit. *The yeere of the world, 3961. before christs birth, 3.*

The women vnderſtanding how ſhe had informed the King, & that *Herod* was offended thereat, they came no more together openly, and abſtained from their wonted familiarity, and in the Kings hearing fained themſelues to fall out one with another. *Antipater* alſo made the ſame ſhew, ſo that he ſtucke not openly to offend *Pheroras*: notwithſtanding, they had meetings and banquets in the night, and the vnity was the more confirmed becauſe they perceiued themſelues to be noted: for *Salome* knew all this, and told it to the King. The King was very angry, and eſpecially againſt *Pheroras* wife, whom chiefly *Salome* blamed: and hauing called together his kinred and friends, he laid many accuſations againſt her before them; and told them how contumeli- Ant. lib. 17.
B ouſly ſhe had behaued her ſelfe toward his daughter, and that ſhe hired the Phariſes againſt him, cap. 4.
and that by her poyſon ſhe had made his brother his enemy. And turning himſelfe vnto *Pheroras*, he asked him whether he had rather haue him for his brother, or haue his wife. And he anſwering, that he had rather dye then loſe his wife: *Herod* doubtfull what to doe, turned him to *Antipater*, and commanded him neuer to talke with *Pheroras*, nor his wife, nor any one belonging to them after that time. But he obeyed his fathers command openly in ſhew, but ſecretly lay in their houſe: and fearing that *Salome* ſhould perceiue it, he by his friends in Italy cauſed himſelfe to make a voyage to Rome, by letters brought to *Herod*, wherein it was commanded, that ſhortly after the receit thereof, *Antipater* ſhould be ſent to Rome vnto *Cæſar*. Wherefore *Herod* vſing no delay, ſent him preſently, furniſhing him with all things neceſſary, and a great ſumme of mo- Herod forbids Antipater of his brothers company, or to haue conference with his wife.
C ney: giuing him likewiſe his laſt Will and Teſtament to carry with him to *Cæſar*; wherein was written, that *Antipater* ſhould be King, and after him, *Herod*, the ſonne of *Mariamme*, daughter of the high Prieſt. But *Syllæus* the Arabian, neglecting *Cæſars* commandement, at the ſame time ſayled to Rome, there to contend with *Antipater*, about matters which were before in controuerſie betweene him and *Nicholaus*. He had alſo a great contention with *Aretas* his King, whoſe friends he had ſlaine, and alſo *Soemus*, the moſt potent in all the towne of Petra: and ſeeing *Fabatus*, *Cæſars* Procurator, he vſed his fauour alſo againſt *Herod*. But *Herod* giuing *Fabatus* a greater ſumme of money, alienated him from *Syllæus*, and by this meanes diſpatched that which *Cæſar* commanded: and becauſe *Fabatus* reſtored nothing to him, he accuſed him that he was Procurator, not for *Cæſar*, but for *Herod*: wherewith *Fabatus* was mooued; and being as yet in great Fabatus, Cæſars Gouernour, diſcouereth Syllæus ſecrets.
D eſtimation with *Herod*, he did diſcloſe *Syllæus* his ſecrets, and ſignified to the King, how that *Syllæus* corrupted *Corinthus*, one of his guard, whom he willed to be taken and kept in hold. And the King followed his counſell: for this *Corinthus*, though hee was alwaies brought vp in the Kings Court, yet was he borne in Arabia. Wherefore he preſently tooke him, and two other Arabians that were found with him; one of them was *Syllæus* friend, and the other, *Phylarchus*: who vpon their examination, confeſſed that *Corinthus* for a great ſumme of money was hyred to kill the King. After this, they were ſent to *Saturnius*, Gouernour of Syria, and from him to Rome.

CHAP. XIX.

E

How HEROD *ſhould haue beene poyſoned, and how it was knowne.*

HEROD ſtill vrged *Pheroras* to forſake his wife: for he knew not how to puniſh her, ha- Herod baniſheth his brother Pheroras and his wife.
uing many matters againſt her: at laſt he was ſo mooued that hee baniſht his brother and her. *Pheroras* taking this iniury patiently, departed into his Tetrarchy, taking an oath that his baniſhment ſhould endure ſo long as *Herod* liued, and that whilſt he liued, he would neuer come any more to him; Inſomuch as he would not come at his brother to viſit him when he was ſick, notwithſtanding he was often ſent for, when (as he thought) he lay now on his deathbed, and would gladly impart ſomething vnto him: but contrary to all hope he recouered, and afterward *Pheroras* fell ſicke. At which time *Herod* ſhewed his patient and humble minde: for he
F went vnto him, and very kindly ſought help for him; but he was too far ſpent, for a few daies af- Pheroras dyed and was buried in Ieruſalem.
ter he dyed: and although *Herod* loued him vntill his dying day, yet was it bruted abroad that he poyſoned him. *Herod* cauſed his body to be brought vnto Ieruſalem, and commanded all his nation to mourne, and buried him with a ſumptuous funerall. And thus one of the murtherers of *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* came to his end: but ſhortly after, the reuenge of that wicked fact did fall vpon *Antipater*, who was the chiefe author thereof: it did but begin with *Pheroras*. For Ant. l. 17. c. 5.
certaine that belonged to *Pheroras* came in mournefull wiſe vnto *Herod*, and complained vnto him, how that his brother *Pheroras* was poiſoned, and that one of his wiues gaue him meat that

was

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was not seasoned after the accustomed manner: which when he had eaten, he presently fell sicke. And that two daies before his death, there came a Witch out of Arabia, who was sent for by his mother and his sister, to giue *Pheroras* a loue potion, and shee in stead thereof, through *Syllæus* inducements, gaue him poyson, for shee was of *Syllæus* acquaintance.

A Witch of Arabia.

The confession of the women in their tortures.

The King daunted with so many suspicions, caused diuers of *Pheroras* maids and libertines to be put to torments, and one of them impatient herein, exclaimed in this wise: O thou God, Ruler of heauen and earth, reuenge vs vpon *Antipaters* mother, who is the cause of these our euils! When the King vnderstood thus much, he ceased not to search out the truth: and then the women disclosed *Antipaters* mothers familiaritie with *Pheroras* and his women, and their secret meetings: and that *Pheroras* and *Antipater*, after they came from the King, vsed to drinke with them all night long, not suffering any seruant or maide to be in the roome with them; and one of the Libertines wiues reuealed this. And when euery one of the maids were tortured apart, all their examinations agreed; so that now it was euident wherefore *Antipater* had compacted to goe to Rome, and *Pheroras* beyond the riuer Iordan. For they were often wont to say, that *Herod* hauing killed *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, now he would come to them and their wiues: and that it was vnlike that he would spare any one, who spared not *Mariamme* and her sonnes: and therefore it was best to flee as farre as it was possible from such a beast. And that *Antipater* was wont often to complaine vnto his mother, that now he grew gray-haired, and his father waxed young and lusty; and that it might so chance, that he should neuer liue to be King; or if euer his father dyed, he should enioy the pleasure of the kingdome but a short time. And moreouer, the heads of *Hydra*, that is to say, *Alexanders* and *Aristobulus* sonnes, began to spring vp againe: and that his father had iniuriously cut off all hope from his sonnes, appointing none of them to succeed him but the sonne of *Mariamme*: wherein he was perswaded that he doated, if so be he thought his will should be of force; for hee would take such an order, that hee would haue none of all his progeny aliue, and that *Herod* was the greatest hater of his sonnes of any father in the world: and was not therewithall contented, but he also hated his owne brethren. Furthermore, that he not long agoe gaue him an hundreth talents that hee should haue no conference with *Pheroras*: and when *Pheroras* asked wherein they hurt him, *Antipater* answered, I would to God that he would take away all men else, and leaue onely vs two naked, so that he would grant vs life: but, quoth hee, it is impossible to escape this dangerous beast, who will not suffer men openly to shew friendship to one another. Lastly, though wee now secretly meet, yet if wee beare the hearts and hands of men, the time will be when we may talke and meet openly. The maids in torments disclosed these speeches, and that *Pheroras* was determined to flee with them into Petra. *Herod* beleeued all their sayings, and the rather for that which was said concerning the hundreth talents. For he said nothing of them to any one but to *Antipater*.

Doris, Antipaters mother is spoyled of her iewels, and thrust out of the palace.

And first of all hee bent his fury against *Doris*, *Antipaters* mother: and taking from her all the ornaments which he had bestowed vpon her, and bought with many talents, he banisht her. When his wrath was somewhat appeased, he released *Pheroras* maids from torments: and now he became timorous & fearefull, and prone to any suspicion, torturing many that were innocent, for feare he should let any escape that were guiltie. Hereupon he set vpon *Antipater* the Samaritane, who was Procurator for his sonne *Antipater*; who through torments confessed that his sonne *Antipater* had procured poyson out of Ægypt to kill him, by the meanes of a friend of *Antiphilus*; which poyson *Theudion*, *Antipaters* vncle, tooke of him, and deliuered to *Pheroras*: whom *Antipater* charged to dispatch *Herod* whilst he was at Rome, far from suspicion, and that *Pheroras* gaue his wife the poyson to keepe. Wherefore the King calling for her, commanded her to bring forth that which was deliuered vnto her. And she, making as though she would haue gone forth to fetch it, cast her selfe downe from a house toppe, thereby to preuent the torments, which, if shee were conuicted, they would inflict vpon her. But by the prouidence of GOD (as it should seeme) it came so to passe that she fell not on her head, but on her side, and so escaped death, to the end that God might inflict punishment vpon *Antipater*. And being brought vnto the King, so soone as she began to come to her selfe (for she was amazed with the fall) the King demanded of her, wherefore shee had done so, and sware vnto her, that if she would truly disclose all, hee would pardon her for all; but if shee told an vntruth, her body should be torne in pieces with torments, and not be buried. Shee awhile held her peace, and at last said: Wherefore should I keepe any thing secret, seeing *Pheroras* is dead, to saue *Antipater*, who hath caused all our ouerthrowes? Heare O King, & God be witnes of the truth hereof, who cannot be deceiued: When I sate weeping by *Pheroras*, as he lay a dying, he cald me vnto him and said; See, wife, how much

Pheroras wife freely confesseth what was become of the poyson.

A I am deceiued concerning my brothers loue towards me, for I hated and ſought to kill him, who thus loueth me, and ſorroweth ſo much for me, though I am not yet dead: but truly I am iuſtly rewarded for my iniquitie. And now (wife) bring me hither the poyſon which was left by *Antipater* in thy keeping for my brother, and make it away before my face, that I carry not with me to hell a guiltie conſcience for that crime. So I brought it as he willed mee, and the moſt part of the poyſon I caſt into the fire, where it was conſumed, and kept a little thereof to my ſelfe, for feare of miſchances, and of thee. And hauing thus ſaid, ſhe brought forth a box which had in it a very little of the poyſon. And then the King tortured the brother and mother of *Antiphilus*, and they alſo confeſſed that *Antiphilus* brought a box out of Ægypt, & that he receiued poyſon B from his brother, who practiſed Phyſicke at Alexandria. The ghoſts alſo of *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* went all about the whole kingdome, and became as it were ſpies, to giue notice of ſuch things as were vncertaine; who alſo cauſed thoſe that dwelt in the vttermoſt parts of the kingdome, to come and giue euidence of ſuch things as were ſuſpected. At laſt it was prooued that *Mariamme* the daughter of the high Prieſt was acquainted with theſe conſpiracies, for her brethren being tortured did confeſſe it. Wherefore the King reuenged the mothers fault vpon her childe: for hauing writ in his Will, that *Herod* her ſonne ſhould ſucceed *Antipater* in the kingdome, now for her fault hee blotted that out.

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Gods iuſtice leaueth nothing vnpuniſhed.

CHAP. XX.

C *How* Antipaters *malicious practices againſt* Herod *were knowne and reuenged.*

AFTER all this, *Bathyllus* ioyned himſelf with *Antipater*, as it were to adde the laſt hand vnto all his practices. This *Bathyllus* was one of his libertines, who brought another ſort of poyſon, to wit, of Aſpes, and the poyſon alſo of other Serpents; that if the firſt prooued too weake and tooke not effect, that then *Pheroras* and his wife ſhould make an end of the King with theſe. And beſide theſe ſhamefull practices of his againſt his father; hee alſo had letters which he had counterfeited againſt his brethren. For *Archelaus* and *Philip*, two of the Kings ſonnes, were at that time at Rome to ſtudy, who were very toward young men: and for that D *Antipater* feared they might be ſome hinderance to him, in that which he expected, he haſted by all meanes poſſible to make them away. And the better to effect his purpoſe, he counterfeited letters in his friends names that were at Rome, and he for money got others to write, that theſe two young men vſed in taunting wiſe to raile againſt their father, and openly to complaine of the death of *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*: and that they tooke it in bad part that they were ſent for home (for their father ſent word that they ſhould come away) & thereat *Antipater* was moſt troubled. For he before his departure from Iudæa to Rome, procured ſuch like letters to be forged againſt them at Rome; and ſo deliuering them to his father, that he might auoide all ſuſpicion, ſeemed to excuſe his brethren, affirming ſome things that were written to be lyes; other things to be offences, whereunto young men were prone. At which time he gaue great ſummes of mo- E ney to them in whoſe names he had counterfeited the letters againſt his brethren: hereby as it were hyring them to be ſecret. He gaue them alſo rich apparell, and Tapiſtrie of curious worke: alſo ſiluer and golden cups, with many things more, to the end that by the precious gifts and rewards which he beſtowed, he might haue all things kept cloſe: ſo that at his returne hee made his fathers account that he had ſpent two hundred talents, the greateſt portion whereof was conſumed in following the law againſt *Syllæus*. *Antipaters* ſmall faults were all hid by a greater: for all they that had bin tortured, gaue euidence againſt him, how that he practiſed his fathers death, and the letters witneſſed how againe hee went about to make away other two of his brethren: and yet for all this, none of thoſe who came out of Iudæa to Rome, bare him ſo much good will as to giue him intelligence what troubles were in the Court at home, although it was ſeuen F moneths after hee was conuicted, before hee came to Iudæa from Rome. Peraduenture they who were minded to tell him all, were forced to hold their peace by the ghoſts of them who were put to death. At laſt he ſent letters from Rome to his father, that now he would ſhortly returne home, and that *Cæſar* had diſmiſſed him very honourably. The King deſired greatly that the Traitor were in his power; and fearing that if he had an inkling of any matter, that he would looke to himſelfe, fained great kindneſſe towards him, and ſent backe againe vnto him very louing and familiar letters, willing him to haſten his returne: for if he made haſte, it might be he ſhould obtaine pardon for his mothers offence: for *Antipater* vnderſtood that ſhe was baniſhed.

Antipaters treaſons againſt Archelaus & Philip his brothers.

Antipater giueth a great ſumme of money to thoſe that counterfeit letters againſt his brothers.

Ant. lib. 18. cap. 8.

Antipater is ſollicited by Herod with many kinde words to haſten his returne.

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About this time he receiued a letter at Tarentum, whereby he vnderstood the death of *Pheroras*; and greatly lamented it, which diuers thought well of. Yet as farre as one may coniecture, the cause of his griefe was, that his treason went not forward as he wished, and he did lament *Pheroras* so much, as though he had lost one to effect his treachery. Moreouer, he feared lest that which had passed should come to light, and lest the poyson should be found: yet when he came to Cilicia, and there receiued his fathers letters, which before we mentioned, hee then made great haste homeward: yet when he came to Celenderis, he began earnestly to thinke vpon his mothers mishap, his minde as it were presaging some sinister fortune. And the wiser sort of his friends about him counselled him not to goe to his father, till such time as he were certaine for what cause his mother was banished and diuorced. For it was to be feared, that he should be accused also of the same that was laid to his mothers charge: But the vnwiser sort being more desirous to see their countrey, then to bethinke themselues what was expedient for *Antipater*, admonished him to make haste, lest that his long delay should breed any suspicion in his father, and lest thereby he should giue occasion vnto malignant people to raise vp slanders. For (said they) if any thing hath passed against you, it was in your absence, & were you in presence, no man durst doe nor speake against you; and it were a very vnwise part, for vncertaine suspicions to depriue himselfe of certaine felicity, and not to returne speedily vnto his father, and receiue the kingdome at his hands, who had him in whom onely his hope was. This counsell (for fortune would haue it so) *Antipater* followed, & so arriued in the hauen of Cæsarea passing Sebaste, where contrary to his expectation, he fell into great sorrow and admiration: for all men eschewed his company, and no man durst come neere him. For although that he was alwaies hated of them, yet then they had liberty to shew their hatred. Many abstained from comming to him for feare of the King: and now the rumour of those things which *Antipater* had done was knowne in euery Citie, and to euery man, only *Antipater* himselfe was ignorant thereof. For there was neuer any man brought thither with more maiestie then he, when he was to saile to Rome, nor neuer any man more basely entertained at his returne. And now vnderstanding of the massacre at home, he craftily made himselfe ignorant thereof; and notwithstanding that he was almost dead for feare, yet in his countenance hee counterfeited confidence. For he could not now possibly make any escape, nor rid himselfe out of those present dangers: and yet hee heard no certaine newes of matters at home, nor there: for the King by an Edict had forbidden all men to giue him notice thereof: So that many times he comforted himselfe thus, that either all matters concerning him were yet secret, or if any thing was come to light, that he by policie and impudencie could acquit himselfe thereof; for these two were his refuge and hope. Being thus determined, he went into the Kings palace alone without any of his friends and followers; which at the very first gate were most contumeliously repulsed. And by chance *Varus* the Ruler of Syria was there within: then hee boldly going in to his father, came neere vnto him, as though hee would haue saluted him. But *Herod* stretching forth his hand and shaking his head, cryed out, O thou that hast attempted to murther thy father, darest thou yet presume to offer to embrace me, who art guiltie of so many treacheries! God confound thee, wicked wretch, and come not neere me till thou hast cleared thy selfe of all that which is laid against thee: for thou shalt haue iustice, and *Varus* shall be thy Iudge, who is by good fortune now here. Go and premeditate how to acquit thee against to morrow, for I will giue thy subtill and craftie braine sometime to doe it.

Antipater hated in Cæsarea.

Antipaters entertainment at his fathers hands.

Hereat *Antipater* was astonished with feare, that he was not able to reply any thing, but so went his way. Presently his mother and his wife came vnto him, and told him all the proofes of treasons against him. Then he calling his wits together, bethought himselfe how to answer euery point. The next day the King caused an assembly of his friends and kinsfolks, and to them admitted *Antipaters* friends: and he and *Varus* sitting in iudgement, commanded all proofes to be brought, and witnesses to appeare: amongst whom were certaine of *Antipaters* mothers seruants, lately apprehended, who had letters from her to carry vnto him, to this effect: Forasmuch as all those things are now known vnto thy father, beware that thou return not vnto him, before thou hast obtained some warrant of thy safetie from *Cæsar*. These and others being brought in, *Antipater* also came in with them, and prostrating himselfe before his fathers feet, he said: I beseech thee, O father, beare no preiudicate opinion against me, and lend me an open eare whilest I purge my selfe: for if thou please to giue me leaue, I will proue my self guiltlesse. But *Herod* with a vehement voice commanding him to hold his tongue, spake thus vnto *Varus*: I know, *Varus*, that both thou, or any other iust and indifferent Iudge, will adiudge *Antipater* to haue deserued death: and I feare me lest you also should disdaine me for my bad fortune, and thinke me worthy

Antipater is iudged before Varus.

Herods accusation against Antipater.

of

A of all calamities, who haue begotten ſuch ſonnes as you ſee. And yet this ſhould mooue thee ſo much the more to pity mee, who haue beene ſo mercifull and carefull for ſuch wicked caitifes. For I had already appointed thoſe young men that are dead to be Kings, and brought them vp at Rome, and gotten them *Cæſars* fauour: but they whom I had ſo much honored, and exalted vnto the Crowne, became traitors againſt mine owne life, whoſe death was much auailable to *Antipater*. For his ſecurity I ſought therin, becauſe he was a young man, and the next that ſhould ſucceed me: but this cruell beaſt being more then full gorged with my ſufferance and patience, hath emptied his ſtomake euen vpon my ſelfe, and thinketh my life too long, and is grieued that I liue to be old, and hath attempted to make himſelfe King, not any other way but by murthering his father.

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Herods kindneſſe towards his children.

B And for what cauſe did this come to paſſe? for that I recalled him out of the field, where he was contemptible; and caſting them off whom I had begotten of a Queene, appointed this to be heire of my Kingdome. I confeſſe vnto thee, *Varus*, my errour: for I incited them againſt me, becauſe that for *Antipaters* ſake I depriued them of their right. For wherein had I ſo well deſerued of them, as at this mans hands? vnto whom, being yet aliue, I committed the ſway and rule of my Kingdom, and openly in my will and teſtament declared him to be my heir and ſucceſſor, whoſe charges I with mine owne money haue ſtill ſupported, notwithſtanding that I had beſtowed vpon him the yeerely reuenues of fifty talents. And lately when he was to ſail to Rome, I gaue him three hundred talents, and commended him vnto *Cæſar*, as the onely man of all my houſe, who had preſerued his fathers life. And what was their offence, if it be compared with *Antipaters*? and C what proofe was there of that, for which they ſuffered? none but that which this man treacherouſly inuented. Nay, I may boldly ſay ſo of him, who hath attempted to murther his father, and now doth hope to colour all againe with craft and deceit: Beware, *Varus*, that he deceiue not thee: for I know this beaſt, and I euen now ſee by his fained teares, how probable a tale hee will tell. This fellow once warned me, that whileſt *Alexander* liued, I ſhould beware of him, and not put euery one in truſt with my perſon. This is he who was woont to go before mee in my bedchamber, and looke about in euery corner, leſt ſome ſhould haue lien in wait to haue effected any treaſon againſt me. This is he who watched me in my ſleepe, and through whom I thought my ſelfe ſecure: who comforted mee when I mourned for them that were put to death. This is hee who cenſured the good will of his brethren when they were aliue. This was my defender and D champion. O *Varus*, when I remember his crafts and ſubtilties, and all his counterfeitings, I ſcarcely thinke my ſelfe aliue, admiring how I eſcaped the hand of ſuch a traitor: and ſeeing that Fortune ſtirreth vp thoſe of mine owne houſe againſt mee, and that thoſe whom I moſt eſteeme of, are my greateſt enemies, I will bewaile mine owne fortune, and alone lament mine owne deſolation; and not one that hath thirſted after my blood ſhall eſcape, although proofe bee brought againſt euery one of my children. And thus his heart being ſurcharged with ſorrow, he was forced to breake off his ſpeech: and preſently he commanded *Nicholaus*, one of his friends, to ſhew all the proofes and euidences.

Herod loued Antipater aboue the reſt, and beſtowed many benefits on him.

All this while *Antipater* lay proſtrate at his fathers feete, and lifting vp his head, hee cryed aloud: Thou thy ſelfe, O father, ſufficiently purgeſt me. For how ſhould I bee one who ſought to E murther thee, when thy ſelfe doſt confeſſe, that I alwayes haue preſerued thee from all dangers? Or if, as thou ſaiſt, I did it fainedly, was it probable that I would bee ſo circumſpect in other affairs, and at other times, and now in ſo weighty a matter, play the part of a fooliſh and ſenſeleſſe man? Nay, I might well think, that although ſuch a thought might haue beene kept ſecret from men, yet it could not be hidden from God, who ſeeth all things. Was I ignorant what befell my brethren, whom God ſo puniſht for their wicked intents towards thee? Or what ſhould cauſe me to enuy at thy life? The hope of the Kingdome? Why? I had the Kingdom. Or a ſuſpicion of thy hatred towards me? I knew thou louedſt me. Or any feare which I had of thee? Nay: in obeying thee, I was feared of others. Perhaps want might cauſe me thereto. Much leſſe. For who might ſpend more then I? Truly, if I had been the wickedſt perſon in the world, or the cruF elleſt beaſt vpon the earth, yet ſhould I haue relented, being ouercome by the benefits of ſo louing a father; ſeeing, as thy ſelfe haſt ſaid, thou didſt recall and prefer me before ſo many ſonnes. And thou yet aliue, didſt proclaime me King, and made me a ſpectacle to all men for to emulate, through the benefits thou beſtowedſt vpon me. O wretch that I am! O vnhappy time of my abſence out of my countrey! what a head did I giue to enuy, and what opportunity to malicious and deceitfull people? Yet, O father, it was for thy ſake, & about thy affaires that I went to Rome, that *Syllæus* might not triumph ouer thy old age. Rome can witneſſe my piety, and *Cæſar* the Prince of the whole world, who often called mee a louer of my father. Receiue here, O father,

Antipaters anſwer and excuſe.

Antipater calleth Rome & Cæſar to witneſſe.

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his letter, farre truer then these fained calumniations against me: let these shew my affection towards thee: remember how vnwilling I was to saile to Rome, knowing I had heere in thy countrey many secret enemies. Thou like an vnwise father hast cast me away: thou forcedst me to giue enuy time to frame accusations against me: but now I will come to the proofes of these matters. Behold here I am, who notwithstanding a murtherer of my father, yet did I neuer suffer any misfortune by sea nor land: Is not this, O father, a sufficient argument of my innocencie? For I know, father, that before God and thee I am condemned: and being condemned, I beseech thee, giue not credit to reports extracted by torments: let me be burned, inflict all torments vpon me, spare not my wicked body. For if I be a murtherer of my father, I must not die without torments: crying out aloud after this manner, and weeping, he mooued all that were present, and *Varus* also to compassion; but *Herod* onely abstained from teares, for his anger gaue attention to the truth. And presently *Nicholaus* at the Kings commandement making a long speech of *Antipaters* craft and subtiltie, tooke away all hope of mercy, and began a very bitter accusation, ascribing all mischiefe which had befallen that Kingdome, vnto him, and especially the death of the two brethren, who through his calumniations were made away: affirming also, that he vsed treacherous practices against those who were yet aliue, fearing lest they should seeke to succeed in the Kingdome: for hee who had prepared poyson for his father, would much lesse spare his brethren. And then comming to the proofe of his pretence to poison his father, hee declared in order all euidence thereof, aggrauating his offence by *Pheroras*; as though *Antipater* also were the cause why hee purposed to murther his brother; and how hee had corrupted the Kings deareſt friends; and so filled the whole Court with wickednesse. And when he had accused him of many other things, and brought proofe thereof, he ended his speech.

Nicholaus by the Kings command beginneth a most hainous and bitter accusation against Antipater.

Nicholaus peroration.

Then *Varus* when he had commanded *Antipater* to make answer vnto those things, and that he said nothing more, then God is a witnesse of my innocency, hee called for the poyson and gaue it to one that was condemned to die, who hauing drunke thereof, presently dyed. Then *Varus* talked secretly with *Herod*, and what was done there in that councel hee wrote vnto *Cæsar*. Yet notwithstanding when *Herod* had sent *Antipater* to prison, he sent messengers vnto *Cæsar*, to shew him his hard fortune and calamitie. After this it was prooued that *Antipater* wrought treason against *Salome*. For one of *Antiphilus* seruants came from Rome, and brought letters in the name of *Acme*, who was one of *Iulia* her maids, which she writ vnto the King, telling him that she found a letter of *Salomes* amongst *Iulias* letters; and so for good will shee had sent it him: the letter which she affirmed to be *Salomes*, contained many bitter inuectiues against *Herod*, and many accusations. But these letters were written and fained by *Antipater*, who for money had perswaded *Acme* so to do, as we haue said: for the letter which she writ to *Antipater* euidently shewed it to be so: for she wrote as followeth: I haue written vnto thy father as you requested mee, and sent also other letters: and I assure my selfe he will not spare his sister, if he doe but read the letters: and you may do well, seeing I haue performed all your requests, that now you would be mindfull of your promise. This letter against *Salome* and others being found to be counterfeited, the King began to doubt that *Alexander* was made away by such counterfeited letters: and hee was very angry that he had almost put his sister to death, through *Antipaters* deuice. Wherefore he no longer delayed to punish him for all, yet he was hindred by a great sickneſſe from accomplishing his purpose. He also sent letters vnto *Cæsar* concerning *Acme* the maid, and *Salomes* false accusation, and changed his testament, and blotted out the name of *Antipater*, and in his roome wrote *Antipas*, leauing out *Archelaus* and *Philippus*, who were the elder brethren, becaus *Antipater* had accused them. And he bequeathed vnto *Cæsar* a thousand talents, beside many other rich gifts: and to his wife and children, and kinred, and libertines, about fiue hundreth, and gaue euery one a great gift, either in ground or money, and honoured his sister *Salome* with most rich gifts. And thus he corrected his will.

Another proofe against Antipater.

Herod intendeth Antipaters punishment, & therfore blotteth his name out of his testament.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the golden Eagle, and of ANTIPATERS *and* HERODS *death.*

Ant. l. 17. c. 8.

Herods disease encreased, partly through age, and especially for his griefe and sorrow: for he was now threescore and ten yeeres old; and his mind was so troubled by the death of his children, that though he were in health, yet he tooke no pleasure in any thing: and his sickneſſe was so much the more grieuous vnto him, because that *Antipater* was yet aliue; for he purposed to put him to death when he was recouered of his sickneſſe. To encrease his calamitie

A tie, there aroſe a tumult amongſt the people. For there were in the Citie two ſophiſters, who made a ſhew as though they were very skilful in their countrey lawes, and for that were renowmed all ouer the countrey. One of them was named *Iudas* who was ſonne vnto *Sepphoræus*: the other was called *Matthias* ſonne vnto *Margalus*. Theſe two were followed by a great many young men, ſo that when they expounded the law, they had an aſſembly like a great army, all yong men. Theſe two hearing that the King partly by griefe, and partly by his diſeaſe was very like to die, ſpake vnto their acquaintance, ſaying, that it was now a fit time wherein God might be reuenged, and thoſe things which were made againſt their countrey lawes taken away: for it was a great offence to God to permit the Images or ſhapes, or likeneſſe of any liuing thing to be in the B Temple. This they ſaid, becauſe the King had ſet a golden Eagle vpon the chiefeſt porch of the Temple, which the Sophiſters now willed the young men to take away, ſaying, that it was meritorious, although danger might enſue thereon, yea, euen to dye for their country lawes. For they that dyed for ſuch a cauſe, ſhould haue their ſoules immortall and enioy euerlaſting bliſſe: and that many vnwiſe men ignorant of that doctrine, ſo loued their liues, that they choſe rather to die by ſickneſſe then to ſpend their liues in a vertuous quarrell. Whileſt they ſaid thus, there was a rumour ſpred that the King was now at the laſt caſt: whereat the young men being incouraged, about noone when many were walking in the Temple, they let themſelues downe from the top of the Temple with great ropes, and ſo with hatchets cut downe the Eagle: Whereof the Captaine of the ſouldiers being aduertiſed, accompanied with a great many ſouldiers, went C ſpeedily to the Temple, and tooke almoſt forty of the young men, and carried them to the King. Who firſt of all asked them if they were ſo bold as to cut downe the golden Eagle: and they confeſſed they had done it: then he demanded by whoſe commandement? they anſwered, By the commandement of their countrey lawes. After this it was asked them why they who were preſently to die were ſo ioyfull? they anſwered, For that after death they hoped to enioy many good things & eternall bliſſe. The King hereat greatly mooued with anger, ouercame his diſeaſe and went forth and made a ſpeech to the people, wherein he inueighed againſt them as Church-robbers, and that vnder pretence and colour of their country lawes and religion they attempted great matters, and adiudged them as impious people worthy of death. The people fearing that he would torture many to learne who fauoured that act, requeſted him that firſt the authors of D that crime, and then thoſe that were found guiltie therein ſhould receiue puniſhment: and that he would remit the offence to all the people beſides. The King with much ado entreated, cauſed the young men that let themſelues down in cords, and the Sophiſters to be burned, & the reſt which were taken in that act to be beheaded. After this the Kings ſickneſſe ſpred ouer his whole body, and he was afflicted with moſt grieuous paine: for he had a vehement ague, and an itch ouer all his body, which was intolerable, and a daily collicke, and his feet were ſwollen, as though he had the dropſie: his belly was ſwollen, and priuie members putrified, ſo that wormes bred in the putrified places. He was alſo ſhort-winded, and he was grieuouſly tormented with difficultie of breath, and a conuulſion of the whole body: ſo that ſome ſaid that this was a puniſhment laid vpon him for the death of the two Sophiſters. *Herod* notwithſtanding he was afflicted with ſo E many and grieuous ſickneſſes, yet was he deſirous to liue, and ſought remedy whereby he hoped for health. At laſt he paſſed ouer Iordan, where he vſed the warme waters of Calliroe which run into the lake of Aſphaltites, and are ſo ſweet that men vſe to drinke of them. There the Phyſicians cauſed his body to be bathed in hot oyle, and it was therewith ſo diſſolued that his ſight failed, and he was as though he were dead: whereat thoſe that were about him being troubled with their cries, cauſed him to looke vp, and now deſpairing of life, he willed fifty Drachmes to be diſtributed vnto euery ſouldier, and great ſummes of money to the Captaines and his friends.

As he returned, when he came to Iericho, hee was in very great likelihood to die of melancholy, and there he deuiſed a wicked fact: for he cauſed the chiefe men of euery towne and village in all Iudæa to be aſſembled together, and then he ſhut them vp in a place called the Hippo- F drome: and calling vnto him *Salome* his ſiſter, and *Alexas* her husband; I know, quoth he, that the Iewes will make feaſts for ioy of my death, yet if thou wilt do my command, I ſhall be mourned for, & I ſhall haue a princely funerall. Therefore ſo ſoon as I haue giuen vp the ghoſt, cauſe ſouldiers to compaſſe theſe men, whom I haue here in hold, and kill them all: for ſo all Iudæa, and euery houſhold thereof ſhall againſt their will bewaile my death. As thus he commanded this to be done, the Legates came which he had ſent to Rome, bringing him letters, wherein was ſhewed how *Acmes Iulia* her maid, was by *Cæſars* command put to death, and *Antipater* condemned to die: yet *Cæſar* writ that if his father had rather baniſh him, he would condeſcend thereun-

The yeere of the world, 3963. before Chriſts birth, 3.

Iudas and Matthias perſwade the people to pull downe the golden Eagle.

The young men that puld downe the Eagle, are brought before Herod, and are examined.

The young men with the ring-leaders condemned to dye.

The King troubled with many diſeaſes. Ant. lib. 17. cap. 9.

Herod ſeeketh remedy in his ſickneſs at the hot baths.

Herod full of melancholy. The Embaſſadors ſignifie Acmes death, and bring letters that authorize Herod to puniſh Antipater.

The yeer of the world, 3961. before christs birth, 1.

Herod ouercome with paine, would haue ſlaine himſelfe. Ant. lib. 17. cap. 16.

to alſo. *Herod* with this newes was ſomething refreſhed, yet preſently with paine he was ouercome: for he both was troubled with a vehement cough, and almoſt pined with faſting, ſo that he thought to haſten his owne death; and taking an apple in his hand, he called for a knife: for he was accuſtomed to cut the meat which he did eate; and then looking about him, leſt any ſtanding by might hinder him, he lifted vp his arme to ſtrike himſelfe. But *Achiabus* his couſin ranne haſtily vnto him, and ſtayed his hand: and preſently there was made great lamentation throughout the Kings palace, as though the King had bin dead. *Antipater* hauing ſpeedy newes hereof, was glad, and tooke courage, and promiſed the Keepers a piece of money to let him goe. But the chiefeſt of them did not onely deny to doe it, but alſo went preſently to the King, and told him all what *Antipater* requeſted. *Herod* hearing this, lifted vp his voice with more ſtrength then was meete for a ſicke man, and commanded his guard to goe and kill *Antipater*, and bury him in the Caſtle called Hircanium. And then againe he altered his teſtament, and writ *Archelaus* his eldeſt ſonne, who was brother to *Antipas*, for King, and appointed *Antipas* for Tetrarch. Fiue daies after the death of his ſonne *Antipater*, *Herod* dyed: hauing raigned thirty and foure yeeres after he ſlew *Antigonus*, and thirty ſeuen yeeres after that the Romanes had declared him King. And in all other things he was as fortunate as any man; for hee being but a priuate perſon, got the Crowne and kept it, and left it vnto his poſteritie: but in his houſhold affaires he was moſt infortunate. *Salome*, before it was knowne that the King was dead, went forth with her husband, and releaſed all thoſe that were in hold, whom the King commanded to be ſlaine; ſaying, that the Kings minde was not altered, and therefore hee gaue them all licence to depart: and after their departure the Kings death was publiſht to the ſouldiers, who together with the other multitude were aſſembled in the Amphitheater at Iericho. Where *Ptolemæus* Keeper of the Kings Seale made a ſpeech vnto them, and began to ſay that *Herod* was now happy; and comforted the multitude, and ſo he read vnto them a letter which the King left, wherein he earneſtly requeſted the ſouldiers to fauour and loue his ſucceſſor. After the Epiſtle read, he recited the Kings teſtament, wherein *Philip* was appointed heire of Trachon, and the places thereunto adioyning; *Antipas* deſigned Tetrarch, and *Archelaus* King. Him alſo he commanded to beare his Ring vnto *Cæſar*, and withall notice and intelligence of the eſtate of the kingdome, whereof he had beene gouernour, faſt ſealed in writing: for he appointed *Cæſar* to be ouerſeer of all his ordinances, vnto whoſe pleaſure he left the performance of his teſtament.

Antipaters death.

Ant. lib. 17. cap. 12.

Herods death ſignified to the ſouldiers.

Archelaus proclaimed King after his fathers deceaſe.

Herods pompous funerall.

This was no ſooner read, but preſently the skies were filled with the voyces and cryes of the people, who did congratulate *Archelaus*; and the ſouldiers and the people came in companies vnto him, promiſing their fauour and furtherance, and deſired God alwaies to aſſiſt him. This done; euery one was buſied about the Kings funerals: where *Archelaus* ſpared no coſt, but buried the King with all royall pompe poſſible. The Beere whereon he was carried, was adorned with gold and precious ſtones: vpon it lay a bed wrought with purple, whereupon was laid the dead corps of the King couered alſo with purple, with a Crowne on his head, and a Diadem of pure gold, and a Scepter in his right hand. About the Beere were his ſonnes and kinsfolke: and the Guard, and bands of Thracians, Germans, and Gauls all went before in order, as though they had gone to warres. The reſt of the ſouldiers in warlike order did follow their Captaines and Leaders, and fiue hundreth ſeruants and libertines carryed perfumes. And thus the corps was carryed the ſpace of two hundreth furlongs into the Caſtle named Herodion: where, as himſelfe had appointed, it was interred. And this was the end of King *Herod*.

THE

THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE WARRES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the second Booke.

1 *Of* Herods *succeſſour* Archelaus, *how he entred into the Temple, and the mutinie that aroſe for the reuenge of thoſe that were executed for taking away the golden Eagle.*
2 *Of the fight and maſſacre in Ieruſalem betweene the Iewes and Sabinians.*
3 *Of* Varus *his deeds concerning the Iewes that were crucified.*
4 *How the Iewes had an Ethnarcha conſtituted ouer them.*
5 *Of the falſe ſuppoſed* Alexander, *and how he was taken.*
6 *Of the death of* Archelaus.
7 *Of* Simon *the Galilean, and the three ſects of the Iewes.*
8 *Of* Pilates *gouernment.*
9 *Of the pride of* Caius, *and of* Petronius *the Preſident.*
10 *Of the raigne of* Claudius *the Emperour, and the raigne and death of* Agrippa.
11 *Of diuers tumults in Iudæa and Samaria.*
12 *Of the tumults in Iudæa vnder* Fœlix.
13 *Of* Albinus *and* Florus, *Preſidents of Iudæa.*
14 *Of* Florus *cruelty towards she Iewes of Cæſarea and Ieruſalem.*
15 *Of another oppreſsion of thoſe of Ieruſalem through* Florus *his meanes.*
16 *Of* Politianus *the Tribune, and* Agrippa *his oration to the Iewes, wherein he exhorted them to obey the Romanes.*
17 *Of the beginning of the rebellion of the Iewes againſt the Romans.*
18 *Of the murther of* Ananias *the high Prieſt,* Manahemus, *and the Roman ſouldiers.*
19 *Of a great ſlaughter of the Iewes in Cæſarea, and throughout all Syria.*
20 *Of another grieuous ſlaughter of the Iewes.*
21 *Of the maſſacre of the Iewes at Alexandria.*
22 *Of the maſſacre of the Iewes by* Ceſtius.
23 *Of the battell of* Ceſtius *againſt Ieruſalem.*
24 *Of the beſieging of Ieruſalem by* Ceſtius, *and the maſſacre there.*
25 *Of the cruelty of them of Damaſcus towards the Iewes, and of* Ioſephus *his practices in Galilee.*
26 *Of* Ioſephus *his dangers and euaſion, and the malice of* Iohn Giſcaleus.
27 *How* Ioſephus *recouered Tiberias and Sephoris.*
28 *How the Citizens of Ieruſalem prepared themſelues to warre, and of* Simon Gioras *tyranny.*

CHAP. I.

Of HERODS *ſucceſſour* ARCHELAVS, *and how he entred into the Temple, and the mutinie that aroſe for the reuenge of thoſe that were executed for taking downe the golden Eagle.*

ARchelaus being appointed ſucceſſor in the kingdome of *Herod* late dead, neceſſity conſtrained him to goe to Rome, which iourney gaue occaſion of new broyles. For after that for ſeuen daies ſpace he had celebrated his fathers funerals, and largely feaſted the people (for this is a cuſtome amongſt the Iewes, which bringeth many of them to pouerty; yet he that doth not ſo, is reputed impious) hee went vnto the Temple attired in a white garment, where he was with great ioy receiued of the people; and he himſelfe ſitting in a tribunal ſeat & a Throne of gold, did very courteouſly admit the people to his preſence: and than-

The yeere of the world, 3964. after Chriſts birth, 2.

Ant. l. 17. c. 11. The lamentations & banquets Archelaus made.

The yeere of the world, 3964. before Christs birth, 2.

thanked them for their diligent care vſed in his fathers funerals, and for that they exhibited honour vnto him, as though he were already King. Yet he ſaid that he would not take vpon him the authority nor name of a King, till ſuch time as his ſucceſſion was approued by *Cæſar*, who by his fathers teſtament was Lord and maſter of all: and for that cauſe he withſtood the ſouldiers at Iericho, when they would haue crowned him. But he promiſed, that if he were confirmed King by thoſe who were in authority, he would largely recompence both the ſouldiers and the people for their good will; & that he fully purpoſed to be better vnto them then his father was. The multitude hereat greatly reioyced, and made preſent triall of his minde and purpoſe; for ſome cried out, requeſting that the tribute might be no more exacted. Others deſired that the yeerely paiments might ceaſe. Others requeſted to giue all priſoners liberty. *Archelaus* in fauour of the people granted all their requeſts: and then offring ſacrifices, he banquetted with his friends: when ſuddenly after the noone time of the day a great multitude deſirous of alteration (the common lamentation for the Kings death being ceaſed) began a priuate mourning, bewailing their miſchance whom *Herod* had put to death for pulling down the golden Eagle from off the porch of the Temple. This ſorrow was not ſecret, but the whole City did reſound with laments for them, that were thought to haue loſt their liues for the Temple and their country lawes. They alſo cried that reuenge was to be taken vpon them, whom *Herod* for that fact rewarded with money. And that firſt of all, he who by *Herod* was conſtituted high Prieſt, was to be reiected, and another more holy and deuout to be put in his place. *Archelaus*, although he was hereby moued to reuenge, yet becauſe he was preſently to take ſuch a iourney, abſtained frō it, fearing leſt that if he brought the multitude into hatred of him, they might hinder him. Wherfore he ſought rather by admoniſhing them, then by force to reclaime thoſe that were ſeditious, and ſent the Gouernour of the ſouldiers to requeſt them to be pacified. But the authors of that ſedition ſo ſoone as he came to the Temple, before he ſpake one word, threw ſtones at him: and in like maner they vſed others ſent after him to appeaſe them (for *Archelaus* diſpatcht many meſſengers vnto them) whom they ſpitefully intreated, making a ſhew that if they had beene more in number, they would not haue bin appeaſed. Therefore when the feaſt of vnleauened bread drew nigh, which the Iewes call Eaſter, wherein an infinite number of ſacrifices were appointed; an innumerable multitude of people came out of all villages thereabout for deuotion ſake to that ſolemnitie: and they who ſo lamented the death of the Sophiſters, remained in the Temple, ſeeking by all meanes to nouriſh their ſedition. Which *Archelaus* fearing, ſent a band of ſouldiers and a Tribune with them, to take the chiefe of the ſeditious, before ſuch time as they had drawne vnto them the multitude of the people: againſt whom the whole number being ſtirred vp, ſlew a great many of them with ſtones; and the Tribune himſelfe being ſore hurt, had much adoe to eſcape. And when they had ſo done, they preſently went and offered ſacrifice, as though that no hurt had beene done. But *Archelaus* perſwaded himſelfe that the multitude would not be appeaſed without ſlaughter: wherefore he ſent vnto them the whole armie, the footmen into the citie, and the horſmen into the field, who inuading the ſeditious people as they were ſacrificing, ſlew of them almoſt three thouſand, and ſcattered the reſidue into the mountaines neere adioyning. There were alſo Criers who followed *Archelaus*, and proclaimed by vertue of his command that euery one ſhould depart home to his houſe: ſo euery one notwithſtanding the holineſſe of the day departed. But he accompanied with his mother *Popla*, *Ptolemæus* and *Nicholaus* his friends, went vnto the ſea-coaſt, leauing *Philip* for Gouernor of the Kingdome, and ouer his houſhold: with them departed *Salome* and her children, and the Kings brethren and kindred, vnder pretence to aſſiſt *Archelaus* to the Crowne, but indeed it was to informe *Cæſar* of that which was done in the Temple againſt the law.

Archelaus promiſeth his ſubiects all fauour.

A ſedition about the pulling downe of the Eagle, and the agents thereof. Ant. l. 17. c. 12.

Archelaus bounty towards the ſeditious.

The feaſt of Eaſter ſolemnly kept, and much ſacrifice offered.

Three thouſand of the Iewes ſlaine at the feaſt of Eaſter.

When they came to *Cæſarea*, they met with *Sabinus* Gouernour of Syria, who was comming toward Iudæa, to take into his cuſtodie *Herods* treaſure: whom *Varus* forbad to go any further, being ſent for by *Archelaus*, and *Ptolemey* requeſting him thereunto. And ſo *Sabinus* for the loue of *Varus*, neither entred the Caſtles, nor ſhut vp *Herods* treaſure from *Archelaus*, but promiſed that he would let all alone till *Cæſar* vnderſtood thereof. But ſo ſoone as one of them that hindred him was gone to Antiochia, and the other, to wit, *Archelaus*, to Rome; he ſtill remaining at *Cæſarea*, now haſted vnto Ieruſalem, and took the Kings Palace: where calling for the chiefe of the Guard, and the Purueyors, he exacted of them an account, and ſought to take into his cuſtodie the Caſtles and ſtrong holds. But the Captaines of the garriſon, mindfull of the charge which *Archelaus* gaue them, kept vnto themſelues the cuſtodie of all, affirming that they kept them more for *Cæſar* then *Archelaus*. At this time *Antipas* made a claime to the Crowne

Sabinus commeth into Iudæa to ſeize the fortreſſes, and keepe the treaſure. Ant. l. 17. c. 13.

Antipas elected King by Herods former teſtament ſtriueth with Archelaus for the Kingdom.

A Crowne, alledging that *Herods* firſt teſtament was of more force then the laſt, and that he in the firſt was declared King; and both *Salome* and many more of his kinred, who ſayled with *Archelaus*, promiſed him their aide. He tooke with him his mother, and *Ptolemæus*, brother vnto *Nicholaus*, perſwading himſelfe, that they for their truſtineſſe and loyalty vnto *Herod*, would ſtand him in great ſtead: for this *Ptolemæus* was *Herods* deareſt friend. Hee had alſo great confidence in *Ireneus* his Orator, becauſe he had an excellent grace in pleading, in ſo much as he refuſed the counſell of them who ſought to perſwade to yeeld vnto *Archelaus*, both for his age, and for the laſt teſtament of his father. Now hee was well beloued of all his kinred at Rome, becauſe they hated *Archelaus*, and eſpecially thoſe that deſired to liue at libertie, and either to bee gouerned by the B Romanes, or elſe to haue *Antipas* for their King. And to further him the more, hee vſed *Sabinus* letters vnto *Cæſar*, wherein *Archelaus* was accuſed, and *Antipas* commended. Therefore *Salome*, and the reſt of their complices, brought the accuſations vnto *Cæſar*. And after them *Archelaus* deliuered all that which hee had done, in writing, and withall, his fathers ring by *Ptolemæus*; and the reaſons of that which he had done he ſent incloſed vnto *Cæſar*. *Cæſar* pondering with himſelfe what both parties alleadged, and the greatneſſe of the Kingdome, and large reuenues, and number of *Herods* children, reading alſo the letters of *Varus* and *Sabinus*, hee called the chiefe of the Romanes to counſell. Wherein *Caius* the ſonne of *Agrippa*, and his daughter *Iulia*, by his aſſignement, ſate in the firſt place (this *Caius* was *Cæſars* adopted ſonne) and ſo he licenced the parties to plead their rights. Then *Antipater*, *Salomes* ſonne, being the moſt eloquent of all *Archelaus* C aduerſaries, offered himſelfe to be his accuſer, for that *Archelaus* ſeemed now in words to contend for the Kingdome, which he had already poſſeſt himſelfe of: and that he did now trouble *Cæſars* eares with vaine cauillations, whom hee would not wiſh to iudge of his lawfull ſucceſſion. For after *Herods* death, he ſuborned ſome to put a diadem vpon his head: and then ſitting in a throne of gold in kingly manner, he partly changed, partly aduanced the orders of the ſouldiers, and granted vnto the people their requeſts, which could not be effected but by a King. He had alſo ſet at liberty many men, who for great crimes were impriſoned by his father: and hauing done all this, he came now vnto *Cæſar*, to craue the ſhadow of the Kingdome, the ſubſtance and body whereof he already occupied: ſo that herein hee left nothing vnto *Cæſar* but a bare title. Moreouer, he alledged that *Archelaus* did but counterfeit ſorrow for his fathers death, faining himſelfe D to mourne in the day-time, and in the night he would be drunke, and rioted. Finally, he ſaid, that the ſedition of the people came by hatred thereof. But the force and drift of his ſpeech was altogether bent to declare the multitude ſlaine about the Temple: for he ſaid, that they onely came againſt that feſtiuall day to offer ſacrifice, and that they themſelues were ſacrificed, as they were offering their ſacrifices which they brought; and that there were ſuch heapes of dead bodies in the Temple, as neuer by any forraine warres were ſlaine the like. Therefore *Herod* foreſeeing his cruelty, neuer iudged him worthy of the Kingdome, till ſuch time as his memorie failed him: and that now being more ſicke in minde then bodie, he knew not whom he named his Succeſſor in his laſt will, eſpecially for that hee had nothing wherein hee could blame him, whom in his former will hee appointed his ſucceſſor, when hee was in health both of minde and body. Yet E (quoth he) put caſe *Herod* in his extremitie knew what he did, yet (ſaid he) *Archelaus* hath depriued himſelfe of all kingly dignitie, hauing committed many things againſt the Lawes. For (ſaid he) what will he be after he hath receiued authority from *Cæſar*, who before he receiued any, hath murdered ſo many? *Antipater* hauing ſpoken much to this effect, and at euery accuſation taking witneſſe of his kinred that ſtood by, ended his ſpeech.

The yeere of the world, 3964. after Chriſts birth, 2.

Antipas accuſeth Archelaus by letters to Cæſar.

Cæſar calleth a Councell of Roman Nobility.

Antipaters vehement accuſation againſt Archelaus.

Antipater ſpareth no vehemency in accuſing Archelaus.

The wil changed during Herods ſickneſſe.

Antipater againſt Archelaus.

Then *Nicholaus* ſtood vp, and firſt of all, hee ſhewed that the ſlaughter of them in the Temple was neceſſarie. For they, for whoſe death *Archelaus* was now accuſed, were not only enemies of the Kingdome, but alſo of *Cæſar*: and for other crimes obiected, he ſhewed how that they were done euen by the counſell and perſwaſion of the aduerſaries. He alſo requeſted that the ſecond teſtament might be of force, for that therein *Herod* requeſted *Cæſar* to be a confirmer of his ſucceſF ſour. For he who had ſuch remembrance, as to leaue the performance of his will to the diſcretion of him who was Lord of all, did neither miſtake himſelfe in appointing his heire, nor yet was depriued of his ſenſes, ſeeing he knew by whom hee ſhould bee eſtabliſhed. When *Nicholaus* had ended his ſpeech, and declared all that he thought might make for *Archelaus*, *Archelaus* comming into the midſt of the Councell, proſtrated himſelfe at *Cæſars* feet: whom *Cæſar* curteouſly taking from the ground, ſhewed that hee was worthie to ſucceed his father. Yet did he not pronounce a definitiue ſentence: but the ſame day, the Councell being diſmiſſed, he deliberated with himſelfe, according to the euidence he knew, whether any of thoſe nominated in the two wils ſhould ſucceed

Nicholaus defendeth Archelaus.

Archelaus humbleth himſelfe at Cæſars feet.

Cæſars bounty and humanity towards him.

The yeare of the world, 3964. after Christs birth, 2.

ceed their father in the Kingdome, or that the Kingdom should be distributed amongst the whole familie: for he thought that they for number wanted succour.

CHAP. II.

Of the fight and massacre at Ierusalem betweene the Iewes and the Sabinians.

Ant. l. 17. c. 14. Sedition in Ierusalem.

BEfore such time as *Cæsar* determined any thing concerning this matter, *Malthace* the mother of *Archelaus* fell sicke and dyed; and many letters came out of Syria, signifying that the Iewes had rebelled. Which *Varus* foreseeing after the departure of *Archelaus* from thence, went vnto Ierusalem to represse and resist the authors of that sedition: and because the multitude would not bee quiet, hee left one legion of the three which hee brought out of Syria, in the Citie, and so hee returned vnto Antiochia. But *Sabinus* comming afterward to Ierusalem, was the cause that the Iewes began a new broyle. For one while hee forced the Garrisons to render to him the Castles, another while hee rigorously made search for the Kings treasure: and hee was not onely assisted by those that *Varus* left there, but also hee had a great multitude of his owne seruants all armed to further his auarice. And in the feast of Pentecost (so called because of the number of seuen weekes) the people assembled themselues together, not for Religion sake, but for anger and hatred: so that there was an infinite multitude of people which came out of Galilee and Idumæa, and Iericho, and the Countries beyond Iordan. Yet the Iewes which were inhabitants of the Citie, surpassed the rest both in number and courage: and they therefore parted themselues into three bands, and made three camps: one vpon the North part of the Temple; the other on the South part, neere vnto the Castle called Hippodromus; the third on the West part neere the Palace, and so they besieged the Romanes on euery side. *Sabinus* greatly fearing them, both for their multitude, and for their courage, sent many letters vnto *Varus*, earnestly requesting him with all speede to bring succour: for if hee did not, the whole legion would bee extinguished. Hee himselfe got him into the highest Tower of the Castle Phasaelus, which is so called by the name of *Herods* brother, whom the Parthians killed; and from thence hee gaue a signe vnto the souldiers to issue out suddenly vpon their enemies: for himselfe was in such a feare, that hee durst not come downe to the Souldiers of whom hee was Gouernour. The Souldiers obeying his command, issued into the Temple, and there fought a sore battell with the Iewes: who hauing no bodie to assist them, being vnexperienced in warlike affaires, were soone conquered by them that were skilfull. At last, many Iewes got vpon the Porches, and cast darts at them from the toppe thereof, so that they killed many: but the other could not reuenge themselues of them, who fought against them from so high a place; neither could they sustaine the force of them who ioyned battell with them; till at last they fired the Porches, which for greatnesse and curious worke were admirable. And so, many were either destroyed with the sudden fire, or else leaping downe amidst their enemies, were by them slaine: others going backeward, were cast headlong from the wall: others despairing of life, killed themselues with their owne swords: and they who priuily came downe the walles, and assaulted the Romanes, being astonished with feare, were easily ouercome: till at last, all being either put to the sword, or cast downe through feare, the treasure dedicated to God, was left destitute of keepers; so that the souldiers tooke away thereof about foure hundred talents, and that which they left *Sabinus* got.

Sabinus seizeth the Kings treasure, and laboureth to get possession of his fortresses.

Three camps of the Iewes.

Sabinus getteth into the highest tower of the strongest castle.

A skirmish betweene the Iewes and Romanes.

The Romanes fire the Porches.

But this losse of men and money stirred vp many moe Iewes, and those more warlike then the first, against the Romanes; who besieging the Kings Palace, threatned all their destructions, vnlesse they would presently depart from thence: promising *Sabinus* and the legion leaue to depart if hee so liked. Part of the Kings souldiers, who of their owne accord fled vnto them, did assist them. But the most warlike and valiant amongst them were three thousand of Sebaste, whose rulers were *Rufus* and *Gratus*; one, Leader of the foot-men, and the other of the horse-men; both which, although they had had no souldiers with them, for their valour of body, and counsell, might yet haue beene a great helpe vnto the Romanes in those warres. The Iewes earnestly continued the siege, and assaulted the castle wals, crying vpon *Sabinus* to depart, and not to hinder them now after so long time to haue their countries liberty. *Sabinus* though with all his heart he wished himselfe away, yet durst he not trust them; but he suspected that their courtesie was but

a plot

A a plot to entrap him: and on the other ſide hoping that *Varus* would come and helpe him, ſtill indured the danger of the ſiege. At the ſame time there were tumults in many places of Iudæa, and many through opportunitie of the time aſpired to the kingdome. For in Idumæa two thouſand old ſouldiers, who had borne armes vnder *Herod*, gathering together, and hauing armed themſelues, came and fought with the Kings forces, whom *Achiabus* the Kings conſin reſiſted in the ſtrongeſt villages; alwaies eſchewing to fight in the open field. At Sephoris alſo a towne of Galilee, *Iudas* the ſonne of *Ezechias* the Captaine of the theeues, who before was taken by King *Herod*, and had waſted that countrey, gathered together a great multitude, and brake into the Kings armory, and armed all his company, and fought againſt them who affected the royall B dignitie. Alſo beyond the riuer, *Simon* one of the Kings ſeruants being faire and of a huge ſtature, put a Crowne vpon his owne head, and gathering together a company of theeues, went about with them vnto Iericho and burned the Kings palace and many faire and ſumptuous houſes there, and ſo got great prey by burning the houſes: and he had ſurely fired all buildings of account, had not *Gratus* Captaine of the Kings footmen made haſte to meet him with the bowmen of Trachon, and the moſt warlike men of Sebaſte, where many footmen were ſlaine. But *Simon* though he fled into a ſtreight valley, yet he ouertooke him, and cut him ouerthwart the necke, and ſo he fell downe. In like manner other of the Kings palaces neere Iordan by Bethara were burned, by a multitude of others gathered together in bands from beyond the riuer. At this time a ſhepheard named *Athrongæus* preſumed to vſurpe the Crowne: he was thereunto in- C duced by the courage he bare, and the diſdaine of death. With this reſolution he armed his foure brethren, and euery one of them had a company armed, and they were as his Captaines and Champions to make incurſions: and he like a King medled onely with great affaires, and then he put a Crowne vpon his head; and thus he continued a long time waſting the countrey, and killing eſpecially the Romans, and alſo the Kings ſouldiers; ſo that none of the Iewes eſcaped if they were in hope to gaine by them. They alſo preſumed to meet a company of the Romans at Ammaus, who carried corne and armour vnto the legion, where they killed with darts one *Arius* a Centurion, and fortie of the moſt valiant amongſt them: and the reſt, being in like danger, through the helpe of *Gratus* with the ſouldiers of Sebaſte eſcaped. When they had done many things in this manner againſt the inhabitants and ſtrangers, at laſt three of them were ta- D ken: the eldeſt by *Archelaus*: and the two others who were eldeſt after him, fell into the hands of *Gratus* and *Ptolemæus*: and the fourth yeelded himſelfe vnto *Archelaus* vpon compoſition: and thus at laſt they came to their end. And all Iudæa by their example was filled with theeues.

The yeere of the world, 3964. before Chriſts birth, 2.

Ant. lib. 17. cap. 15.

Simon one of the Kings ſeruants taketh the kingdome vpon him.

Athrongæus a ſhepheard vſurpeth the kingdome.

The end and iſſue of the warre.

CHAP. III.

Of VARVS *his deeds concerning the Iewes that were crucified.*

E WHEN *Varus* had receiued the letters of *Sabinus*, and of the nobles with him, fearing the whole legion, hee haſted to ſuccour them: Wherefore hee came to Ptolemais with two other legions and foure cornets of horſemen, where he willed the kings forces & the nobles to meet him. Moreouer, as hee paſſed by Berytum, they accompanied him with 1500. armed men. *Aretas* alſo the king of Arabia, for the hatred hee bare to *Herod*, was come with a great number of horſemen and footmen. Aſſoone as the hoſt was aſſembled, *Varus* incontinently directed part of his army into Galilee adioyning thereto, and appointed a friend of his the ſonne of *Caius* for their gouernor, who preſently put them all to flight againſt whom he was ſent; and hauing taken the caſtle of Sephoris, he fired it, and made the inhabitants thereof bond-ſlaues. *Varus* with the reſt of the army went into Samaria, and tooke it; yet hee did the City no harme, becauſe he found that amiddeſt all thoſe tumults they had been quiet. When he had pitched his tents at a village called Aun, which was in the poſſeſſion of *Ptolemæus*, the Ara- F bians ſacked it, for they hated them who loued *Herod*. Frō thence they went to Sappho another ſtrong borough, which they in like manner ſacked & deſtroied, with all the fruits & reuenewes they found there. All was filled with the ſlaughter and fires which the Arabians made, and there was no end nor hinderance of their auarice. Alſo *Varus* commanded Ammaus to bee burned, being angry for the death of *Arius*, and the reſt that were ſlaine there: and the inhabitants thereof were ſcattered, euery one by flight ſeeking to ſaue himſelfe. From thence hee went to Ieruſalem, and at the ſight of him the Iewes fled and ſcattered themſelues, ſome here, ſome there, all about the country: they that remained in the City excuſed themſelues, that they were not conſenting

Ant. lib. 17. cap. 16. Varus aſſiſteth the Romanes againſt the Iewes.

Varus taketh diuers Cities and Caſtles of Iudæa.

Ammaus burnt.

Varus commeth to Ieruſalem with his army, & with his onely preſence diſmayeth the Iewes.

The yeere of the world, 3966. after Christs birth, 4.

senting to that tumult, but that for the celebration of the feasts sake, they permitted them to come into the City, affirming that they had rather bin besieged together with the Romans, then to haue conspired with those of the sedition: and so they laid the cause of that tumult vpon others. But first, *Iosephus Archelaus* his cousin, with *Gratus* and *Rufus* came to meet him, leading the Kings army, and the Sebastians and the Roman souldiers adorned in their accustomed apparell. *Sabinus* durst not be seene of *Varus*, and therefore got him out of the towne before, and went vnto the sea-coast. *Varus* diuided his army, and sent it into the fields against the Authors of that tumult: and those that were brought vnto him who were in lesse fault, he committed to prison, and those who were the chiefest he crucified, to the number of two thousand.

Varus crucified two thousand of the seditious.

And vnderstanding that in Idumæa there yet remained ten thousand of armed men, he presently sent the Arabians home, becausse he perceiued that they did not warre as those that came to helpe him, but as they themselues pleased, wasting the countrey against his will: and so accompanied with his owne army, he hastned against the enemies. But they without any fight, through *Achiabus* counsell, yeelded themselues to *Varus*. And he pardoned the common souldiers, and sent the Captaines to *Cæsar* to answer the matter. Who pardoning the most of them, yet punished some that were the Kings kinsmen (for some of them were a kinne to *Herod*) becausse they altogether rebelled against their King. *Varus* hauing thus quieted the estate of Iudæa and Ierusalem, leauing the same legion that was there before, departed to Antiochia.

Varus mercy and bounty to the Idumeans.

Chap. IIII.

How the Iewes had an Ethnarcha constituted ouer them.

Ant. l. 17. c. 17. Ethnarcha, Ruler or Gouernour.

NOw *Archelaus* had a new processe at Rome against the Iewes, who before the sedition with the leaue of *Varus* were gone to Rome to craue the liberty of their country. These who came as Embassadours in their countries behalfe, were fifty in number, and they were assisted by more then eight thousand Iewes that liued at Rome. Wherefore *Cæsar* called a Councell of the Nobility of Rome in the Temple of *Apollo*, which was situate vpon mount Palatine, and ioyned to *Cæsars* priuate Palace, which was most sumptuously adorned: and the multitude of Iewes appeared with the Legats against *Archelaus* and his friends. *Archelaus* kindred neither came with him, nor with the rest of the Iewes: with him they would not ioyne, for enuie; and with the Iewes they durst not, for shame. Amongst them also was *Philip* the brother of *Archelaus*, whom *Varus* sent in courteous maner to assist his brother; or if that it pleased *Cæsar* to diuide *Herods* kingdome amongst his children, that then he might haue a part. The aduersaries were commanded to shew what *Herod* had committed contrary to the lawes: First of all they answered, that they found him not a King, but the most cruell tyrant that euer was, and that he murdred many; and those whom he left aliue endured such misery, as they thought themselues far vnhappier then those were so butchered. For (said they) he was not onely contented to teare his subiects bodies with torments, but also defacing and ruinating the cities of his owne country, he adorned and reedified the cities of strangers: and permitted forrainers to massacre the Iewes without reuenge. And in stead of their ancient and wonted happines, and their lawes inuiolated, their country was by him made so poore, and so filled with iniquity, that within those few yeeres that *Herod* raigned, they had sustained more murders and massacres then all their ancestors had, from the time of their departure out of Babylon, vntill the beginning of his raign: being then prouoked to take armes when *Xerxes* was King of Persia. Yet they by enduring such misery, being now accustomed thereunto, would willingly be subiect to such a successour of his as they knew would make them liue in most bitter seruitude: for they, when *Herod* his father was dead, presently called *Archelaus* King, notwithstanding he was the sonne of such a tyrant, and with him mourned for the death of *Herod*, and offred sacrifice for the prosperity of his successor. But he to shew himselfe *Herods* son, began his raigne with the slaughter of three thousand Citizens; and becausse he had so well deserued the kingdome, hee offered so many men to God for sacrifice, and on a festiuall day filled the Temple with so many dead bodies. Wherefore they who had escaped that massacre, had iust occasion to consider their calamitie, and after the law of armes, to turne their faces to them who wounded them, and beseech the Romans, that they would thinke the remnant of the Iewes worthy of compassion, and not to abandon and expose the residue of their nation as a prey to them, by whom they should be most cruelly butchered: but that it might please them to adioyne their country to the borders of Syria, & to let them be ruled by the Romans, and so they shold find that the Iewes, who now were accounted seditious,

The Iewes cal Archelaus in question.

A bitter accusation of the Iewes against Herod and his sonnes.

Herods tyranny & cruelty.

The Iewes beseech the Romanes to haue compassion on the remainder of the Iewes.

A rious and rebellious, vnder peaceable and quiet Gouernours, to be a peaceable nation: and with this petition the Iewes ended their accusation. After this, *Nicholaus* stood vp against them, and first of all acquitted the Kings of the crimes laid to their charge: and then reproued his countrimen, for that they would not be easily gouerned, and by their owne nature would not, except they were forced, obey their King: and he also blamed the kinsmen of *Archelaus*, who ioyned with his accusers. *Cæsar* hauing heard what both parts could say, dismissed the Assembly. And within few daies after he gaue *Archelaus* halfe of the kingdome, vnder the title of an Ethnarch, promising him moreouer to make him King, if he behaued himselfe well: the other halfe he di-

B uided into two Tetrarchies and gaue them to the rest of *Herods* sons: one vnto *Philip*; the other vnto *Antipas*, who contended with *Archelaus* for the Crowne. *Antipas* his part lay from Galilee beyond the riuer Iordan, the reuenues wherof was two hundreth talents a yeere. And *Philip* had Batanæa and Trachon, and Auranitis, and part of Zeno his house neere Iamnia, the renenues wherof amounted to one hundreth talents a yeere. *Archelaus* had in his Ethnarchy Idumæa and all Iudæa and Samaria, which was freed from the fourth part of their tribute, because they rebelled not with the rest. And these Cities were giuen him, ouer which he was Lord, Stratons Tower, Sebaste, Ioppe and Ierusalem. The rest, Gaza and Gadara, and Hippon, *Cæsar* took from the Kingdome, and ioyned them to Syria. *Archelaus* yeerely reuenues amounted to foure hundreth talents a yeere. *Cæsar* also (beside that which *Herod* left her) made *Salome* Lady of Iamnia,

C Azotus and Phasaelis, and the Palace at Ascalon, all which amounted to threescore talents a yeere. But *Cæsar* made her house subiect vnto *Archelaus* his Ethnarchy. And hauing distributed vnto the rest of *Herods* kinred that which in his testament he left them, he gaue his two daughters that were virgins, ouer and aboue, fiue hundreth thousand drachmes of siluer, and married them vnto *Pheroras* sons: and hauing diuided *Herods* patrimony amongst them, he also distributed that which *Herod* bequeathed vnto him, amounting vnto a thousand talents, leauing himselfe onely some iewell of small value, which he reserued in honour and remembrance of the dead.

The yeere of the world, 3966. after Christs birth, 4.

Nicholaus defends Archelaus before Cæsar and the rest.

Cæsar maketh Archelaus Ethnarch of Iury.

The distribution of the kingdome to Herods children.

Those Cities that were vnder Archelaus subiection.

Salome Princesse of Iamnia, Azotus and Phasaelis.

CHAP. V.

D *Of the false supposed* ALEXANDER, *and how he was taken.*

AT the same time a certaine young man, a Iew borne, brought vp by a Libertine of Rome in the Towne of Sidonia, being very like vnto *Alexander* whom *Herod* put to death, went to Rome, hauing one of his countrimen for his companion, who knew very well all the estate of the Kingdome: by whom he receiuing instructions, affirmed, that they who should haue put him and *Aristobulus* to death, being mooued to compassion, let them goe, and tooke two others in their roome like them. With this tale he deceiued many Iewes liuing in Creete, where he was honourably receiued, and from thence hee sailed to

E Melos, where he was yet entertained with greater pompe: and enriching himselfe, he vsed such meanes, that hee got his hostes (which gaue him entertainment) to saile with him to Rome: and after arriuing at Dicæarchia, he receiued all manner of rich gifts of the Iewes which dwelled there, and there by his fathers friends was honoured as a King. For he was so like vnto *Alexander*, that they that had seene *Alexander*, and knew him well, would haue sworne he had beene *Alexander*. Wherefore all the Iewes at Rome desired to see him, so that an infinite multitude followed him whithersoeuer he went in the streets, and they so doted vpon him, that they carried him in a horselitter, and at their owne proper cost and charges prepared for him a royall traine.

Ant. l. 17. c. 18. A certaine yong man faining himselfe to be that Alexander whom Herod slew, deceiueth many.

But *Cæsar* well remembred *Alexanders* visage (for *Herod* accused him before him) and al-

F though before he saw him, he iudged that it was some that presumed because of his likenesse vnto *Alexander*, to say that he was the same, yet he made as though hee beleeued all, and sent one *Celadus*, who knew *Alexander* well, to will this young man to come vnto him. Who no sooner beheld him, but forthwith he perceiued the difference betwixt them: and especially when he felt his hard flesh and seruile shape, he presently vnderstood the whole matter. But he was greatly mooued with his bold speeches: for when they demanded of him what was become of *Aristobulus*, hee answered, that hee was aliue: yet he vpon purpose tarried behind and liued in Cyprus; fearing some treason: for they being asunder could not so easily bee entrapped. *Celadus* taking him apart from the rest of the companie, told him that *Cæsar* would saue his

Cæsar desireth to see the young man.

life, if he did truly confeſſe, by whoſe counſell he fained himſelfe to be *Alexander*. He accepting of this offer, followed him to *Cæſar*, and declared himſelfe to be a Iew, who for lucre ſake (being very like him) counterfeited himſelfe to be *Alexander*: affirming that he had receiued ſuch great gifts of the Cities by which he paſſed, that he thought if *Alexander* had beene aliue, he ſhould not haue receiued the like. *Cæſar* laught at this ieſt, and made falſe *Alexander* (for the ability of his body) a galleyſlaue, and put him to death who induced him thereto. And as for the Iewes of Milo, he thought that they had puniſhment ſufficient, if they loſt all that which they had laid out, and beſtowed vpon him.

The yeere of the world, 3966. after Chriſts Natiuitie, 4.

Cæſar maketh the counterfeit Alexãder a galleyſlaue, and executeth his counſeller.

CHAP. VI.

Of the baniſhment and death of ARCHELAVS.

Ant.l.17.c.19.

Archelaus being now made Prince, remembred the diſcord paſt, and in reuenge thereof he tyrannized not only ouer the Iewes, but alſo ouer the Samaritanes: and in the ninth yeer of his raigne, the Iewes and Samaritanes ſent Embaſſadors againſt him vnto *Cæſar*: and finally he was baniſhed and ſent to Vienna, a City of Gallia, and all his patrimony was confiſcate to *Cæſar*. Before he was ſummoned to appeare before *Cæſar*, he reported that he had a maruellous dreame: for he ſaw nine great eares full of corne deuoured by oxen; and preſently ſending for Prophets and Chaldæans, he demanded what that dreame betokened. Some interpreted it one way, and ſome another: but one *Simon* an Eſſean told him that the eares of corne betokened yeers, and the oxen ſignified the changes and mutations of this world, for as much as in labouring the land, they turned vp and altred it: and therfore he was to raigne ſo many yeers as there were eares of corne in number; and then, after he had bidden many mutations, he ſhould die. Fiue dayes after this interpretation, *Archelaus* was ſent for to Rome, to anſwer that before *Auguſtus*, whereof he was accuſed. I alſo thought it worth rehearſing, to ſet downe the dreame of his wife *Glaphyra*, daughter to *Archelaus* King of Cappadocia, who was firſt married vnto *Alexander* brother vnto this man, and ſon to King *Herod*, by whõ he was put to death, as we haue ſaid before: after whoſe death ſhe was married to *Iuba* King of Lydia, and he being dead, ſhe returned home to her father: and liuing in her widowhood at home with her father, *Archelaus* the Ethnarch beholding her, was ſo inflamed with her loue, that preſently being diuorced from his wife *Mariamme*, he married her. Who ſhortly after ſhe came into Iudæa, dreamed that ſhe ſaw *Alexander* her firſt husband ſtanding before her, and ſaying vnto her, It had bin enough for thee to haue married the King of Lybia: but thou not contented therewtth, commeſt againe to my houſe, greedy of a third husband; and which is worſt of all, now married to mine owne brother. I will not conceale nor diſſemble this iniury which thou doſt me, but I will recouer you againſt your will. And ſhe ſcarcely liued two daies after ſhe had recounted this dreame.

Archelaus baniſhed for his tyranny, and his goods confiſcated.

Archelaus dreame of the oxen & eares of corne.

Archelaus refuſing Mariamme, marrieth Glaphyra.

Glaphyra ſaw Alexander in her ſleepe.

CHAP. VII.

Of SIMON *the Galilean, and the three ſects amongſt the Iewes.*

Ant.l.18.c.12.

The yeere of the world, 3972. after Chriſts Natiuitie, 11.

After that *Archelaus* his dominions were made a Prouince, a certain Roman knight called *Coponius* was made Gouernor therof, receiuing authority from *Cæſar* to puniſh and put to death. In his time a Galilean named *Simon* incited his countrimen to reuolt, reprouing them for paying tribute to the Romans, and for being ſubiect to any mortall men, but God. This *Simon* was a Sophiſter, hauing a ſect of his owne deuiſing, nothing like other ſects. For there are three ſects of Philoſophers amongſt the Iewes: one is that which the Phariſes do follow; another which the Sadduces do follow; the third is that which the Eſſeans follow, which is the moſt famous of the three. The Eſſeans are Iewes borne, but they are moſt friendly to one another, who beſide all other pleaſures do eſchew witchcraft: neither do they ſuffer themſelues to be led with their own affections, but account it a great vertue to abſtaine from all vices and to keep chaſtity. For they refuſe marriage, and account other mens childrẽ, put to them to be taught whil'ſt they be young, as their kinſmen, whom they do diligently inſtruct in their manners and opinions; not for that they condemn marriage and propagation of mankind, but for that they think men ſhould auoid womens intemperance, for they thinke that none of them keepe themſelues truely to one man. Alſo they contemne riches, and all things with them are common, and no man amongſt them

Three ſects among the Iewes, of which the Eſſeans were the beſt.

The Eſſeans doctrine of marriage.

Among the Eſſeans, goods are common.

The yeer of the world, 3973. after christs birth, 11.

A them is richer then other. And they haue a law amongſt themſelues, that whoſoeuer wil follow their ſect, he muſt make his goods common to them all: for ſo neither any amongſt them ſhall ſeeme abiect for pouerty, nor any great for riches ſake, but they haue as it were all equall patrimonies like brethren. They account it a ſhame to vſe oyle: and if any man againſt his will be anointed therwith, they vſe all diligence to wipe it away: for they account homelines beſt; and all their clothes are white. They haue amongſt them procurators, to ouerſee and vſe all things for their common benefit, and euery one ſeeketh the good of all, who are choſen from among them by a common conſent. They haue not one certaine city, but are in many cities: and if any of their ſect come vnto them from another place, they giue him any thing they haue, as if he himſelfe B were owner thereof. And in briefe, they goe boldly in to thoſe, whom they neuer in their liues did ſee before, as though they were very familiarly acquainted with them: and therefore when they take a iourney, they only arme thēſelues againſt theeues, and carry nothing with them elſe. In euery city there is one of them appointed, whoſe office is to haue a care of the gueſts, and ſee that they neither want clothes nor any thing elſe neceſſary for them. All children vnder gouernment, brought vp by them, go apparelled alike, and they neuer change their apparell, nor ſhooes, except they haue cleane worne their firſt apparel, or that by reaſon of long wearing they will do no more ſeruice. They among themſelues neither buy nor ſell: but euery man that hath any thing that another wanteth, giueth him it, and taketh that of him which himſelfe needeth: yet euery one of them may take any thing he hath need of from whom he pleaſeth, without any change.

The Eſſeans hoſpitality.

The Eſſeans apparell.

C Aboue all, towards God they are very religious: for before the ſun riſe they haue no prophane talke, but they make certain vowes and praiers after the cuſtome of their country, as it were praying that it may riſe vpon them. After this, euery one is diſmiſſed to practiſe the art he knoweth: and when euery one hath diligently laboured till fiue of the clock, they all gather themſelues together again, and being couered with linnen clothes, ſo they waſh their bodies with cold water: and hauing thus purged themſelues, they haue a ſecret aſſembly, vnto the which no man that is not of their ſect is admitted: and ſo they come into the refectory as into a holy Temple, al ſitting down with ſilence, & the baker ſetteth euery man in order a loafe, & the cook euery man a meſſe of pottage of one ſort. Then before meat the Prieſt giueth thankes, and no man may taſte any meat before they haue made their praiers vnto God. Likewiſe when dinner is ended, they pray D againe: for both before and after they giue thanks vnto God the giuer of all, and then putting off that apparell as ſacred, they apply themſelues vnto their worke till euening. This done, they do as before, cauſing their gueſts to ſup with them, if by fortune any come. Their houſe is neuer troubled with cries or tumults, for euery one is appointed to ſpeake in his turne: ſo that they who are without the houſe, eſteem their ſilence as ſome ſacred myſtery. The cauſe hereof is their continuall ſobrietie, and that euery one is limited how much he ſhould eate or drinke. And although that in all other matters they are ruled by their Gouernor, yet in theſe two, to wit, compaſſionating and helping, they may doe as they thinke good: for euery one may when he pleaſeth, helpe thoſe whom he thinketh deſerue helpe: and when they pleaſe, giue meat to them that are in need. Yet may not they giue any thing to their kinred without the leaue of their Gouer- E nour. Theſe men giue not place to anger, but refraine from wrath, keep their promiſe, and maintaine peace, and account euery word they ſpeake of more force, then if they had bound it with an oath: and they ſhun oathes worſe then periurie: for they eſteeme him condemned for a lyer, who is not beleeued without he call God to witneſſe. They ſtudie diligently ancient Writers, chiefly gathering out of their writings, what is moſt conuenient for the ſoule and the body. Out of them they learne remedies for diſeaſes, and medicinable hearbs, and what is the proper effect of euery ſtone. Thoſe who are deſirous to be of their order, doe not ſtraightway conuerſe with them, but for a yeere before, they liue out of their Colledge, and haue the ſame diet, giuing them alſo a little hatchet, and ſuch a girdle, as is before ſpoken of, and a white garment. But at the yeers end, if they perceiue him to be continent, then they take him into their refectory, and he is made F partaker of purer waters (to the end he may continue chaſte) yet is he not admitted in common amongſt them: for two yeeres after this his triall, they obſerue his life and manners: and at laſt, when he is thought worthy, then is he admitted to their common companie. And before he be receiued to the common table, firſt he proteſteth with great and ſolemne oathes, that hee will worſhip God, and obſerue iuſtice & fidelity towards al men, and neither willingly hurt any man, nor iniure any one for another mans command, but that he will alwaies hate the wicked, and aſſiſt the good, and euer keepe his faith to all, but eſpecially to his ſuperiours. For no man can obtaine the power of principality, without the will and good pleaſure of God: and that if he be put

Their religiō and labour.

The Eſſeans in compaſſion and helping others, haue free choice, in other things they are ruled by their Gouernour.

The Eſſeans ſweare not.

The Eſſeans vowes and couenants.

The yeere of the world, 3973. after Christs birth, 11.

in authority ouer others, he neuer will abuſe it to the preiudice of thoſe that are vnder him, and neither exceed the reſt in apparell, nor in any other ambitious pompe: that he will alwaies loue the truth, and euer endeauour to confute liers: and that he will keep his hands from ſtealing, and his ſoule pure from all vniuſt gaine: and that he will not conceale any myſteries, or ſecrets from his companions, nor reueale them to any ſtrangers, although he ſhould be thereto compelled by death. Adding moreouer, that they will neuer deliuer any doctrine, ſaue that which they haue receiued; and that they will auoid theft, and diligently keepe the books of their doctrine, and the names of Angels. And with theſe oathes they try, and as it were arme thoſe who enter into their order. Thoſe of their congregation, who ſhall be condemned, they thruſt out of their company: and whoſoeuer is ſo puniſhed, for the moſt part dieth a miſerable death; for hauing once taken his oath, it is not lawfull for him to take meat of any ſtranger; ſo that feeding on graſſe like beaſts, at laſt he periſheth through famine. For which cauſe oftentimes they mooued with compaſſion, receiue many into their order againe, euen ready by famine to yeeld vp the ghoſt; iudging them to haue endured penance enough for their offences, who with famine were almoſt brought vnto deaths doore. They are very ſeuere, and iuſt in their iudgement; and to decide any matter, there is neuer fewer of them then a hundreth, and that which by them is agreed vpon, is an irreuocable ſentence. Next after God they reuerence the lawmaker, inſomuch as if one reuile him, they forthwith condemne him to death. They greatly reuerence old men, and a multitude: ſo that if ten of them ſit together, no man of them muſt ſpeake without he be licenced thereto by nine of the company. They alſo muſt not ſpet in the midſt of the aſſembly, nor on the right hand. And they are more ſeuere then any other Iewes in obſeruing the Sabbaths: And they do not only abſtaine from dreſſing meat that day, but alſo they may not remoue any veſſell out of his place, nor go to the priuy. Vpon other daies they dig a pit a foot deep into the ground with the hatchet, which (as we before ſaid) euery one at his entrance into their order hath giuen him, and then couering themſelues diligently with their garment, leſt they ſhould doe iniury to the light of heauen, in that pit they eaſe themſelues; and then couer their ordure with the earth they tooke out of the pit: and this they do in moſt ſecret places.

The Eſſeans circumſpect in iuſtice.

The Eſſeans reuerence the Sabbaths.

And although this purging of their bodies be naturall, yet doe they by waſhing purifie themſelues after it, as after great vncleannes. Furthermore they amongſt themſelues are diuided into foure orders, according to the times which they haue taken to follow this exerciſe of life; & they who are iuniors, are ſo far different from the ſeniors, that if they do but touch one of them, they preſently purifie themſelues, as though they had bin profaned by a ſtranger. They are long liu'd, ſo that moſt of them liue a hundreth yeers, which I iudge is by reaſon of their well ordered diet and their temperancy. They contemne aduerſity, and by counſell and diſcretion ouercome torments. They preferre an honorable death before life. And the wars which the Iewes made againſt the Romans, ſhewed what courage and hardineſſe they haue in all things. For being then compelled by breaking of the members of their bodies, and fiery torments, and all kind of tortures which were laid vpon them, to reuile their lawmaker, and to eat any meat forbidden: yet could they not be forced to any of theſe; neither would they intreat the torturers, nor ſhew any ſorrow amidſt their torments. Nay, in the very midſt of their griefes and paines they ſcoffed at their tormenters; and laughing, ioyfully yeelded vp their ſoules, as though they hoped to receiue them againe. For it is an opinion amongſt them, that the body is corruptible, and that the matter therof is not perpetuall: but yet the ſoules remaine for euer immortall; who paſſing out of a moſt pure & ſubtile aire, wrap themſelues in bodies as in priſons, being as it were drawn therunto by a natural inclination. And when they are deliuered out of theſe carnall bonds, then preſently as freed from a long bondage, they ioyfully mount aloft. And of the good ſoules they ſay, as did the Grecians; that they liue beyond the Ocean ſeas in a place of pleaſure, where they are neuer moleſted with raine, nor ſnow, nor heat, but haue alwayes a ſweet and pleaſant aire comming out of the Ocean. But the wicked ſoules (as they ſay) go into a place very tempeſtuous, where there is alwaies as it were winter weather, alwaies full of lamentations of thoſe, who for euer are to be puniſhed. But I iudge that the Greekes are of this opinion, when they ſay there is an Ile for the vertuous, whom they call Heroes and half-gods: and that the ſoules of the wicked go to a place in hell, wheras it is fained, ſome to be tormented, as *Syſiphus*, *Tantalus*, *Ixion*, and *Titius*. Which they did firſt inuent for this purpoſe, becauſe thoſe who are of good diſpoſition, are made better in this life, by hope of ſome reward in the life to come: and the wicked are (as they thought) hereby reſtrained for feare of eternall torments, which if they continue in wickednes they ſhall endure. This is the Eſſeans Philoſophy touching the immortality of the ſoule: wherin they propoſe an eneuitable allure-

The Eſſeans liue long time.

The Eſſeans conſtancy in the war with the Romanes. *The yeere of the world, 3979. after Chriſts birth, 17.*

The Eſſeans eſteeme the ſoule immortall, but they beleeue not the reſurrection of the dead.

The Grecians opinion of the ſoule of man.

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A ment to thoſe who haue once taſted of their Philoſophy. There are alſo ſome among them, who promiſe to foretell things to come, who from their tender age haue ſtudied and followed holy books, diuers purifications and ſayings of the Prophets: and their diuination ſeldome faileth.

The yeer of the world, 3979. after Chriſts birth, 17.

There is another colledge of theſe Eſſeans agreeing with the former, both in apparell, meat, and kind of life, and obſerue the ſame lawes and ordinances; onely they differ in the opinion of marriage, affirming that they who abſtain from mariage, do cut off the greateſt part of mans life, to wit, ſucceſſion of mankind. For (ſay they) if all men ſhould follow that opinion, preſently all mankind would periſh: yet notwithſtanding theſe people are ſo continent, that for three yeeres ſpace they make triall of the women they are to marry, and when they haue proued them fit to B beare children, then they marry them. None of them muſt lye with their wiues when they are with child, to ſhew that they doe not marry to ſatisfie luſt, but for to haue children. When their wiues waſh themſelues, they are couered with a garment as the men are: and this is the maner and cuſtome of this ſect. Of the two former ſects, the Phariſes are ſaid to be moſt skilfull in interpreting the law, and are of opinion that all things are to be attributed to God, and Fate: and that euery man may of his owne power doe good or ill, yet (ſay they) deſtiny helpeth in euery action: and that the ſoules of men are all incorruptible, but onely the ſoules of good men goe into other bodies, and the ſoules of wicked men are ſent into euerlaſting paine. But the Sadduces deny Fate and Deſtiny, and affirme that God is the author of no euill; auowing likewiſe that a man hath free will to doe well or ill, and euery man may chuſe whether he will be good or bad: and C they generally deny both paines and rewards for the ſoules after this life. The Phariſes are ſociable and louing one to another: but the Sadduces are at diſcord among themſelues, liuing like ſauage beaſts, and as vncourteous to their owne ſect as to ſtrangers. This is all which I haue to ſpeake concerning the Philoſophers among the Iewes. Now I will returne to my purpoſe.

The Eſſeans prophecy. There is a colledge of the Eſſeans that differeth from the former in the point of marriage.

The ſecond ſect, of the Phariſes.

The third of the Sadduces.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Cities which PHILIP *and* HEROD *builded, and of* PILATES *gouernment.*

D ARCHELAVS his Ethnarchie being now made a Prouince, the reſt of his brethren, to wit, *Philip* and *Herod* who was ſurnamed *Antipas*, gouerned their Tetrarchies. And *Salome* dying left vnto *Iulia* by her Teſtament the Toparchie which ſhe ruled, as alſo Iamnia and a ground ſet with palme trees in Phaſaelis. When *Tiberius Cæſar* after the death of *Auguſtus* was made Emperour of Rome, after that he had raigned ſeuen and fifty yeers, ſix moneths, and two dayes, *Herod* and *Philip* remaining in their Tetrarchies; *Philip* builded a City neere vnto the head of Iordan in the countrey of Paneade, and called it Cæſarea; and another he built in the lower part of Gaulanitis, and named it Iulias. *Herod* in Galilee built the City called Tiberias, and another in Peræa on this ſide Iordan, which alſo he named Iulias. *Pilate* being ſent by *Tiberius* to be Gouernor ouer the Iewes, cauſed in the night time the ſtatua of *Cæſar* to be brought into Ieruſalem couered: which thing within three daies after cauſed a great tumult among the E Iewes; for they who beheld it, were aſtoniſhed, and moued, as though now the law of their country were prophaned: for they hold it not lawfull for any picture or image to be brought into the city. At their lamentation who were in the city, there was gathered together a great multitude out of the fields adioyning, and they went preſently to *Pilate* then at Cæſarea, beſeeching him earneſtly that the Images might be taken away out of Ieruſalem, and that the lawes of their countrey might remaine inuiolated. When *Pilate* denied their ſuite, they proſtrated themſelues before his houſe, and there remained lying vpon their faces, for fiue dayes and nights neuer mouing. Afterward *Pilate* ſitting in his tribunal ſeat, was very careful to call all the Iewes together before him, as though there he would haue giuen them an anſwer: when vpon the ſudden a company of armed ſouldiers (for ſo it was prouided) compaſſed the Iewes about with a triple F ranke: the Iewes were hereat amazed, ſeeing that which they expected not. Then *Pilate* told them, that except they would receiue the Images of *Cæſar*, he would kil them all; and to that end made a ſigne vnto the ſouldiers to draw their ſwords. The Iewes, as though they had agreed thereto, fell all downe at once, and offred their naked necks to the ſtroke of the ſword, crying out that they would rather loſe their liues, then ſuffer their religion to be prophaned. Then *Pilate* admiring the conſtancy of the people in their religion, preſently commanded the ſtatues to be taken out of the City of Ieruſalem.

Ant. l. 18. c. 5. The yeere of the world, 3997. after Chriſts birth, 35.

The people would not condeſcend to Pilate to alter their country lawes.

Pilate admiring the conſtancy of the Iewes in their religion, ſent the ſtatues from Ieruſalē. *The yeere of the world, 3998. after Chriſts birth, 36.*

After this hee cauſed another tumult amongſt them, for they haue a ſacred treaſure called

Corban, which *Pilate* vſed to bring water in vnto the City, foure hundreth furlongs off: for this cauſe the people murmured; ſo that when *Pilate* came to Ieruſalem, they flocked about his tribunall, crying and exclaiming. *Pilate* foreſeeing that tumult, cauſed ſouldiers ſecretly armed to mingle themſelues amongſt the people in priuate apparell, and commanded them not to vſe their ſwords, but to beat thoſe with clubs, whom they ſaw make ſuch clamors. And when he had thus plotted the matter, ſitting in his Tribunall, he gaue a ſigne vnto the ſouldiers; and preſently the Iewes were beaten: and many of them, partly with blowes, and partly trodden vpon by the multitude, died miſerably. The multitude amazed at the calamity of thoſe that were ſlain, held their tongues. For this cauſe *Agrippa* ſonne to *Herod* the Tetrarch, whoſe father *Ariſtobulus* *Herod* the King put to death, went to Rome, and accuſed him to *Cæſar*. *Tiberius* not admitting his accuſation, he remained ſtill at Rome, and ſought the father of other Potentates there, and eſpecially he reuerenced *Caius* the ſonne of *Germanicus*, he being yet a priuate perſon: and vpon a certain day being with him at a banquet, he ſtretcht forth his hands, and openly began to beſeech Almighty God that *Tiberius Cæſar* might quickly die, that he might ſee him Lord of all the world. *Tiberius* hauing notice hereof by one of his familiar friends cauſed *Agrippa* to bee impriſoned; where he endured a hard and ſtreight impriſonment, vntill the death of *Tiberius*, which was ſixe moneths after. After he was dead (hauing raigned 22. yeers, ſixe moneths, and three dayes) *Caius Cæſar* who ſucceeded him in the Empire, freed him from priſon, and gaue him the Tetrarchie of *Philip* who was now deceaſed, and the Title of a King. When *Agrippa* came into his kingdome, *Herod* the Tetrarch began to enuy his eſtate; and *Herodias* his wife ſtill vrged him forward to hope that he ſhould be made a King: for (ſaid ſhe) thou wanteſt that dignity onely for ſlouthfulneſſe, becauſe thou wouldeſt not goe to *Cæſar*: for if *Agrippa* be made a King, being before but a priuate man, how canſt thou doubt to be made a King, who art already a Tetrarch? *Herod* herewith perſwaded, went vnto *Caius Cæſar*, who greatly reproued his auarice, in ſo much as he fled into Spaine; for *Agrippa* followed him to Rome to accuſe him before *Cæſar*: and *Caius* gaue vnto him *Herods* Tetrarchie. And ſo *Herod* remained in Spaine with his wife.

The yeere of the world, 3998. after Chriſts birth, 33.

Pilate beateth the ſeditious with clubs.

The yeere of the world, 4001. after Chriſts birth, 39

Agrippa Ariſtobulus ſon hateth Tiberius, and inſinuateth himſelfe into Caius Caligulas friendſhip.

Tiberius raigned 22. yeers, ſixe moneths, and 3. dayes.

Caius Cæſar giueth the Tetrarchy to Agrippa Ariſtobulus ſon, and maketh him a King.

Ant. l. 18. c. 14

Herod and his wife remaine in Spaine.

CHAP. IX.

Of the pride of CAIVS, *and of* PETRONIVS *the Preſident.*

The yeere of the world, 4002. after Chriſts birth, 40.

Ant. l. 18. c. 15.

CAIVS *Cæſar* ſo abuſed himſelfe and his authority, that he would be thought to be a god, and be ſo called. Alſo he put many noble men of his countrey to death. He likewiſe extended his impiety euen vnto Iudæa: for he ſent *Petronius* with an army to Ieruſalem, commanding him to ſet his ſtatuaes in the Temple; and if the Iewes refuſed to receiue them, that thoſe who withſtood him, he ſhould put to the ſword, & lead the reſt away captiue. Almighty God did otherwiſe diſpoſe this proud commandment. But *Petronius* accompanied with three legions, and many aſſiſtants out of Syria, came with all ſpeed from Antiochia to Iudæa: many of the Iewes would not beleeue any warre towards, notwithſtanding that they heard a generall report thereof: and they that beleeued it, could not bethinke themſelues of any meanes to reſiſt. Suddenly all were in a great feare: for the army was now come to Ptolomais, which City is ſituate by the ſea-ſhore in Galilee, in a faire field, and on the Eaſt ſide it is compaſſed about with mountaines, diſtant from it threeſcore furlongs, which appertaine vnto Galilee; on the South ſide it is inclozed with the Mount Carmel, which is an hundreth and twenty furlongs off from it: on the North ſide it is inuironed with an exceeding high mountaine, which the inhabitants call the Tyrians ladder: this mountaine is an hundreth paſes diſtant from the City. Two miles from this city there is a riuer running by, called Beleus, a very little one, neere vnto which is the ſepulchre of *Memnon*, hauing adioyning vnto it a place of the compaſſe of an hundreth cubits, worthy of admiration. This place is as it were a round valley couered with ſand like glaſſe, which when many ſhips comming together take away for ballace, ſo that they empty the place of it, that place is preſently after couered with the like ſand againe. For there are winds, which as it were vpon purpoſe carry this ſand from the higher places round about it thither, and whatſoeuer is within the mine of metall there, it is preſently changed into cryſtall or glaſſe. And that which in my mind is more to be wondred at, is, that the ſand being turned into glaſſe, if afterward any part thereof be caſt vpon the brinke of this place, it is againe turned into ordinary ſand. And this is the nature of that place.

The fearc the Iewes had of Petronius army.

The deſcription of Ptolemais.

Sand like glaſſe neere Memnons Sepulchre.

Now the Iewes with their wiues and children gathered themſelues together in the field where the Citie Ptolemais is ſituate, and humbly beſought *Petronius*, firſt not to violate their country

A try lawes; and next, to be good vnto them. *Petronius*, seeing the multitude of them who humbly sued vnto him, and how earnestly they besought his fauour, left his army and *Cæsars* statuaes at Ptolemais, and himselfe went from thence to Galilee, and at Tiberias cald all the Iewes & their Nobilitie together, recounting to them the force of the Romane army, and *Cæsars* threatnings: adding moreouer, that the Iewes supplication was indeed a contumely, seeing all nations vnder the dominion of the Romanes (the Iewes onely excepted) had already placed *Cæsars* statuaes in their temples among the rest of their gods: and herein they did as it were reuolt from the Empire, and iniure the President. They answered, it was against their lawes and custome of their country: for it was not lawfull for them to haue the Image of God, much lesse of a man; and that B they were not onely forbidden by the law to haue an image in the Temple, but also to haue it in any other prophane place. *Petronius* suddenly answered: Well, I must doe my Lords command: for if I doe not, but spare you, I shall be iustly punished: and not I, but he that sent me, will fight against you. For I my selfe, as well as you, must doe as I am commanded. At these words the whole multitude cryed out at once, that before they would see their religion violated, they would willingly suffer themselues to be destroyed. When the noise of the people was ceased, *Petronius* said; Are ye then prepared and minded to fight against *Cæsar*? The Iewes answered, We euery day offer sacrifices for *Cæsar* and the Romanes. But if *Cæsar* would needs place his image in their Temple, hee must first offer their whole nation for sacrifice: for they would willingly with their wiues & children offer themselues to any that would kill thē. Hereat *Petronius* great- C ly maruelled, being mooued to compassion when he beheld the constancy of the Iewes in their religion, and so great a multitude prepared to dye for it. And for that time they departed, nothing being done. The next day following he assembled only the Nobility of the Iewes, one by one, compelling them to accord to *Cæsars* command, and spake publikely to the people, sometime admonishing them, otherwhile threatning them, and putting them in minde of the power of the Romanes, and *Cæsars* indignation, and that he must of necessitie doe as he was commanded. But they were mooued by none of these. And *Petronius* fearing the ground would be left vntilled (for it was now seed time, and all the people had remained idle in the Citie for fiftie dayes space) calling them together, he said, that he would goe about a thing which might greatly endanger himselfe. For (said he) I will either (God working with me) appease *Cæsars* wrath, or D else I will lose mine owne life to saue such a multitude as you are. And dismissing the people, who made daily prayers to God for him, he led the armie from Ptolemais vnto Antiochia, from whence he presently sent vnto *Cæsar* in all haste, recounting vnto him with how great an armie he went into Iudæa, and that all the whole nation made supplication vnto him: whose request and humble suit if he denyed, he must vtterly destroy the men and their countrey; for they had constantly remained in their countrey religion, and vehemently resisted any new law. *Caius* writ an answer of these letters vnto *Petronius*, threatning that it should cost him his life, because he made no more haste to execute his command. The messengers that brought these letters, were tossed in a tempest vpon the Sea three whole moneths together: and others comming after them to bring newes of *Caius* his death, had a prosperous wind; so *Petronius* receiued the letters of E *Caius Cæsars* death twentie and seuen dayes before the other threatning letters came.

The yeere of the world, 4002. after Christs birth, 40.

Petronius certifieth the Iewes of the Romans power, and Cæsars threats.

The constancy of the Iewes.

Petronius once more assembleth the Iewes, and threatens them.

Petronius sendeth to Cæsar, and signifieth the Iewes supplication.

Petronius receiues letters of Cæsars death.

CHAP. V.

Of the Empire of CLAVDIVS, *and of the raigne and death of* AGRIPPA.

CAius Cæsar being slaine by treason, when he had raigned three yeeres and sixe moneths, *Claudius* was made Emperour by the armie which was at Rome. The Senate by the instigation of the Consuls *Sentius Saturnius*, and *Pomponius* the second, commanded three legions of Souldiers to keepe the Citie, during the Councell holden in the Capitol: and for F *Caius Cæsars* crueltie they determined to fight against *Claudius*, intending to reduce the Empire to the ancient gouernment; that as before-time, so for euer after, those should rule that the Senate iudged worthy. It chanced that at this time *Agrippa* came to Rome, and the Senate sent vnto him, requesting him to come and be one of their Councell. *Claudius* also desired him to take part with the armie, intending to vse his helpe where neede required. *Agrippa* perceiuing that *Claudius* was already as it were Emperour for his power, hee tooke part with him: who presently sent him as Embassadour to the Senate, to tell them his purpose; how that first of all, the souldiers, whether hee would or no, set him in that dignitie, and it had beene in him an

The yeere of the world, 4005. after christs birth, 43.

Ant. lib. 19. cap. 3.

Caius raigned 3. yeeres and 6. moneths.

Agrippa is chosen both betwixt the Senate and Claudius for an arbiter.

The yeere of the world, 4005. after Christs birth, 43.

an vndiſcreet part to haue forſaken ſuch an offer at the ſouldiers hands, who did it for good will: nay, if he had refuſed it, his life ſhould be in continuall danger, for it was ſufficient cauſe of enuy that he had beene elected Emperour. Moreouer, he purpoſed to rule, not as a tyrant, but as a moſt milde Prince: for he would be contented onely with the title of an Emperour, and doe nothing without the common conſent of them all. And although he was not naturally inclined to modeſt and courteous behauiour, yet he had a ſufficient example to beware that he abuſed not his authority, by *Caius Cæſars* death. *Agrippa* bare his meſſage to the Senate, who anſwered (as though they truſted to their ſouldiers and learned councell) that they would not thruſt themſelues into wilfull bondage. *Claudius*, receiuing this anſwer, ſent *Agrippa* againe to tell them, that nothing could cauſe him to betray them, by whom hee was made Emperour: and that hee was forced to make warre againſt them, with whom hee was very loth to ſtriue, and therefore will'd them to chuſe a place out of the Citie for the battell to be fought in: for it ſtood with no reaſon to deface the Citie with ciuill warres and maſſacres for the obſtinacy of ſome few. *Agrippa* did alſo this meſſage to the Senate: and one of the ſouldiers that were for the Senate drew his ſword, and ſaid; Fellow ſouldiers, what ſhould mooue vs to maſſacre our friends and kindred, and parents, who follow *Claudius?* eſpecially, ſeeing we haue an Emperour with whom we can finde no fault, vnto whom we ſhould rather goe forth with intreaties then with armes. When he had ſaid this, he paſſed thorow the midſt of the Court, and all the ſouldiers followed him.

The Senates anſwer to Agrippa.

The Senate follow the ſouldiers to Claudius.

The Senate, being thus left deſolate, and the Lords abandoned of their force, began to be in great feare: and ſeeing it was no ſtanding out for them, they followed the ſouldiers, and went to *Claudius*. Before the Citie walles there met them ſome that endeuoured to ſhew themſelues dutifull to *Claudius* for his fortune ſake, hauing their ſwords drawne, and they almoſt kild him, before *Cæſar* vnderſtood the outrage of the ſouldiers: and they had done it, had not *Agrippa* ranne and told him of the matter, ſaying, that if he did not preſently appeaſe the ſouldiers fury, now raging againſt the Citizens, all his Nobility would preſently be extinguiſhed, and he ſhould be left an Emperour of a deſolate place. When *Claudius* heard this, hee repreſſed the ſouldiers fury, and very honourably receiued the Senate into his Camp, and went forth preſently with them, and offered ſacrifice to God (as the manner is) for the good eſtate of the Empire. Alſo, he preſently made *Agrippa* King of all his fathers dominions, giuing him likewiſe that which *Auguſtus* gaue *Herod*, to wit, Trachonite and Auranite, and beſide them another kingdome, called the kingdome of Lyſania, and publiſhed this his gift by an Edict vnto the people, and commanded the Senate to engraue that donation in brazen Tables, and to place it in the Capitoll. Moreouer, he rewarded his brother *Herod*, who was his kinſman, with the kingdome of Chalcis, and married him to the Queene *Berenice*. *Agrippa* receiued greater reuenues of his kingdome then he could deſire, which he ſpent not vainely, but in building ſuch a wall about Ieruſalem, as, had he finiſht it, the Romanes could neuer haue taken it: but before he could end that work, he dyed in Cæſarea, hauing raigned three yeeres with the title of a King, and other three yeeres before in the ſtate of a Tetrarch. Hee left behinde him three daughters which he had by *Cypris*; *Berenice*, *Mariamme* and *Druſilla*, and one ſonne by the ſame wife, named *Agrippa*: who, becauſe he was very young, *Claudius* reduced the kingdome into a prouince, and made *Ceſtius Feſtus* Gouernour thereof. But after him, *Tiberius Alexander*, who nothing violating the lawes of the nation, ruled them in peace. After this, *Herod* King of Chalcis departed; leauing behinde him two ſonnes, which he had by his brothers daughter *Berenice*, to wit, *Berenicianus* and *Hircanus*: and by his firſt wife *Mariamme*, *Ariſtobulus*. His other brother alſo, *Ariſtobulus*, dyed a priuate perſon, leauing one daughter, *Iotapata*. And theſe were the poſteritie of *Ariſtobulus*, King *Herods* ſonne, and *Herod* had *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* by *Mariamme*, whom he put to death: but *Alexanders* poſteritie raigned in the greater Armenia.

Claudius honourably entertaines the Senate.

Agrippas kingdome.

The yeere of the world, 4008. after Christs birth, 46.

Ant. lib. 19. cap. 5.

Agrippa, after hee had raigned three yeeres in Cæſarea, dies.

Herod, after he had raigned in Chalcis, dyeth. Ant. l. 19. c 7, 8

Alexanders & Ariſtobulus Genealogy.

CHAP. XI.

Of diuers tumults in Iudæa and Samaria.

The yeere of the world, 4011. after Christs birth, 49.

AFTER the death of *Herod*, who raigned in Chalcis, *Claudius* created *Agrippa* the ſonne of the former *Agrippa* King of Chalcis in his vncles kingdome: and *Cumanus* was made Ruler of the other prouince after *Alexander*, vnder whom there were many tumults and new calamities, which befell the Iewes. For when they were aſſembled together at the feaſt of vnleauened bread in Ieruſalem, the Romane ſouldiers ſtanding in the porch of the Temple (for alwayes

A alwaies armed men kept that place vpon feſtiuall daies, leſt the people gathered together ſhould make any tumult) one of the ſouldiers, taking vp his coat, turned his bare buttockes againſt the Iewes faces, ſpeaking words as vnſeemely as was his geſture. Whereat the whole multitude began to murmure; ſo that they flocked about *Cumanus*, requeſting him to puniſh the ſouldier for this miſdemeanour: and ſome of them, raſh young men, and as it were prone to ſedition, began to reuile the ſouldiers, and threw ſtones at them. Then *Cumanus*, fearing that the whole multitude of the Iewes would violently ruſh vpon him, cald vnto him many armed ſouldiers, and ſent them into the porch of the Temple. The Iewes being in great feare fled and left the Temple, and there was ſuch a throng, that as they ruſhed out to flee, aboue ten thouſand people were preſt B and troden to death: ſo that this feſtiuall day was turned into woefull lamentations and mournings in euery place. This calamity was increaſed afterward by a company of theeues: for neere Bethoron one *Stephanus*, ſeruant vnto *Cæſar*, carried ſome houſhold ſtuffe, which the theeues tooke from him in the high way. But *Cumanus*, ſending for thoſe in the villages next adioyning, to make enquiry of theſe theeues, commanded them to be bound and brought vnto him, becauſe they had not taken the theeues: in one of which villages a certaine ſouldier finding the booke of the holy Scripture, cut it in pieces and burnt it. Hereupon the Iewes gathered themſelues together from all places, as though their religion were now violated: and drawne by the force of their ſuperſtition as with an engine, all of them at one call went to Cæſarea to *Cumanus*, there beſeeching him, that the ſouldier, who had blaſphemed God and their law, might not eſcape vnpu- C niſhed. But *Cumanus* perceiued, the Iewes would not be appeaſed without ſome ſatisfaction: wherefore he condemned the ſouldier to death, and ſent him to execution before their faces; which done, they all departed.

The yeer of the world, 4011. *after Chriſts birth*, 49.

A filthy fact and ſpeech of a ſouldier againſt the Iewes on a feſtiuall day.

Cumanus feareth the peoples rage.

Some tenne thouſand men thronged to death.

A ſouldier cuts the booke of the holy Scripture in pieces and burneth it.

The yeere of the world, 4014. *after chriſts birth*, 52.

The ſouldier executed, that burned the Bible.

A Galilean ſlaine in Samaria.

At laſt there aroſe a tumult betweene the Galileans and Samaritanes; for at a village called Geman, ſituate in the great field of Samaria, a certaine Galilean, of the number of the Iewes that came to the feaſt, was ſlaine: for which fact many Galileans ran to fight with the Samaritanes: and the nobilitie of the country went vnto *Cumanus*, requeſting him, before any more harme were done, to goe into Galilee, and puniſh the authors of this euill. But *Cumanus*, being buſied in greater affaires, ſent them away without granting their requeſt. When this murther was knowne in Ieruſalem, all the multitude left the ſolemnitie of the day, and went into Samaria D without any guide, refuſing to be reſtrained by the Nobilitie. Of this their tumult and ſedition the ſonne of *Dinæus*, called *Eleazar*, and one *Alexander*, were Captaines; who with violence entring the borders of the countrey of Acrebatena, killed man, woman and childe, ſparing no age, and burning the townes. When *Cumanus* heard this, he tooke a cornet of horſemen, called the Sebaſtians, to come and helpe them that were thus oppreſſed, and ſo tooke and killed many of them who tooke part with *Eleazar*. Now the Nobles of Ieruſalem came out to the reſt of that multitude, which ſo waſted Samaria, clothed in ſackcloth and aſhes vpon their heads, beſeeching them not to ſeeke reuenge vpon the Samaritanes, as thereby to moue the Romanes to deſtroy Ieruſalem, and to be mercifull to their countrey, the Temple, their wiues and children, and not at once hazard all, and ouerthrow their whole countrey and nation in reuenging the death E of one Galilean. The Iewes hereby were pacified, and departed. At the ſame time many conſpired together to rob and ſteale (as moſt commonly people by long peace grow inſolent) ſo that they robd in euery part of the country, and they that were moſt ſtrong and able, offred violence to thoſe that were weaker. Then the Princes of Samaria went to Tyre, beſeeching *Numidius Quadratus*, being Gouernour of Syria, to reuenge them of thoſe that ſo robbed and ſpoyled their countrey. There was alſo the nobilitie of the Iewes, and *Ionathas*, the ſonne of *Ananus*, who was high Prieſt, who defended the Iewes againſt the Samaritanes accuſations; affirming, the Samaritanes to haue beene cauſe of that tumult in killing the Galilean: and after, that *Cumanus* was cauſe of the reſt of their calamities, who refuſed to puniſh the murtherers. *Quadratus* for that time ſent away both parties, promiſing them that when hee came into their countries, hee F would diligently enquire of the matter: and comming from thence to Cæſarea, he crucified all thoſe whom *Cumanus* tooke aliue. And departing from thence to Lydda, he heard the Samaritanes complaints, and ſent for eighteene men whom he vnderſtood for certaine to haue beene in that broile, and beheaded them, and ſent the two high Prieſts, *Ionathas* and *Ananias*, and his ſonne *Ananus*, with ſome of the nobilitie of the Iewes to *Cæſar*, and alſo the chiefe of the Samaritanes. He likewiſe commanded *Cumanus* and *Celer* the tribune to goe to Rome, and yeeld account vnto *Claudius* for that which they had done in that countrey.

Eleazar and Alexander two Princes of the Iewes, exerciſe much cruelkie.

Conſpiracy in robbery.

Quadratus, Gouernor of Syria, heareth the Samaritanes and Iewes.

Quadratus giueth ſentence betwixt the Iewes and Samaritanes.

This done, he went from Lydda to Ieruſalem: and finding there the multitude celebrating the feaſt

feast of vnleauened bread, without any tumults or disorders he returned to Antiochia. *Cæsar* at Rome hearing the allegations of *Cumanus*, and the Samaritanes (*Agrippa* was also there earnestly defending the cause of the Iewes, as also *Cumanus* was assisted by many potentates) hee pronounced sentence against the Samaritans, & commanded three of their chiefe nobility to be put to death, and banished *Cumanus*, and sent *Celer* the tribune bound vnto Ierusalem, that the Iewes might draw him about the Citie, and then cut off his head. This done, he sent *Fælix* brother to *Pallas* to rule Iudæa, Samaria and Galilæa. And he preferred *Agrippa* from Chalcis to a greater kingdome, making him King of that Prouince whereof *Philip* had beene Ruler, to wit, Trachon, Batanæa and Gaulanitis, adding thereunto *Lysanias* kingdome, and the Tetrarchy whereof *Varus* was Gouernour: And hauing raigned thirteene yeeres, eight moneths, and thirtie dayes, *Claudius* departed this life, leauing *Nero* to succeed him, whom by the perswasions of his wife *Agrippina* he adopted to the Empire, hauing a lawfull begotten sonne of his owne, named *Britannicus*, by his former wife *Messalina*, and a daughter called *Octauia*, whom he married to *Nero*: he had also another daughter by *Agrippina*, named *Antonia*. How *Nero* abused his wealth and felicitie, and how he slew his brother, mother and his wife, and afterward raged against all his kindred, and how in a mad vaine he became a player vpon a stage, because it requireth a long narration, I will speake nothing thereof.

The yeere of the world, 4014. after Christs Natiuitie, 52.

Claudius sentence against some Samaritanes, Cumanus and Celer.

Claudius dies, and Nero succeeded him.

The yeere of the world, 4015. after Christs birth, 53.

Nero killeth his brother, his mother and wife.

CHAP. XII.

Of the tumult in Iudæa vnder FELIX.

WHerefore I will begin to recount what *Nero* did against the Iewes. Hee made *Aristobulus*, *Herods* son, King of the lesser Armenia, and ioyned vnto *Agrippas* kingdome foure cities, and the ground belonging vnto them: two of them, Abila and Iulias, were in the countrey of Peræa; the other, Tarichæa and Tiberias, were in Galilee: and he made *Fælix* Gouernour ouer the rest of Iudæa. This *Fælix* tooke *Eleazar*, Captaine of the theeues, after he had robbed and spoyled the country twenty yeeres, and many more with him, & sent them bound to *Cæsar*: and he crucified a great number of them, who either were theeues, and his confederates, or else such as assisted him. The countrey was no sooner cleansed from these, but presently another sort of theeues arose in Ierusalem, called Sicarij, with short swords, who at high noone in the midst of the citie killed many in euery place: and especially at the celebrating of holy feasts they mixt themselues with the multitude, hauing short swords vnder their coats, and therewithall kild those to whom they bare any grudge; and when men fell down dead, they among the rest complained of this wickednesse. By this deceitfull meanes they were a long time vnsuspected and vnknowne. And first of all, they kild *Ionathan* the high Priest, and after him euery day some were slaine; and the citie was put in a feare worse then death it selfe: for each man euery moment expected death, as though it had beene amidst open warres: likewise euery one cast a diligent eye vpon those that came neere him; also no man trusted his familiar friends: and yet were they murthered, whilest they were looking about them to escape danger. So cunningly did these theeues couer and conceale their actions. Moreouer, there arose another sort of mischieuous people, who did not so much harme with their hands as the first, but with their impious counsell more, and did no lesse trouble the quiet estate of the citie then did the theeues. These people being vagabonds and iugglers, desiring alteration vnder pretence of religion, made the people as it were mad: for they went into the wildernesse, affirming, that there God would shew them tokens of their libertie. *Fælix*, perceiuing that their action tended to rebellion, sent an arme of horse and foot against these people, and kild a great many of them.

The yeere of the world, 4018. after Christs birth, 56.

Ant. lib 20. cap. 11.

Fœlix surprizeth Eleazar, the Captaine of the theeues and many others, and sends them bound to Rome.

Another sort of theeues who at noone daies went about the city to murther men.

Ionathas the high Priest with many others slaine.

Ant. lib. 20. cap. 12.

But a certaine Ægyptian, a false prophet, caused a far greater massacre among the Iewes then that was: for being a Magician, he came into the country; and calling himselfe a propher, he gathered vnto him almost thirty thousand Iewes, who were by his Magick arts seduced: and leading them from the wildernes to mount Oliuet, he determined from thence to goe to Ierusalem, and to driue backe the forces of the Romans, and to vse his authoritie ouer the people. He had for his guard those that came to follow him. *Fælix*, foreseeing his intent, met him with his legiõs of armed Romans: whom the other Iewes assisting, and fighting against him, the Ægyptian with a few fled, and many that were with him were taken and committed to prison, and the rest of the multitude dispersed themselues euery one in his countrey. These being thus represt, the other part (as it hapneth in a sicke body) began to rise: for some of the Magicians, and the theeues being gathered together, they brought many vnto misery, and as it were exhorted them to liberty, threatning present death to those that obeyed the Romans; so that they forc't them who were contented

An Ægyptian Prophet gathereth welny 30000. men.

Fœlix ouerthroweth the Ægyptian.

The theeues and Magicians worke much mischiefe to many men.

A contented with their ſubiection to the Romans, to diſobey them. Theſe people being diſperſt all ouer the countrey, robbed and ſacked Noblemens and rich mens houſes: Moreouer, kild them, and fired the villages, ſo that all Iudæa was in extreme feare of them, and euery day their cruelties increaſed. *The yeere of the world, 4020. after Chriſts birth, 50.*

At this time aroſe another tumult at Cæſarea, by a ſedition raiſed betweene the Iewes that dwelt there, and the Syrians. The Iewes challenged the City to be theirs, becauſe it was founded by *Herod*, who was a Iew. But the Syrians denying not but that the builder of the Citie was a Iew, yet they affirmed that it belonged to the Gentiles: for (ſaid they) it had not beene lawfull for the Founder to haue placed in it ſhrines and ſtatues, if he had meant that it ſhould B haue belonged to the Iewes. So that hereupon there aroſe a great controuerſie among the Iewes and Syrians, inſomuch as the one fought againſt the other, and euery day thoſe that were the hardieſt of both parts fought together. For the eldeſt ſort of the Iewes could not reſtraine thoſe of their nation from being ſeditious: and the Greekes ſcorned to giue place to the Iewes. The Iewes ouercame them in riches and ſtrength of body, and the Græcians ouercame the Iewes by helpe of ſouldiers: for a great company of the Romane army came thither out of Syria, and they were ready to aſſiſt the Syrians, becauſe they were as it were of their kindred and conſanguinitie. The Captaines of the ſouldiers endeuoured to appeaſe the tumult, and tooke thoſe that were moſt ſeditious on both parts, and beat them, and caſt them in priſon. But the puniſhment of thoſe that were apprehended, terrified not the reſt: nay, they were hereby made more ſeditiC ous. When *Fælix* ſaw this, by a ſtreight Edict hee baniſht thoſe who were moſt ſeditious, out of the Citie: and thoſe that obeyed not, he ſent ſouldiers and ſlew them, ſuffering their goods to be taken by the ſouldiers. The ſedition being ſtill on foot, he ſent the Nobilitie on either part to *Nero*, to plead their right and title. *Feſtus* ſucceeded *Fælix*, who diligently perſecuted them that troubled the countrey, and deſtroyed many theeues.

Ant. lib. 10. cap. 13.

A fight betweene the Iewes and Syrians about Cæſarea.

Sedition and ſlaughter among the Iewes. *The yeere of the world, 4034. after Chriſts birth, 62.*

CHAP. XIII.

Of ALBINVS *and* FLORVS, *Preſidents of Iudæa.*

D BVT *Albinus*, who ſucceeded *Feſtus*, followed not his ſteps: for there was no iniquitie ſo great wherein he was not plunged. Furthermore, hee did not onely take away by force mens goods from them vnder colour of iuſtice, and at his owne pleaſure exact a greater tribute, but alſo freed and let looſe any one whom either the ſouldiers of the Citie tooke, or his predeceſſors had left in priſon, ſo that their friends would giue a piece of money: and they only, who were not able to giue money, were impriſoned as moſt hainous offenders. At this time, they in Ieruſalem that deſired alteration, began to take courage, and thoſe that were rich among them fee'd *Albinus* with money, to permit them to be ſeditious, and the common people that could not be in quiet, ioyned themſelues with *Albinus* fauourites: and each of them had a troupe of theeues after him. But *Albinus* himſelfe was ouer them all as a tyrant, and a prince of theeues; and he vſed the helpe of his guard to rob the meaner ſort: ſo they, whoſe houſes were ſackt and E ſpoyled, were glad to hold their peace; and they, who yet had eſcaped, were glad to be very officious towards thoſe who deſerued death, for feare they ſhould ſuffer the like. In generall, no man could truſt one another: there were then many tyrants, and from that time the ſeeds of captiuitie, which after befell, began to take roote.

Ant. lib. 20. cap. 15. Albinus Preſident of Iudæa full of all wickedneſſe.

The ſeditions bribe Albinus to winke at their robberies.

Notwithſtanding, that *Albinus* was of ſuch behauiour, yet *Geſſius Florus*, who ſucceeded him, ſo behaued himſelfe, that in compariſon of him, *Albinus* might haue beene thought a good Gouernour. For *Albinus* did all things ſecretly and craftily, but *Geſſius* committed any iniquitie how great ſoeuer, ſo openly, as though he gloried in his impietie; and behaued himſelfe, not as a ruler of the countrey, but as a hangman ſent to execute malefactors; omitting no manner of theft, nor any meanes whereby he might afflict the people. Where he ought to haue ſhewed pi-F tie, there was he a tyrant; and where hee ought to haue beene aſhamed, there hee ſhewed himſelfe ſhameleſſe. No man euer could inuent more meanes to obſcure truth, and deuiſe more waies to doe harme then he: for it ſufficed him not, for his owne gaine to abuſe men one by one at his pleaſure, but he waſted and ſpoyled whole cities at once, and deſtroyed the people in great multitude. Nay, he was not aſhamed by the publike voice of a cryer, to proclaime it thorow the whole country lawfull for any one that would, to rob & ſteale, ſo that they would bring him a part of their booty. In briefe, his cruelty was ſuch, that the country was almoſt left deſolate, people forſaking their owne natiue home, and fleeing into ſtrange lands. And all the time that *Ceſtius Gallus*

The yeere of the world, 4038. after Chriſts birth, 66.

Ant. lib. 20. cap. 16. Geſſius Florus ſucceeded Albinus, and proued worſe then Albinus.

The couetouſneſſe of Florus ſpoyleth whole cities.

was

The yeere of the world, 4028 after Christs birth, 66.

Cestius Gallus appeaseth the people, & requireth a mitigation of Florus seueritie.

was Gouernour of Syria, no man durst goe to him to make any complaint against *Florus*. But when at the feast of vnleauened bread *Gallus* came to Ierusalem, there met him a multitude of the Iewes aboue 300000, all beseeching him to helpe and succour their afflicted countrey, and banish *Florus*, who was the very plague of their nation. Yet *Florus* was so impudent, that being with *Gallus*, and hearing these cries against him, he was no whit moued thereat, but laughed at it. *Cestius* for that time appeased the people, promising that hereafter he would make *Florus* more gentle vnto them, and so returned to Antiochia. *Florus* conducted him to Cæsarea to stop his mouth with lies, deuising with himselfe how to make the Iewes rebell, and that he thought was the safest meanes to cloake his villanies: for if they continued in peace and obedience, he feared, that some of them would accuse him before *Cæsar*: mary, if he could make them reuolt, then he hoped that their great fault would shadow his impieties. Wherefore to bring about his purpose, he euery day oppressed them with new calamities, forcing them hereby to rebell against the Romans. At this time the Gentiles of Cæsarea got the victory ouer the Iewes, and brought letters to testifie that decree before *Nero*. This was the beginning of the wars of the Iewes, in the twelfth yeere of *Nero* his Empire, and the seuenteenth of *Agrippas* raigne, in the moneth of May.

The beginning of the warre of the Iewes the 12. yeere of Neroes raigne.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of FLORVS *his crueltie against the Iewes of Cæsarea and Ierusalem.*

Ant. lib. 20. cap. 15. The causes of the warre of the Iewes.

The yeere of the world, 4030. after Christs Nativitie, 68.

Florus periury and deceit toward the Iewes.

FLORVS had no iust cause for any of these calamities which hee inflicted vpon the Iewes. The Iewes dwelling at Cæsarea, had a Synagogue neere a piece of ground that belonged to a Gentile dwelling in Cæsarea. The Iewes often sought to compound with him for that piece of ground, offring him farre more then it was worth: but the Landlord of the soile did not only contemne their request, but also to their great griefe in that place built Tauernes; so that he left them a very streight and narrow passage to go to their Synagogue. Some young men among the Iewes, being very zealous, resisted the workemen, and would not suffer them to build. *Florus*, hearing this, commanded the Iewes to let the workmen goe forward in their worke. The Iewes not knowing what to doe, especially one *Iohn*, a Publican, offered *Florus* eight talents to hinder the building: he promised for that money to fulfill their request: and now hauing it, he presently departed from Cæsarea, and went to Sebaste without performing any thing, giuing as it were occasion of sedition, & as though he had receiued money of the Nobility of the Iewes to permit them to fight a certain time. The next day, which was the Iewes Sabbath, when they were all assembled to go to the Synagogue, one of Cæsarea, a seditious person, tooke a great earthen vessell, and set it euen at the entry into the Synagogue, & vpon it did offer birds. This fact so moued the Iewes, that they would not be pacified, because it was done in contempt of their religion, and thereby the place was profaned. One part of the Iewes that was most modest & wisest, counseld the Iewes to complaine to them that were in authoritie: but those who for heat of youth were prone to sedition, began contumeliously to reuile their aduersaries. For the most seditious of the people of Cæsarea were also prepared to fight with them, and had caused that to be done before the Synagogue, only to pick a quarrell, & so they fought together. *Iucundus*, Generall of the horsemen, that was left to keepe all in quiet, presently came with souldiers, and commanded that vessell to be taken away, and so endeuoured to appease the tumult: but not being able to doe it through the violence of them of Cæsarea; the Iewes tooke the bookes of their lawes, and retired themselues to a place called Narbata, belonging to them, which was distant from Cæsarea threescore furlongs. Twelue of the chiefe of them, together with *Iohn* the Publican, went vnto *Florus*, being at Sebaste, to complaine of the iniury done vnto them, requesting him to assist them, and modestly put him in minde of the eight talents they gaue him. But he presently commanded them to be bound and imprisoned, because they had presumed to take and carry their law from Cæsarea. Hereat those of Ierusalem were greatly mooued, yet they shewed it not. *Florus*, as vpon set purpose giuing occasion of rebellion, sent for seuenteene talents out of the sacred treasury, pretending that it was to be employed in *Cæsars* affaires. At this the people was much troubled, calling and crying vpon the name of *Cæsar*, praying that he would deliuer them from *Florus* his tyranny. Some of them being seditious, began to curse *Florus* bitterly, and tooke a basket, and carried it about, and begged an almes for *Florus*, which they did in derision, as who should say, he were as miserable as beggers that haue nothing. *Florus* for all this, left not his auarice, but was more earnest to rob the inhabitants of their goods. So that when he should haue gone

The conflict of the Iewes with the Cæsareans.

Florus imprisoneth 12 of the chiefest Iewes in Cæsarea.

Another cause of warre raised by Florus.

A gone to Cæsarea to haue quieted the sedition,and remooued the cause of tumults,as also he had receiued money so to doe; taking an army of horse and foot, he came to Ierusalem, that with the helpe of the Romane souldiers he might effect his pleasure, and terrifie the whole citie.

The yeere of the world, 4030. *after Christs birth,* 68.

The people to pacifie his wrath, went out in courteous sort to meet the army, shewing themselues ready to giue them the best entertainment they could,& to receiue *Florus* with all honour and reuerence. *Florus* vnderstanding of them,sent before him one *Capito* a Centurion, with fiftie horsemen;commanding them to depart,and not to mock him with a pretence of honour,whom they had so hainously abused. And that if they were as good as their words, they should flout and reproach him to his face;and not onely in words;but in deeds shew,that they desired liberty.

Another occasion of the warre.

B Herewithall the multitude being terrified, and also that the horsemen that came with *Capito* assaulted them with violence; euery one fled before they saluted *Florus,* or did their accustomed duty vnto the army: and going euery one vnto his house, they past the watchfull night in feare and sorrow. *Florus* for that night lodged in the Kings palace. The next day he caused a tribunall openly to be placed,and the high Priest and all the chiefe of the Iewes resorted thither & stood before the tribunall. Then *Florus* sitting in the tribunall seat, commanded them to bring forth presently all those,that had vsed any opprobrious words against him, threatning to be reuenged on them except they did it. The Iewes made answer, that the people intended nothing but peace and quietnesse,requesting that they that had offended in words,might obtaine pardon. For it was no maruell in so great a multitude,if there were some rash and foolish young men:and that

Florus scorneth the gratulation of the Iewes.

Florus in his tribunall requireth them to be yeelded vnto him, who had spoken ill of him.

C it was vnpossible to discerne all that offended,seeing euery one was now penitent for that which was done,and at least for feare would deny it; and that if he were carefull to conserue and maintaine the quietnesse of the nation, and preserue the citie still to obey the Romanes, he then must rather pardon a few seditious for so many good mens sake; then to reuenge himselfe of a few wicked persons,to hurt and molest so many that thought no harme. Hereat *Florus* wrath was increased, and presently he commanded the souldiers to sacke the market place (which was the higher part of the citie) where things were sold, and put all they met or found vnto the sword. The souldiers, who were desirous of gaine,hauing now authoritie from their Ruler,did not only sacke the place they were sent vnto, but also all houses, and murthered the inhabitants. All

The outrage of Florus souldiers.

streets and gates were filled with them that sought to flye, and the dead bodies of them that did

D light into the souldiers hands: no sort of spoyling was omitted. They also apprehended many of the Nobilitie,and brought them to *Florus:* and he causing them to be whipt,afterward hanged them vp. And there were slaine that day, of men,women and children (for they spared not infants)sixe hundreth and thirtie. Which did not afflict the Iewes so much, as to see the sudden crueltie and tyrannie of the Romans; *Florus* then doing that none before durst euer presume to doe: for he caused knights before the tribunall seat to be whipped, and after hanged them vp, who though they were Iewes borne, yet receiued they that dignitie from the Romans.

Florus souldiers kill 630. Iewes in one day.

CHAP. XV.

Of another oppression of the Citizens of Ierusalem, by FLORVS *his meanes.*

AT the same time King *Agrippa* was gone to Alexandria, to entertaine *Alexander,* whom *Nero* sent to be Ruler ouer Ægypt; his sister *Berenice* in the meane while remained in Ierusalem, who seeing the crueltie of the souldiers,was much grieued: and often sent the Lieutenants of her horsemen and her owne guard vnto *Florus,* requesting him to abstaine from the slaughter of the Citizens. But he neither regarding the multitude of them that were slaine, nor the dignitie of her that intreated, but only his priuate gaine, and what he could gather by oppression and rapine, denyed her request: so that the rage of the souldiers extended

Berenice requireth Florus to pacifie his displeasure against the Iewes.

The fury of the souldiers against Berenice.

F in their way, but they had also killed her, had shee not fled into the palace, where she watcht all night,keeping a trusty guard about her,fearing that the souldiers would breake in vpon her. She came to Ierusalem to fulfill her vow to God:for it is the custom,that if any be afflicted with grieuous sicknes,or be in any other distresse, they must abide in prayer 30.daies before they offer sacrifice,& abstaine from wine,and shaue their haire;which custom Queen *Berenice* then obseruing, stood also barefoot before *Florus* his tribunall seat,to entreat him:whom he not only cõtemned, but also put her in danger of her life. This was done the 16.day of May. The day after,the multitude gathered together in the vpper part of the citie in the market place, and with great cryes murmured

The people exclaime against Florus.

murmured that ſo many were ſlaine, and eſpecially vſed contumelious words againſt *Florus*: which the nobility and high Prieſts (fearing their deaths) apprehended, beſeeching them to abſtaine from ſuch words as had already cauſed that calamity in the city, and not to prouoke *Florus* vnto greater indignation. And ſo the multitude was pacified for their ſakes who entreated, and hoped that hereafter *Florus* would deſiſt from ſuch cruelty. *Florus*, when he ſaw the multitude quieted, was ſorry: and that he might againe prouoke them, he aſſembled together the nobility and high Prieſts, telling them that it would be an argument that the people did not ſeeke alteration any more, if they would goe in courteous wiſe and meet the ſouldiers which were comming from Cæſarea, whereof were two legions. Hauing thus aſſembled the Iewes together to go meet the ſouldiers; he alſo ſent and commanded the Centurions not to ſalute the Iewes, who came to meet them: and if therefore the Iewes were offended, and gaue any hard ſpeeches, they ſhould fall vpon them with their weapons. The high Prieſts aſſembling the Iewes together in the Temple, beſought them to goe, & ſolemnly to meet and entertaine the ſouldiers, for feare of a greater inconuenience. Notwithſtanding their counſell, thoſe that were ſeditious, refuſed to doe as they were requeſted: and others for griefe of them that were ſlaine, tooke part with the ſeditious.

The yeere of the world, 4036. after Chriſts birth, 68.

Florus renueth the diſcontents of the people. Florus ſubtilty & treaſon.

Then all the Prieſts & Leuites brought forth the holy veſſels & ornaments of the temple, and with Harps, ſongs & muſicall inſtruments came before the multitude, beſeeching them to endeuour, that the honor and pompe of the Temple might ſtill remaine, & not to incite the Romans through contumelious words to ſacke the Temple. There might you ſee the chiefe of the high Prieſts with aſhes vpon their heads, and clothes rent, ſo that their naked breſts were perceiued; and calling euery noble man by his name, & ſpeaking to all the multitude, requeſted them not for a ſmall offence, to betray their whole country to them, who ſtill gaped after the deſtruction thereof. For what commodity ſhould the Romans reape by the Iewes ſalutation, & what amendment of their miſeries could they expect, if they did not go to meet them? Cõtrariwiſe, if they would go to them in ſolemn ſort, then they took from *Florus* all occaſion of perſecution, & ſaued their countrey from ruine, and themſelues from further calamities. Adding that it was a great ſhame that ſuch a multitude ſhould be led away with a few ſeditious perſons, & that it was more fit that ſo many ſhould force thoſe few ſeditious people to obey them, and ioyne with them in opinion.

The exhortation of the Prieſts and Princes to the people.

With theſe perſwaſions they did mollifie the malice of the Iewes, and alſo perſwade many of the ſeditious people, ſome with threats, and ſome with reuerence of themſelues to be pacified. And ſo they going before, all the people followed, and went out to meet the Romane ſouldiers. And comming neere them they ſaluted them: who anſwering nothing againe, thoſe of the Iewes that were ſeditious, began to raile againſt *Florus*, by whoſe conſent this was done: and preſently the ſouldiers apprehending them, did beat them with clubs; and the reſt flying, the Romane horſemen purſued them, and trode vpon them with their horſes. Many were ſlaine by the Romans, and more were killed in the throng, one of them tumbling vpon another. There was a great throng in the gates of the Citie: for euery one haſting and ſtriuing to get in, hindred themſelues and others. Many dyed moſt miſerably in that throng, and ſome were ſtyfled, and ſome preſt to death being troden vpon; ſo that their neighbours comming to bury them, could not know them. The ſouldiers alſo cruelly aſſaulted them, killing all that they could come vnto, and forced the people to goe in by the entrance called Bezetha, who deſired to recouer the Temple and the Caſtle called Antonia.

The euent ſheweth Florus intent and counſell. The ſlaughter of the Iewes.

Florus taking the ſouldiers with him, purſued them thither, ſtriuing to get the Caſtle; yet did he not preuaile: for the people made reſiſtance, and threw downe ſtones from the houſe top, and killed many of the Romans: who being ouercome with darts caſt from aloft, and could not reſiſt the people, who on euery ſide came againſt them, retyred themſelues vnto the reſt of the army at the Kings palace. Thoſe that were ſeditious, fearing that *Florus* would againe aſſault them, and by the Caſtle Antonia make an entrance into the Temple, they got vpon the galleries that reached from the porch of the Temple vnto Antonia, and beat them downe, hereby to repreſſe the couetouſneſſe of *Florus*, who greedily gaped after the ſacred treaſure, and ſtriued to enter by Antonia into the Temple to take them: but ſeeing the porches beaten downe, he offred no more violence. And calling together the high Prieſts and Nobilitie, hee ſaid that he was content to depart out of the Citie, but hee would leaue them as great a garriſon as they would requeſt. Whereunto they anſwered, that nothing ſhould bee altred, if he would leaue one company to keepe all quiet: ſo he left not that, which a while before did fight againſt the people, becauſe that the people would not eaſily brooke them, for that which they had ſuffred at their hands. So *Florus* as he requeſted, changing the garriſon with the reſt of the army departed to Cæſarea.

The ſeditious for feare leſt Florus ſhould ſeize their ſpoyles, flye to the Temple. Florus taketh the ſpoyles, and entereth the Temple. Florus ſeeing the Iewes inexpugnable in the Temple, ſurceaſeth his violence, and leauing a band behinde him, goeth to Cæſarea.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

of POLITIANVS *the tribune, and how* AGRIPPA *made a ſpeech vnto the Iewes, exhorting them to obey the Romanes.*

The yeere of the world, 4030. after Chriſts birth, 68.

FLORVS yet deuiſed another way to ſtirre the Iewes to rebellion: for he reported vnto *Ceſtius* that the Iewes were reuolted, impudently belying them to haue committed that which indeed they endured at his hands. The nobles of Ieruſalem and *Berenice* certified *Ceſtius* of all that *Florus* had done: he receiuing letters from both parties, deliberated with his nobles what to doe. Some counſelled *Ceſtius* to goe into Iudea with an army, and puniſh the Iewes, if they were reuolted; and if they were not, then to confirme them in their obedience. Yet it pleaſed him better to ſend ſome about him thither before, to bring him true newes of their eſtate, and what had hapned. So hee ſent *Politianus* the tribune, who in his way met with *Agrippa* about Iamnia as he returned from Alexandria, and told him all, for what, and from whom he was ſent. Where alſo were preſent the Prieſts and chiefe of the Iewes, to welcome *Agrippa*. And hauing ſaluted him as courteouſly as they could, they preſently bewayled the miſery which had befalne their nation, and the crueltie of *Florus*. Which although *Agrippa* diſallowed, yet made as if he were angry with the Iewes whom he greatly pitied, purpoſing hereby to bridle their affections; that they, perſwaded that they had had no iniury, might abſtaine from reuenge. So that all the better ſort, who for their lands and liuings deſired quietneſſe, well perceiued that the Kings reprehenſion was not of malice, but for their good.

Ceſtius Gallus, Preſident of Syria conſulteth with the Princes what were beſt to bee done. Politianus is ſent to Ieruſalem, & meets with Agrippa.

The people of Ieruſalem went out to meet them threeſcore furlongs off, and receiued *Agrippa* and *Politianus* very courteouſly, yet the women lamented the death of their husbands ſlaine, and with their teares moued the whole multitude to ſorrow, who beſought *Agrippa* to haue compaſſion on their nation; entreating alſo *Politianus* to goe into the Citie, and behold what *Florus* had done: And ſo they ſhewed him the market place deſart, and the houſes deſtroyed, and by the means of *Agrippa* perſwaded *Politianus* to go round about the city as far as Siloa, onely with one man, & behold with his eyes what *Florus* had done, and that they were obedient to the Romans in all thiugs, and only were enemies vnto *Florus* who had vſed them ſo cruelly. *Politianus* hauing gone about the whole Citie, aſcended into the Temple, well perceiuing many arguments of the Iewes fidelitie towards the Romans: and calling the people there together, he praiſed their loyalty, and exhorted them ſtill to continue in in like obedience, and worſhipped God and his rites, as farre as the law permitted him: and ſo he returned vnto *Ceſtius*. The multitude of the Iewes came to *Agrippa* and the high Prieſts, requeſting them to ſend Embaſſadors againſt *Florus* vnto *Nero*, and not to giue an argument of rebellion by not complaining of ſuch murthers: for *Florus* would make him beleeue that they had rebelled, except they went vnto him to ſhew that *Florus* gaue firſt occaſion; and it was certaine that the multitude would not be quieted, if any one hindered that Embaſſage. Hereupon *Agrippa* thought that it would be an hatefull matter to ſend Embaſſadours to Rome to accuſe *Florus*, and on the other part he perceiued, that it was to no purpoſe to contradict the Iewes, who were ready now to rebell: wherefore calling the people together he made a ſpeech vnto them, and ſeated his ſiſter *Berenice* in an eminent place in the houſe of the Aſmonæans. The porch wherein he called them together, was in ſuch a place that it ouerlookt all the higher part of the city, for there was only a bridge between it & the temple, which ioyned the Temple and it together, and there ſpake he vnto the Iewes in manner following. If I had perceiued that you were bent to fight againſt the Romans, or that the better part of the people were not inclined to peace, neither would I haue come vnto you, nor haue preſumed to haue counſelled you in any thing. For it is in vaine to giue counſell of ſuch things as are expedient, where all the auditors are already determined to follow that, which is contrary to the counſell giuen them. But for that ſome are ignorant what miſery wars induce, becauſe by reaſon of their yong yeeres they haue not knowne it, others are moued with a raſh and vnaduiſed deſire of their liberty, others are drawne by auarice and hope of gaine in that hurliburly: I thought it good to aſſemble you all together, and declare vnto you what meanes is to be vſed to reſtraine ſuch people, and that the good may the better know how to reſiſt and ouercome the practices of the wicked. But let no man frowne if he heare that which diſpleaſeth him, and I will tell you nothing but that which ſeemeth expedient for you. For they that are ſo bent to rebellion, that they will not be recalled, may for all my words continue in the ſame mind ſtill. And I will ſpeak nothing at all, except you will all keepe ſilence. I know that many doe ſeeke to aggrauate the iniuries that are done by the rulers of the countrey, and doe highly commend and extoll liberty: yet before I begin

The multitude of the people goe out to meet Agrippa and Politianus.

Politianus aſſembleth the people, and inciteth them to peace, and after returneth to Ceſtius.

The Iewes require the King, that there might be ſome Embaſſadors ſent to Rome to complaine of Florus to Nero.

Agrippas Oration to the Iewes.

Agrippa ſtriueth to make the common ſort flexible and attentiue.

The yeere of the world, 4030. after Christs Natiuitie, 68.

begin to declare vnto you who you are, and against whom ye purpose to beare armes, I will first diuide and separate such causes as you thinke inseparable. For if you seeke only to reuenge your selues vpon those that haue iniured you, why do you then so extoll liberty? or if you think it not tolerable to obey any other; why then, these complaints against your rulers are superfluous. For although they were neuer so milde, still would subiection be intolerable. Call all things to mind, and consider what a small cause of war is giuen you. And first of all weigh with your selues the crimes and offences of your Rulers: for you ought to shew your selues humble, and dutifull to them that are in authority, and not exasperate, and prouoke them to wrath by reprochfull speeches. For in reuiling them for small offences, you doe incite them against you whom you so reuile: and that whereas before they did only doe you a little iniury, and that secretly, now being moued through bad speeches, they openly set vpon you and destroy you. And there is nothing that so restraineth cruelty as patience; so that oft-times the patience of them who haue suffered iniury, makes them that did the iniury ashamed thereof. Be it so, that they, which are sent into the Prouinces and appointed by the Romans for your Gouernors, are irksome to you: yet all the Romans doe not oppresse you, nor *Cæsar*, against whom you would take armes. For they command no cruell Gouernors to come to you, nor can they who are in the furthest part of the West, easily know what is done in the East, nor heare thereof. And truly it is a thing most against reason to take armes for so small a cause, especially, when they against whom you take armes, know nothing of the matter. It is an easie way quickly to haue redresse for these matters you now complaine of. For there will be alwaies the same Gouernor; and it is credible, that they who succeed this, will be more gentle and courteous. But if you once begin to make warre, it is not easie to end it or sustaine it without great calamities. And let them who so thirst after liberty, diligently aduise themselues, that they doe not bring vpon their backs a greater bondage. For slauery is a cruell thing, and it seemeth a lawfull cause to make warre, lest you be brought into it: yet he that is already in bondage and reuolteth, is rather a peruerse slaue, then one who desireth liberty. You should therefore haue endeuoured to haue resisted the Romanes, when first *Pompeius* entred into this Land: but then our ancestors and their Kings farre exceeding you in riches, strength of body, and courage, were not able to withstand a small part of the Romane forces; and doe you thinke who are their successours, and farre weaker then they, hauing succeeded them in subiection, that you are able to resist all the whole power of the Romans?

It behooueth to honour the Magistrate, & not to prouoke him by iniury.

Agrippa excuseth Cæsar and the Romanes.

Depulsion of the Iewes libertie which they so vehemently seeke for.

The Athenians, who sometime to conserue the liberty of Greece, set their owne citie on fire, and pursued that proud *Xerxes* whom they forced to flie with one ship (which *Xerxes* made the earth nauigable, and the sea firme land, who had such a nauy that the seas had not roome for one ship to saile by another, nor all Europe able to receiue his army) who also had such a victory ouer Asia, neere the little Ile of Salamina, yet now are subiect vnto the Romans, and that kingly Citie is now ruled at the Romans beck. The Lacedemonians also hauing gotten such a victorie vpon the Thermopyles, and vnder their Generall *Agesilaus* sacked Asia, acknowledge now the Romans for their Lords. The Macedonians also who still imagine they see *Philip* and *Alexander* promising them the Empire of the whole world; now patiently beare this change, and obey them whom fortune hath made their masters. Many other nations, who for their power and strength haue farre more cause then you to seeke their libertie, yet patiently endure to serue the Romans. But you only think it a disgrace to obey them, who are Lords of the whole world. And where are the armies & armes that you trust in, or your nauy to scowre the Roman seas? Where are your treasures to effect that you intend? Thinke you that you are to war against the Ægyptians or Arabians? And doe you not consider the bounds of the Roman Empire? Do you not consider your owne inabilitie? Know ye not that your neighbour nations haue often by force taken your Citie? and that the forces of the Romans haue passed thorow the whole world vnconquered, and as it were searching for some thing greater then the world? Whose dominion towards the East is extended beyond Euphrates, and towards the North beyond Ister, and towards the South beyond the wildernesse of Lybia, and towards the West beyond Gades, hauing found another world beyond the Ocean, and with an armie entred Britaine which is England and Scotland, where neuer any came before. Are you richer then the Frenchmen, stronger then the Germanes, wiser then the Greekes, and are you more in number then the whole world beside? What hope can you haue that may incite you against the Romanes? But some of you will say, that bondage is a grieuous thing. But how much more then you, should the Greekes thinke so, that were thought to bee the noblest nation vnder heauen, and had such large dominions, and now obey the Romane gouernours? as also the Macedonians doe, who haue greater cause then you

The example of the Athenians, & others, who obey the Romane Empire.

The Lacedemonians.

The Macedonians.

The comparison of the Romans force with the Iewes weakenesse.

The Romans haue brought the whole world vnder their gouernment, & haue fought another world beyond the Ocean sea.

A you to ſeeke their liberty? What ſhall I ſay of the fifty cities of Aſia? do they not all obey one ruler, and the authority of the Conſull, without any Garriſon? What ſhall I ſpeake of the Enio-chians, Colchians, the people of Taurus, the inhabitants of Helleſpontus, and Pontus, and about Mæotis, who in times paſt had no ruler of their owne nation, whom now three thouſand ſouldiers keep in awe, and forty long Gallies keepe now peaceably thoſe ſeas, neuer ſailed on before? What thinke you, the Bythinians, Cappadocians, and thoſe of Pamphilia, Lydia, and Cilicia, could ſay for their liberty, who notwithſtanding now peaceably pay tribute vnto the Romanes? What of the Thracians? whoſe countrey is fiue dayes iourney in breadth, and ſeuen in length, farre more hard and ſtronger then your countrey, where froſt would hinder them that ſhould B aſſault them, yet doe they obey two thouſand Romanes, who are in garriſon. After them the Illyrians, whoſe country reacheth vnto Dalmatia, and Iſther, are kept in obedience onely by two legions, with helpe of whom, they alſo reſiſt the Dacians. The Dalmatians themſelues, who hauing ſo often attempted their owne liberty, being oftentimes conquered, and ſtill as their wealth increaſed, rebelling, are now in peace vnder one legion of the Romanes. Nay, if any one haue cauſe to rebell, it is the Frenchmen, whoſe countrey is by nature of the place, ſtrong, being on the Eaſt ſide compaſſed with the Alpes, on the North with the Riuer of Rhene, on the South with the Pyrenæan mountaines, on the Weſt with the Ocean. Who notwithſtanding, hauing amongſt them three hundreth and fiue nations, who haue amongſt them as it were the very fountaine of felicity, and with their goods and commodities inrich the whole world: yet doe they pay tribute C vnto the Romanes, and account their happineſſe to be builded vpon the felicity of the Romanes, and that neither for want of courage nor nobility of blood, who foureſcore yeeres long fought for their liberty; admiring the Romans and fearing them, who ſtill gained more by fortune, then they did by warres: and now obey a thouſand and two hundreth ſouldiers, hauing almoſt againſt euery ſouldier a City.

The yeere of the world, 4030. after chriſts birth, 68.

Fifty cities of Aſia obey the Romans.

The defence of France.

Neither could the Spaniards, though gold grew in their countrey, keepe themſelues from being ſubiect to the Romans. Nor the Portugales and the warlike Cantabrians, for all the diſtance of ſea and land betweene them and Rome. The Ocean, whoſe waues beating againſt the ſhoare, terrifieth the inhabitants adioyning, could not ſtay them but they paſt it: and carried an army beyond the pillers of *Hercules*, and paſſed the tops of the Pyrenæan mountaines, which reach vn-D to the cloudes, and ſo made all thoſe people ſubiect vnto them: and for all that they were ſo warlike a nation, and ſo farre from Rome, they left only one legion for Garriſon. Which of you haue not heard of the multitude of the Germanes? whoſe vertue and mighty bodies I thinke you haue often ſeene. For in euery countrey the Romanes haue them for captiues: yet they whoſe countrey is ſo large, hauing hearts farre bigger then their bodies, and ſoules that contemne death, who are more cruell then brute beaſts; yet are they now limited by the riuer Rhene, and kept in ſubiection by eight legions of Romanes: and thoſe that were taken were made ſlaues, and the reſt choſe rather to ſaue themſelues by flight then fight. And you who haue ſuch confidence in the walles of Ieruſalem, conſider the walles of Brytaine; whoſe countrey though compaſſed with the Ocean, and almoſt as great as our whole world, the Romanes ſayling into it, haue conquered, E and foure legions keepe that Iland ſo populous. What ſhould I ſay more, when the Parthians, a moſt warlike people, who lately raigned ouer ſo many nations, and abound in ſo much wealth, are now compelled to ſend pledges to Rome? Nay, you may ſee all the Nobility of the Eaſt, at Rome, who with peace ſhadow their captiuity; and almoſt all the nations vnder the Sunne trembling and dreading the Romane puiſſance: and will you onely warre againſt them? Doe you not conſider what befell the Carthaginians, who boaſting themſelues of that great *Hannibal*, ſprung from the noble race of the Phœnicians, at laſt were deſtroyed by *Scipio*? Neither could the Cyrenæans, who tooke their beginning from the Lacedemonians, nor all the race of the Marmaridans, which extended as farre as the Deſarts (which are very ſcarce of waters) nor the Syrtes, nor the Naſamonians, nor the Moores, nor the innumerable multitude of the Numidi-F ans, haue beene able to reſiſt the power of the Romans; who by force of armes haue conquered the third part of the world, the nations whereof can hardly be numbred, which from the Sea Atlantick and *Hercules* pillers vnto the red Sea, containeth an infinite company of Æthiopians, and innumerable habitations of them: who beſides that they pay ſo much fruits and Corne vnto the Romans, as for eight moneths in euery yeer will keep and ſuſtain all the people of Rome, doe alſo pay tribute; and moreouer aſſiſt them any way they can, and neuer murmure at it, as you doe; and there is onely one legion left to keepe them in obedience. But what ſhould I need to tell you of forraine examples, to ſignifie vnto you the power of the Romans, ſeeing you may well

The Spaniards ſubiect to the Romans.

The Germans multitude, vertue and huge ſtature.

The Britaines ſubiect to the Romans.

The Parthians.

The Carthaginians made ſubiect by Scipios hands.

The Romans gouerne the Moores.

The yeere of the world, 4030. after Christs birth, 68.

well perceiue it by that they did in Egypt, hard by: which reaching vnto Æthiopia and rich A- G
rabia, and bordering vpon India, hauing vnder it seuen hundreth and fifty millions of people, be-
sides the inhabitants of Alexandria (which is easie to be counted, by the tribute which is paid of
euery person by the Poule) liuing in their countrey, yet disdaine not to liue vnder the dominion
of the Romanes; notwithstanding, that they haue a great enticement to rebell, to wit, Alexandria,
which is both populous and very rich, in length 30. furlongs, in breadth ten, and paies more tri-
bute in a moneth, then you doe in a whole yeere; and, besides their money, finde all Rome with
corne foure moneths in the yeere: and it is on euery side compassed about either with a waste

Alexandria acknowledgeth the power of the Romanes.

" wilderneſſe, by which none can paſſe; or the fierce ſea, which is boundleſſe; or with great and
" ſtrong riuers, or muddy and durty quagmires, and mariſh grounds: all which little auailed them H
" to withſtand the force of the Romanes. For two legions onely placed in the city, keepe all the
" great countrey Egypt, and the Nobility of Macedon in awe.
" What aſſociates will you haue from ſome countrey not inhabited, to aide you againſt the Ro-
" mans? For all thoſe that at this day dwel in any place of the world, that is inhabited, obey the Ro-
" mans. Except peraduenture ſome of you hope for helpe from beyond Euphrates, thinking that
" your countrimen of Adiabena will help you: but they will not entangle themſelues in theſe dan-
" gerous wars, for an vnreaſonable cauſe; or if they would conſent to ſo diſhoneſt a deed, the Par-
" thians will not ſuffer them. For they are carefull to maintaine their league with the Romanes, and
" would thinke it violated, if any vnder their dominions ſhould warre againſt them. It remaineth
" then, that you muſt only truſt that God will helpe you; but God doth aſſiſt the Romans: for it is I

Gods fauour towards the Romanes.

vnpoſſible that ſuch an Empire ſhould continue without the helpe of God. Conſider that this
contempt of religion, although you were to war againſt farre weaker then your ſelues, yet were it
" hard to be diſpenced withall; and it may ſo come to paſſe, that that whereby you hope to make
" God your partaker, thereby you may make him your enemy: for if you obſerue the cuſtome of
" Sabbaths, and in them doe nothing, it will not be hard to conquer you. For ſo your anceſtors
" haue made experience by *Pompeius*, who euer deferred all his enterprizes vntill that day, wherin
" his enemies were idle, and made no reſiſtance. Now if in warre yee tranſgreſſe your countrey
" lawes, I know not then for what you ſhould rebell. For truely all of you at this time are of that
" mind, that your countrey lawes will not be changed. And I pray you how will you requeſt help

The laſt argument that prooueth the Iews deſtitute of Gods and mans helpe, and vnapt to make warre. Whileſt the ſhip is yet in the port, it is good to preuent the future tempeſt.

at Gods hands, if wilfully ye break his lawes? All that begin warre, either truſt in humane riches, K
or diuine ſuccor: and they that warre, hauing no probability to hope for any of theſe, wilfully
lead themſelues into open captiuitie. What letteth you euery man with his owne hands to but-
cher his wife and children, and from conſuming this goodly countrey with fire? for ſo you ſhall
gaine this, not to abide the ſhame of a conqueſt. It is good, O friends, it is good, whileſt yet the
ſhip is in the Hauen, to foreſee and prouide for future tempeſts, and not then begin to feare, when
you are amidſt the waues and ſurges of the ſea. They who fall into miſerie not foreſeene, are
worthie to receiue compaſſion: but they that runne into wilfull calamitie, deſerue no pitie, but
reproach. Vnleſſe perhaps ye thinke that the Romanes will fight with you, as you will conditi-
on; and that if they ouercome you, they will not vſe you hardly, nor fire and deſtroy this ſacred
" Citie, and all the whole nation as they haue done others. If ye be ouercome, whoſo eſcapeth vn- L
" killed, can haue no place of refuge: for all nations either are already ſubiect vnto the Romanes, or

Agrippas prophecy of the Iewes future miſery.

feare that they ſhall be ſhortly. So that not only you ſhall be in danger, but alſo all cities where-
in any Iewes remaine. For there is no nation nor people in the whole world, among whom ſome
of your countrie are not, who all ſhall bee moſt cruelly put to death, if you rebell: and for the
" wicked counſell of a few men, all cities ſhall flow with blood of the Iewes; and no man ſhall bee
" puniſhed for killing Iewes, becauſe of your offence. And if the Romanes do not execute all this
" outrage after your rebellion, then thinke how impious a thing it is, to rebell againſt ſo milde
" Gouernors. Take compaſſion, if not of your children, and wiues, yet at the leaſt of this City, which
" is the mother citie of all your nation. Spare theſe holy wals, and ſacred Temple, and keepe vnto
" your ſelues the law and ſacred things of the Temple: aſſure your ſelues that if the Romans againe M
" ouercome you, they will not ſpare theſe things, ſeeing you were no more gratefull vnto them,

Agrippa proteſteth that he had omitted no counſell that he thought expedient for the Iewes.

for preſeruing them before. I proteſt before God, your holy Temple, and all the Angels of hea-
uen, and our whole countrie, that I haue kept back no counſell, which I thinke profitable for you.
Now if you conſider of thoſe things which are profitable for you, ye ſhall liue with me in peace:
but if you follow your priuate affections, I will not be partaker of the miſeries, and dangers, you
thruſt your ſelues into. When he had thus ſpoken, hee wept, his ſiſter *Berenice* ſtanding by him,
and by his teares mitigated a great part of their fury. Then they cried that they meant not to bear

armes

A armes againſt the Romanes and *Cæſar*, but againſt *Florus*, for the iniurie he had done them. To this, *Agrippa* anſwered, But your deeds ſhew that you fight againſt the Romanes: for you haue not paid your tribute to *Cæſar*, and you haue burned the porches belonging vnto Antonia; now if you would hide your rebellion, repaire with ſpeed the porches, and pay your tribute: for this fort belongeth not to *Florus*, nor the money. Herewith the people were content: and aſcending into the Temple with *Agrippa* and *Berenice*, they began to reedifie the porches, and the Nobility and Captains gathered the tribute in euery village, and quickly brought forty talents (for ſo much money was behinde.) And thus *Agrippa* appeaſed the beginning of theſe wars. After this, he began to perſwade the people to obey *Florus*, till ſuch time as another were ſent to ſupply his place.

The yeere of the world, 4030. after Chriſts birth, 68.

B Herewith the multitude was ſo mooued, that they contumeliouſly reuiled the King, and threw ſtones at him, and draue him out of the citie. The King ſeeing that their ſedition would not bee quieted, complaining of the iniury done vnto him, ſent the Nobilitie and all the Potentates to *Florus*, who was at Cæſarea, that hee might chuſe whom he would amongſt them to gather the tribute thorow the whole countrie. And ſo he departed into his owne Kingdome.

Agrippa the King is by the people driuen out of the city with ſtones.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the rebellion of the Iewes begun againſt the Romanes.

C AT this time, ſome of the chiefeſt rebels, aſſembled together, ſuddenly aſſault a Caſtle called Maſſada, which at vnawares they tooke, and killed all the Romanes, and in their places put a guard of their owne company. In the Temple alſo, *Eleazar*, ſonne of the high Prieſt *Ananias*, a bold and deſperate young man, Captaine of the ſouldiers, perſwaded them who offered ſacrifices, not to offer any, but thoſe that were giuen by the Iewes. And this was the ground and cauſe of the warres that enſued. For they reiected *Cæſars* ſacrifices, that were wont to bee offered for the good of the Romanes. And although the high Prieſts and people of account requeſted them not to omit that cuſtome of ſacrificing for their Kings and Gouernours, yet they refuſed ſo to doe, truſting greatly to their faction: all the ſtrength of the Citie that deſired alteration, were of their minds, and eſpecially *Eleazar*, who at that time was

The Iewes refuſe Cæſars ſacrifices for the proſperity of the Romanes.

D Generall, as is before ſaid. Wherefore all the Potentates, high Prieſts, and chiefeſt of the Phariſes aſſembled themſelues; and perceiuing into how great dangers thoſe rebels brought the Citie, they determined to make triall of the courage of the ſeditious people: wherefore they aſſembled them together before the brazen gate, which was in the inner part of the Temple toward the East. And firſt of all, they greatly complained of their raſh and vnaduiſed rebellion, and that they ſought to ſtirre vp ſo great warres againſt their countrey, inueighing againſt the cauſe that moued them thereto, as being without reaſon: telling them that their anceſtors for the moſt part, adorned the Temple with the gifts of Gentiles; neuer refuſing the offrings of ſtrangers; and not onely not to haue refuſed their offrings (for that were an impious fact) but alſo placed in the Temple the gifts that they ſent, which were yet to be ſeene. And that now onely to prouoke the Romans

E to warre, and denounce it againſt them, they began to alter Religion: and beſide other dangers alſo, to make the Citie ſeeme guiltie of impietie; as though it were ſuch a one, wherein none might offer ſacrifice but Iewes, nor any but they adore God. If wee ſhould make ſuch a law againſt any priuate perſon, he had iuſt cauſe to accuſe vs of inhumanitie. But now the Romanes were deſpiſed, and *Cæſar* himſelfe accounted prophane: and it was to be feared, that if the Iewes diſdained to accept of *Cæſars* offrings, *Cæſar* would hinder them from offering any: And that the Citie of Ieruſalem would preſently bee accounted as an enemie to the Empire, vnleſſe they preſently accepted *Cæſars* ſacrifice; and before ſuch time as they heard theſe newes againſt whom this outrage was attempted. And hauing thus ſpoken, they brought forth the moſt learned amongſt the Prieſts, to recount from time to time how their anceſtors had alwaies accepted of the ſacrifices

Againſt thoſe who refuſe forraine ſacrifices.

F of ſtrangers.

But none of the rebels gaue eare vnto any thing that was ſaid, and the Leuites came not to ſerue at the Altar; as now preparing for war. When the Nobility ſaw that they could not appeaſe this ſedition, and that they themſelues ſhould firſt feele the Romanes power, they deuiſed all meanes to pacifie the tumult, and ſent ſome as Embaſſadors vnto *Florus*: the chiefe whereof was *Simon*, the ſonne of *Ananias*: other ſome were ſent to *Agrippa*, of which the nobleſt was *Saulus*, *Antipas* and *Coſtobarus*, who were alſo akinne vnto the King, requeſting them both to come with an army into the citie, and ſuppreſſe the ſedition which was raiſed, before it went further. *Florus* was glad

None of the ſeditious gaue eare to thoſe that were in authority. Embaſſadors ſent to Florus and Agrippa, againſt the ſeditious.

The yeere of the world, 4030. after Christs Nativitie, 68.

glad of these tidings, and desiring nothing more then warre, gaue no answer to the Embassadors. But *Agrippa* willing to spare both parts, as well the good as the rebels, and to preserue the Iewes for the Romans, and the Temple for the Iewes, considering it not meet for him to busie himselfe in such affaires, sent 3000. horsemen to aid the people against the rebels. Which horsemen were of Auranitis, Batanæa and Trachon, and made *Darius* their captaine, and *Philip*, son of *Ioachim*, Generall of all the army. These comming into the city, the Nobility, with the high Priests and the rest of the people that desired peace, receiued this succour in good part; and occupied the higher part of the city; for the rebels kept the lower part, and the Temple: so that they instantly fought with darts and slings, and shooting of arrowes; and sometime one rushing vpon another, suddenly they skirmished together. The seditious were more valiant, but the kings souldiers were more skilfull in wars; who chiefly endeauoured to get the Temple, and expell out of it those who prophaned it. And the rebels with *Eleazar* endeuoured, beside that which they had already, to get also into their hands the higher part of the city. Wherefore, during the space of 7. dayes, there continued a great conflict betwixt them, and either part kept that they had. When the celebration of the feast came, cal'd Xylophoria, wherein euery one carrieth wood to the Temple, to keep a fire cõtinually vpon the altar; the rebels would not suffer their enemies to do their deuotion.

War in Ierusalem betwixt the seditious and those that fauoured peace.

Xylophoria a feast.

Now many of the theeues, who carried poyniards vnder their coats, went amongst the weaker multitude, and boldly followed their old practice. The Kings souldiers were ouercome, and forced to leaue the higher part of the City: and the rebels presently comming in, set the Palaces of *Ananias*, *Agrippa*, and *Berenice* on fire, and forthwith went to the place where all charters were kept, purposing there to burne all bonds and obligations of debters; thereby to defraud the creditors, and so to ioyne all the debters with their faction, and stir vp all the poore people against the rich. But the keepers of these publike writings fleeing, the seditious persons set all on fire: and so hauing destroyed as it were the strength of the city, they addrest themselues against such as resisted their proceedings. Some of the high Priests and nobles hid themselues in vaults; others fleeing with the Kings souldiers into the higher Palace of the King, soone lockt vp the doores after them; amongst whom was *Ananias* the high Priest, and *Ezechias* his brother, and they who (as is before spoken) were sent Embassadors to *Agrippa:* and so the seditious were satisfied that day with the victory, and firing of the houses aforesaid.

The Kings souldiers are ouercome.

The next day, which was the fifteenth of August, they assaulted the Castle Antonia: and besieging it two dayes, they tooke all that guarded it and killed them; and placed in it a Garrison of their owne company. This done, they went vnto the Kings Palace, whither *Agrippas* souldiers were fled: and diuiding their company into foure parts, they began to cast downe the wals: none of them that were within durst come out for feare of the multitude, but went vp to the turrets of the Palace, and killed all those that offred to come vp, and many of the theeues vnder the walles, with things that they cast downe. This conflict continued day and night; for the rebels thought that those which were within could not hold out for want of victuals: and they within thought that the seditious being wearied would soone giue ouer. In the meane season, one *Manahemus*, the sonne of *Iudas* of Galilæa (that most crafty subtile sophister, who reuiled the Iewes in *Cyrenius* time for paying tribute, and would be subiect to any but to God) taking with him certaine Nobles, went vnto Massada, where King *Herods* armory was, and breaking into it, he armed the common people and other theeues; and hauing them for his guard, he returned againe to Ierusalem as King: and when he was made Prince of that sedition, he disposed of the battery of the fortresses. But they wanted engines, neither could they openly vndermyne the wals of the aduersaries, who continually cast downe darts: wherefore, they began a myne a great way off, till it came vnder one of the towers which was supported by posts of wood, and they set fire on the wood supporting it, and went their way: so the supporters being consumed with fire, the tower presently fell downe, and there appeared a very high wall within. For those within, perceiuing their aduersaries intent, perhaps by the shaking of that tower, presently builded this wall to keep out the rebels betweene them and it. The seditious, verily thinking that with the fall of the tower they should be victors, when they saw another wall, were amazed. And the Kings souldiers were sent vnto *Manahemus*, and others that were chiefe of the rebels, requesting them to haue licence to depart. Which *Manahemus* granted onely to the Kings souldiers, and those of his owne countrey, who presently accepting thereof, departed, and so left the Romanes in great feare. For they were not able to resist so great a multitude, and they thought it a shame to intreat that they might depart, thinking that it were dangerous for them, although it were granted. Wherefore leauing the lower place which was cald Stratopedon, because it might easily be taken, they fled into the Kings

The Iews take Antonia and burne it.

Manahemus the chiefe of the rebels, giues the Kings faction and friends, licence to depart.

The Romans forsaking the Stratopedon, flee into the Kings forts.

A Kings towers, whereof one was called *Hippicos*, the other *Phaſaelus*, the third *Mariamme*. The Rebels that were with *Manahemus* brake preſently into the lower part that the Romans had forſaken, and kild all that they found there, and when they had ſackt it, they ſet it on fire: And this was done the ſixt day of September.

The yeere of the world, 4030. after chriſts birth, 68.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the death of ANANIAS *the High Prieſt,* MANAHEMVS *and the Roman ſouldiers.*

B THe next day following, *Ananias* the high Prieſt was taken in one of the water Conduits of the Kings Palace, where he hid himſelfe, and was there kild with his brother *Ezechias* by theſe theeues: and the Rebels beſieged all the towers round about, and kept diligent watch, leſt any of the Romans ſhould eſcape. But *Manahemus*, both for his good ſucceſſe in deſtroying the ſtrong holds, as alſo with the death of *Ananias* the high Prieſt, became proud and cruell: and thinking none ſo wiſe as himſelfe, in thoſe affaires, became an intolerable tyrant. Now two of *Eleazars* companions roſe vp and communed together, that it did not become them that rebelled againſt the Romans (onely to recouer their liberty) that they ſhould be traitors thereof to their owne companions, who were of the ſame condition, and that they ſhould indure C a King or Lord ouer them, who although he be no ſeuere man, yet he was of more abiect & baſe condition then they. If it were ſo, that it were expedient to haue one Ruler ouer all the reſt; they had rather haue any one then *Manahemus:* and being thus agreed, they ſet vpon him in the Temple, where he was praying with great pompe, apparelled like a King, and hauing about him a guard of his friends in armour. Now when *Eleazar* his followers ſet vpon *Manahemus*, the people did alſo throw ſtones at him, and ſo ſtoned him, hoping that by his death the ſedition would be extinguiſhed. The guard of *Manahemus* at firſt made ſome reſiſtance; but when they perceiued the whole multitude againſt them, euery one ſhifted for himſelfe as he could, and thoſe that were taken were put to death, and they that eſcaped were afterward ſought for: only a few of them fled to Maſſada, amongſt whom was *Eleazar*, the ſon of *Iairus*, the ſon of *Manahemus* kinſD man, and afterward in Maſſada became a tyrant. But *Manahemus* fled into a place called Ophias, where he baſely hid himſelfe: and being taken, he was drawne out from thence, and after many torments put to death, and with him, all the Nobility that had aſſiſted him, as alſo *Abſalomon*, who was his onely helper. And in this matter (as I haue ſaid) the people greatly helped, hoping hereby to haue ſome end of that ſedition. But the Rebels did not kill *Manahemus*, to the end to extinguiſh ſedition, but to the intent to rob and ſpoile more freely.

The death of Ananias the high Prieſt, & of Ezechias his brother.

Eleazar his followers aſſault Manahem in the Temple.

Manahem with the Princes ſlaine.

The people with many intreaties beſought them to let the Romans alone, whom they did beſiege, but they were ſo much the more earneſt againſt them: till they being no longer able to make reſiſtance, with the conſent of *Metilius* their Captaine, and ſome other of more authority, ſent vnto *Eleazar*, requeſting him to giue them licence to depart with their liues, and leaue their E munition to the Iewes. Who accepting their petition, ſent vnto them *Gorion*, the ſon of *Nichodemus*, and *Ananias* the Saducee, and *Iudas* the ſonne of *Ionathas*, to confirme the promiſe of their liues. Which done, *Metilius* led away the ſouldiers: and whil'ſt the Romans had their weapons, none of the Rebels durſt attempt any of their treachery againſt them: but ſo ſoone as euery one according to couenant laid down their ſhields and ſwords, and ſo departed miſtruſting nothing, *Eleazars* guard ſet vpon them, and kild them, who neither made reſiſtance, nor any intreatie for their liues, onely putting them in mind of their promiſe and oath. So they were all ſlaine ſaue onely *Metilius*, who greatly intreated for his life; and promiſing that he would become a Iew in religion, and be circumciſed, they ſpared him. Yet was this a ſmall loſſe to the Romans, who onely had then but a very few ſlaine of their great and almoſt infinite armie: and this ſeemed the F very beginning of the Iewes captiuitie.

The Romans vnable any longer to reſiſt, yeeld themſelues.

The Romans againſt all couenant & law are all ſlaine, ſaue Metilius.

When they ſaw themſelues to haue giuen ſufficient cauſe of wars, and too great, and that the Citie was now ſo filled with iniquity, that the wrath of God did hang ouer it, though there had been no feare of any harme to them by the Romans, yet the whole City mourned, and was ſorrowfull, and quietly minded, lamenting as though they themſelues ſhould anſwer for the ſeditious, for that murder which was committed on the Sabbath, when it is not lawfull for the Iewes to doe any good worke.

Slaughter on the Sabbath Day.

CHAP.

The yeer of the world, 4030. after Christs birth, 68.

Chap. XIX.

Of the great massacre of the Iewes at Cæsarea, and in all Syria.

AT the same houre on the selfe-same day, it hapned, as it were by Gods prouidence, that the inhabitants of Cæsarea did massacre the Iewes that dwelt among them; so that at one time aboue 20000. were slaine, and not one Iew left aliue in all Cæsarea. For those that escaped, *Florus* tooke, and brought them forth bound vnto the people. After this massacte done at Cæsarea, the whole nation of the Iewes waxed mad: and diuiding themselues into companies, they wasted and destroyed in short time all the borders of Syria, and the cities therabout, to wit, Philadelphia and Gebonitis, Gerasa, Pella and Scythopolis, and then they made incursion into Gadara, Hippon and Gaulanitis, pulling down some places, and firing other some. And from thence they marched towards Cedasa, a city of the Tyrians, and Ptolemais, Gaba and Cæsarea: and neither Sebaste, neither Ascalon could resist them, but they also were consumed with fire. Likewise they destroyed Anthedon, with Gaza, and most places adioyning to these Cities were sacked, to wit, the fields and villages, and a mighty slaughter was made of them that were taken in these places. The Syrians made as great a massacre of the Iewes as this among them: for all the Iewes inhabiting among them were murdred, not only for an old grudge, but also for the auoiding of imminent danger. And all Syria was troubled in most grieuous maner, and euery city was diuided into two parts, and either parts safety consisted in this, to preuent the other in murdering them first: the daies were spent in bloodshed, and the nights in feare, worse then death it selfe. For though they onely pretended to destroy the Iewes, yet were they drawne to suspect other nations, that followed the Iewes religion; and becaus they were as it were neuters, the Syrians thought it not good to destroy them: and againe, for their agreeing in religion with the Iewes, they were constrained to hold them as enemies. Many of the contrary part, who before seemed modest, were now through auarice incited to meddle in this murder, for euery one tooke the goods of them that were slaine, and carried them to other places as conquerors. And he was most renowned that had stolen most, as hauing also kild most. There might you see in euery part of the city the dead bodies of all ages vnburied, old men and children, and women lying in most shamefull manner, their secret parts being vncouered. Briefely, all the country was filled with exceeding great calamity, and the feare of misery to come was vnspeakeable.

The Iewes spoile the villages & burne the Cities of Syria.

All Syria full of miserable calamities.

And these were the conflicts betweene the Iewes and strangers. But afterward making incursion vpon the borders of Scythopolis, the Iewes there dwelling were their enemies. For they conspiring with the citizens of Scythopolis, and preferring their owne commodity and security before their kinred and consanguinity, ioyned with the Gentiles against the Iewes, who for all that, were suspected for their forwardnes. Finally, the Scythopolites fearing that they would assault the city by night, and excuse their reuolting by their great misery, they commanded all the Iewes, that if they would shew themselues trusty vnto the Gentiles, they with all their children should goe into a wood hard by: who forthwith did as they were wild, suspecting nothing, and the Scythopolites were quiet for two daies after, and did nothing: But the third night they sent forth scouts to see what they were doing: who finding some of them asleepe, and others not resisting, they surprized them in a moment, and kild them all, who were in number thirteene thousand, and afterward took their goods. I thinke it not amisse to speake of the death of *Simon*, who was the sonne of *Saul*, a man of regard: he was a man of great courage, and strength of bodie, both which he vsed to the great hurt of his owne nation: for he daily killed many Iewes, who dwelt neere vnto Scythopolis, and he alone often scattred diuers companies, and put whole armies to flight; who had an end worthie of his deeds, and murdering of his countreymen. For when the Scythopolites had compassed the wood about, so that none could escape their hands, they killed the Iewes in euery part thereof. *Simon*, drawing his sword, made no resistance to any of his enemies: for he saw that it was bootlesse to striue against such a multitude. Then pittifully crying out, I receiue, O Scythopolits, a worthy reward for that which I haue done, who to shew my fidelity towards you, haue kild so many of mine own countrimen: and it is a iust plague that a strange nation should be false to vs, who impiously forsook our own brethren. I will do therfore as a profane person, killing my self with my own hands, and this death will be a sufficient punishment for my offences, and a full argument of my magnanimitie, that none of my enemies may boast of my death, nor insult ouer me. When he had thus said, he beheld all his family with compassion

Iewes against Iewes.

The Scythopolitans kill 13000. Iewes.

Simon daily killeth many of his countriemen in Scythopolis.

A passion & rage mixt together: he had a wife and children, & aged parents. And first taking his father by the haire of the head, stood vpon him, and thrust him thorow; after him he kild his mother, who was willing to die; after them his wife & children, euery one of them as it were offring their bodies to the sword, desirous to preuent the enemies. When he had slain all his kinred, himselfe remaining aliue, he stretcht forth his arme that they might see what he would do, & thrust his sword into his own body vp to the hilts. A yong man, who for his magnanimity & strength of bodie was worthie to be pitied, had yet a iust and deserued end for trusting forraine nations.

The yeere of the world, 4030. after Christs birth, 68.

Simon kils his parents, his wife and children, and at last himselfe.

Chap. XX.

B *Of another grieuous slaughter of the Iewes.*

After this so great a massacre of the Iewes in Scythopolis, other cities also did rise against them where they inhabited, and 2000. and 500. were slaine at Ascalon, and 2000. at Ptolemais, and the Tyrians kild diuers, and kept many in prison: Likewise, they of Gadara and Hippon slew the most valiant, and those of least courage they cast into prison. Also all other cities, who either feared or hated the Iewes, rose vp against them. Onely they of Antiochia, Sidonia and Apamia, spared them that dwelt with them, and neither kild nor imprisoned any of them: perhaps they stood in no feare of them if they should haue risen, because their city was so populous: yet I thinke they spared them only for pitie sake, because they saw they were quiet, and C not seditious. The inhabitants also of Gerasa did no harme to the Iewes amongst them: but when they desired to depart, they conducted them safely to the end of their borders. In the Kingdome also of *Agrippa* much crueltie was shewed against the Iewes: for he being gone to *Cestius Gallus* at Antiochia, left the rule of his country to one of his friends named *Varus*, kinsman to King *Sohemus*; and there came vnto him 70. of the chiefe Nobilitie of the countrey Batanæa, requesting a garrison to represse those that should attempt rebellion amongst them. *Varus* sent certaine of the Kings souldiers armed, and kild them all as they were comming to him. But he did this impietie without *Agrippa* his consent, onely for auarice: and as it were emboldned by this fact, he ruinated the whole Realme, still continuing such crueltie and impietie against his nation, till such time as *Agrippa* vnderstood thereof, who, for *Sohemus* sake, durst not put him D to death, but dispossessed him of his place. In the meane while the Rebels tooke the fort called Cyprus, which is situate aboue Iericho, and after they had kild the garrison, they destroied the fortresse. At the same time a multitude of Iewes laid siege before the Castle of Macheron, and perswaded the souldiers left in garrison, to yeeld the Castle: who, fearing that if they denied they should be compelled thereto, deliuered it vnto them; vpon condition, that they might quietly depart: and they of Macherunt placed a strong guard within it.

Another slaughter of the Iewes.

The cities in armes against the Iewes.

Varus kils 70. Iewes in their iourney.

The Romans yeeld vp their castle in Marichunte to the Iewes.

Chap. XXI.

How the Iewes were slaine at Alexandria.

E The Citizens of Alexandria had alwaies a quarrel against the Iewes that liued with them, since the time that that famous *Alexander* vsed their helpe against the Ægyptians, and therefore permitted them to inhabit in Alexandria, and to haue the same priuiledges that the rest of the Citizens had. And this honour was also continued with them vnto the time of the successors and heires of *Alexander*: who also gaue them a certaine place in the city to dwel in, that there they might liue more commodiously. The Gentiles hauing nothing to doe among them, permitted them also to call themselues Macedonians. And afterward, when Egypt was brought vnder the rule of the Romans, neither *Cæsar*, nor any one else, did diminish the Iewes dignitie in that place which *Alexander* had giuẽ them. So that now there were daily conflicts between them and the Greeks: and although the Iudges on both parts still punisht them that were F in fault, yet the sedition more and more encreased; and when all cities else were filled with troubles, there the tumult was more vehement. For when the Alexandrians had called together the people to determine of an Embassage to *Nero*, certaine Iewes mingled themselues amongst the Greeks, and so went into the Amphitheater: who being espy'd by their aduersaries, the Greeks cried out, that the Iewes were enemies, and came as spies, and so laid violent hands vpon them. Some of them fled, onely three of them were taken by the Greekes, whom they drew to a place to burne them aliue. All the Iewes of the citie came to succour them, and first they threw stones at them, and then taking fire-brands, they ranne in a rage into the Amphitheater, and threatned

Sedition in Alexandria betweene the Greeks and Iewes.

to

The yeere of the world, 4030. after Christs birth, 68.

Tiberius Alexander exhorteth the seditious Iewes to keep peace.

to burne all the people there assembled: which they had done, if *Tiberius Alexander* Gouernour of the City had not appeased their fury; who did not at the first vse force of armes against them, but sent their nobility to perswade them to cease, and not incite the Roman army against them. But the seditious Iewes refused his admonition, and mocked *Tiberius*: who seeing that they would not otherwise be appeased, sent two legions of armed Romans against them which were in the City, and with them 5000. other souldiers, who by chance came out of Lybia to this massacre of the Iewes: and *Tiberius* gaue them charge not onely to kill them, but also to fire their houses, and take their goods. The souldiers presently went into the place called Delta (for there the Iewes were gathered together) and did as they were commanded, and not without bloody victory. For the Iewes, gathering themselues together, put those amongst them that were best armed in the forefront, who held out for a long time; but when they began to flee, they were massacred like beasts, and some of them were killed in the field, some were burned in their houses, the Romanes first taking what they found, neither sparing infants nor old men, but killing all ages. So that all that place flowed with blood, for there were slaine 50000. Iewes: and all the rest had bin extinguished, had not *Alexander* (moued to compassion by their intreaties) commanded the souldiers to leaue off; who being obedient vnto him, presently departed: but the people of Alexandria were hardly withdrawne from that massacre, because of the hatred which they had conceiued against the Iewes: and with much adoe were withheld from tyrannizing ouer the dead bodies. And this befell the Iewes of Alexandria.

A cruell victory, wherein 50000. Iewes are slaine.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the massacre of the Iewes by CESTIVS GALLVS.

Huge companies of the Romanes.

Cestius Gallus now thought it time to bestirre himselfe, forasmuch as the Iewes were now hated euery were: and taking with him the twelue whole legions out of Antiochia, two thousand chosen footmen, and foure companies of horsemen out of euery one of the other legions; and with them the Kings forces that came to help him, to wit, two thousand horsemen of Antiochia, three thousand foot all bowmen, and three thousand footmen sent by *Agrippa*, a thousand horse, and foure thousand which *Sohemus* brought, whereof the third part were horse, the rest foot, and for the most part bowmen; he went towards Ptolemais: and many ioyned themselues to them out of euery City, who, though they were not so skilfull in war as the Romans, yet their hatred was more then theirs. *Agrippa* himselfe was there with *Cestius*, being ruler of those he brought. There *Cestius* taking a part of the army, went to Zabulon (which is the strongest city of Galilæa, cald also Andron, and parts the borders of the Iewes from Ptolemais) and when he found it desolate (for the inhabitants thereof fled into the mountaines) who left it full of all riches; giuing licence to the souldiers to sacke it, he afterwards set it on fire, although he admired the beauty therof (for it was built like Tyre and Sidon, and Berytum) and after spoiled all the territories about it. Likewise, when he had burnt all the villages thereabout, he returned to Ptolemais. The Syrians, and especially those of Beryth, staid still behind to get booties: which when the Iewes vnderstood, and that *Cestius* was departed, they tooke courage, and came and set vpon them, and kild of them 2000. In the meane while *Cestius* departed from Ptolemais, and went to Cæsarea, and sent part of his army to Ioppe, commanding them to keep the towne if they could get it: and if the townsmen made any resistance, that then they should stay till he came with the rest of the army. Some of them went by sea, some by land, by which means they did easily take Ioppe: so that the people thereof had neither time to flee, nor to prepare themselues to fight; and setting on them, they killed all men with their families: and thus sacking the towne, they set it on fire, and there were slaine 8000. and 400. In like manner he sent part of his horsemen to Narbatena in the Toparchy neere Samaria, who spoiled the countrey, kild a great number of inhabitants, robd and burnt the villages, and carried away a great booty with them.

Zabulon, a strong City of Galilee, spoiled and burnt.

The Iewes kil 2000. Syrians.

The Romanes take Ioppe, & burne it, and kill 8000. and 400.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of CESTIVS *his battell against Ierusalem.*

Sephoris and other cities of Galilee doe friendly entertaine the Romanes.

HE sent also *Cæsennius Gallus*, Generall of the twelfth legion, into Galilee, and gaue him as great an army as he thought sufficient to conquer that nation, whom the strongest city of Galilee called Sephoris courteously entertained, and other cities followed their example.

A example. They that were ſeditious and gaue themſelues to robbing, fled into the mountain which is ſituate in the midſt of Galilee againſt Sephoris, called Aſamon: theſe *Gallus* incountred with his army; who, ſo long as they kept the higher part of the mountaine, eaſily reſiſted the Romans, and killed aboue 200. of them: but when they ſaw the Romans had occupied a higher place then that wherein they kept, they eaſily were ouercome: for not being armed, they could not ſtand out, and if they ſhould haue fled, they could not haue eſcaped the horſemen, ſo that onely a few hid themſelues in difficult places, and aboue 2000. of them were ſlaine. *Gallus* perceiuing all Galilee in peace, and not minded to reuolt, returned with his cõpanies vnto Cæſarea, and *Ceſtius* with his whole army went to *Antipatris*: where vnderſtanding that a great cõpany of Iewes were gathered
B together in the tower called Aphecy, he ſent ſome before to skirmiſh with them: but the Iewes would not abide battell, and the ſouldiers burned their tents, and the villages adioyning. *Ceſtius* went from thence to Lydda, and found the city deſolate, for all the people were gone vnto Ieruſalem, becauſe of the feaſt of Tabernacles: and when he had killed fifty perſons whom he found there, he fired the towne, and went no further: and going by Bethoron, he pitched his Tent in Gabaus, which is fifty furlongs diſtant from Ieruſalem. When the Iewes ſaw themſelues in danger, they left the ſolemnity, and prepared themſelues for warre: and hauing a great multitude, they went to fight, obſeruing no order, altogether with indiſcreet cries, not regarding the Sabbath, which they hold in great eſtimation: and the ſame fury, that made them leaue their deuotion, made them alſo victorious in that battell; for they aſſaulted the Romans with ſuch a courage, that
C they brake their battell aray: and killing all that reſiſted, they preſſed into the midſt thereof: and if a freſh ſupply both of horſe and foot had not come in time, all *Ceſtius* army had beene in great danger. So there were ſlaine fiue hundred and fifty Roman ſouldiers, and foure hundreth of them were foote, and the reſt were horſemen, but of the Iewes but two and twenty. The moſt valiant in this combate were, *Monobazus* and *Cenedæus*, kinſmen to King *Monobazus* of Adiabena, and next to them *Paraides Niger*, and *Silas* a Babylonian, who fled vnto the Iewes from King Agrippa, whom he had lately ſerued: and ſo the Iewes being repulſed, returned into Ieruſalem; and *Simon* the ſonne of *Giora* inuaded the Romanes, as they were returning towards Bethoron, and ſlew many of the rereward, and tooke many carts, and much baggage withall, which he brought into the citie. *Ceſtius* ſtaied three daies in the field, and the Iewes kept the high places, eſpying which
D way he went, purpoſing not to be quiet if the Romanes departed.

The yeere of the world, 4030. after Chriſts birth, 68.

Two thouſand ſeditious ſlain in Galilee by the Romanes.

Antipatris ſpoiled and burned.

Lydda burnt.

Ceſtius planteth his army fifty furlongs from Ieruſalẽ.

The aſſault & victory of the Iewes againſt the Romans.

The courage of the Iewes againſt the Romanes.

CHAP. XXIIII.

Of the ſiege of Ieruſalem by CESTIVS, *and of the maſſacre.*

A*Grippa* perceiuing the Romanes to be in great danger, for that all the mountaines were couered with infinite numbers of the Iewes, hee purpoſed to trie, if through few words hee could perſwade them to deſiſt from warre; or if any refuſed, to receiue thoſe that were willing. Wherefore hee ſent vnto them *Borcæus* and *Phœbus*, whom they well knew, aſſuring and promiſing them pardon from *Ceſtius*, and from the Romanes, of all that they had al-
E ready done, if they would now lay downe their armes, and ioyne with them. But the rebels fearing that all the multitude, in hope of ſafety, would ioyne with *Agrippa*, determined to kill the Legats, and ſlew *Phœbus* before he ſpake any word, and *Borcæus* being wounded, eſcaped. But the people were angry hereat, and with ſtones and clubs draue them into the towne that were the authors of this fact. *Ceſtius* perceiuing them at ods amongſt themſelues, thought that he had now a fit opportunity to aſſault them, and ſo came vpon them with his whole army: and putting them to flight he purſued them vnto Ieruſalem. And when he had pitched his Tents in the place called Scopus, he departed ſeuen furlongs from the city, and did nothing againſt the city for three daies ſpace; perhaps hoping that they within would relent: and then ſending a great many ſouldiers into the villages adioyning to fetch corne, the fourth day, which was the thirtieth of October,
F he came againſt the city with his army in battell aray. The people of the Iewes were kept in awe by the rebels, who terrified by the Romane diſcipline, forſooke the outmoſt parts of the city, and fled into the innermoſt part of the Temple. *Ceſtius* paſſing Betheza, burned Cænopolis and the new market place, and comming vnto the higher part of the city, he pitched his tent nere the Kings Palace: and if at that time he had violently iſſued in at the wals, he had taken the city and ended the wars. But *Tyrannus Priſcus* Generall of the footmen, and many other rulers & captains of the horſemen, being hired with money by *Florus*, hindred that his purpoſe, whereby the wars were ſo prolonged, and a thouſand calamities befell the Iewes. In the meane time many of the

The rebels kill one of the Kings Embaſſadors: another of them eſcaped being wounded.

Ceſtius draweth forth his whole army againſt the Iewes.

The yeere of the world, 4030. after christs birth, 68.

chiefeſt among the Iewes, and *Ananus* the ſonne of *Ionathas*, called *Ceſtius*, as though they would haue opened him the gates: but he was angry and ſcarce truſted them, till at laſt they delaied the time ſo long, that the rebels perceiued this treaſon, and caſt *Ananus* down the wall, and with ſtones draue his complices into their houſes. Which done, they retired themſelues into the towers, from whence they beat back thoſe that ſcaled the wals. The Romans for fiue daies ſpace aſſaulted the walles on euery ſide, but all in vaine; and the ſixt day, *Ceſtius* with many choſen ſouldiers and Bowmen aſſaulted the Temple on the North ſide. The Iewes valiantly made reſiſtance out of the porches, and often repulſed the Romans approching the wals: yet at laſt they, with the multitude of their aduerſaries darts, were forced to giue back. Then the Romans that went before, hauing their ſhields vpon their heads, leaned againſt the wal, & they in the ſecond place held their ſhields againſt theirs in the firſt, and ſo in order vntill the laſt, therby making as it were a couering as the Romans call it, or defence, that all their ſhot and darts could doe them no harme; ſo that the ſouldiers did ſafely vndermyne the wals, and attempted to fire the gates of the Temple.

Diuers Iewes cal for Ceſtius as if they intended to open their gates vnto him.

The Romans couer themſelues with their ſhields, & vndermyne the wals and burne the Temple gates.

Now the ſeditious people were hereat greatly amazed, and many fled out of the City, as though it would preſently be taken. And the good were hereby encouraged, as much as the rebels were diſmaied, and came vnto the gates to open vnto *Ceſtius*, who had well deſerued at their hands. And truely if he had but a little longer continued his ſiege, he had taken the Citie. But I think that God being angry with the wicked, would not ſuffer the warres to be ended at that time: for *Ceſtius* neither regarding the good-will of the people, nor the deſperation of the rebels, remoued his army from thence; and hauing receiued no loſſe, very vnaduiſedly departed from the Citie: at whoſe vnlooked for flight, the rebels tooke heart; and making after him, they killed the horſemen and footmen that came laſt. And then *Ceſtius* went to the Tents which he had fortified in Scopion. The next day he went further into the countrey; whereby hee more encouraged the rebels, who following him, killed many of his rereward. Afterward, either end of the army being well ſtrengthned, the Iewes aſſaulted them that were behinde, and the laſt durſt not caſt any darts againſt them, who wounded them on their backes, thinking that an infinite multitude had followed them; and they were not able to reſiſt them that aſſaulted them on each ſide, being as it were heauy, and not daring to breake their order; on the contrary, ſeeing the Iewes ſo actiue and apt to skip to and fro: ſo that the Romanes endured much harme at the hands of their enemies, and did them none; and thus were they beaten all the way along, and many of them killed, amongſt whom was *Priſcus* Captaine of the ſixt legion, and *Longinus* the tribune, and *Aemilius Iucundus* Captaine of a troupe of horſemen. And ſo with much adoe, they came vnto Gabio; where they firſt pitcht their Tents, caſting away much of their baggage, which might any way hinder them. *Ceſtius* ſtaied there two dayes, doubtfull what to doe: the third day he perceiued his enemies to be increaſed, and all places about to be filled with Iewes: whereby he ſaw that his ſlow haſte was to his diſaduantage, and the number of his enemies would ſtill increaſe, if he made any longer abode there. Wherefore that he might flye ſpeedily, he cauſed the ſouldiers to caſt away all thoſe things that might any way be a hindrance vnto them, and killed their Mules and Aſſes, and cattell, ſauing onely thoſe that bare munition; fearing that if he ſhould not deſtroy them, the Iewes might make vſe of them againſt him, and ſo hee led the army toward Bethoron. The Iewes in large paſſages little moleſted his army: but when they were to paſſe a ſtreight, then they killed them of the rereward, and thruſt other ſome downe into the valley, and all the army of the Iewes were ſpred vpon the eminent places, whereby the army was to paſſe, expecting to welcome them with arrowes. Where the footemen amazed, and bethinking how to helpe themſelues, the horſemen were brought into great danger: for they could not keepe their rankes for darts and arrowes, neither could they go to hurt their enemies, the aſcent vnto the toppe of the mountaines was ſo ſteep: and they were compaſſed on each ſide with rockes and deep valleies, ſo that if any went out of the way, he fell down & was killed, in ſo much as there was no way to flye nor to reſiſt. Now not knowing what to doe, they began to weep, and crie out as men in deſperation: and the Iewes anſwered them with an encouraging one another to play the men; being glad of their enemies aduerſitie, and cruelly bent againſt them: and all the army of *Ceſtius* had there periſhed, had not the night come on and helped them, which by her darkneſſe gaue leaſure to the Romanes to flye into Bethoron. In the meane while, the Iewes kept all the places thereabouts beſieged, and guarded the paſſages. *Ceſtius* ſeeing it not poſſible to march openly, thought it beſt to flye, and choſe almoſt foure hundred of his ſtrongeſt ſouldiers, and ſet them in very eminent places, commanding them that when they were aloft, they ſhould crie as they did before, that the Iewes might thinke that the whole army was there, and ſo he with the reſt of his army marched

Ceſtius ſudden departure maketh the theeues more confident.

The Iewes purſue their enemies, and bring them into a deſperate eſtate.

The mourning and lamentation of the Romanes, and the Iewes exhortation.

Ceſtius ſtratagem.

A ched quietly 30. furlongs. In the morning the Iewes perceiuing the Romans to be fled, assaulted the 400. wherby they were deceiued, & presently killing thē with darts, forthwith they followed *Cestius:* who hauing fled a great way in the night, made more haste the next day, so that the soldiers for feare left their rams and instruments to beat downe the wals, and slings, and much other munition; which the Iewes taking, after vsed against them. And thus they followed the Romans vnto Antipatris: and seeing they could not ouertake them, they returned, bringing with them the warlike instruments, and rifling those that were slaine, and taking whatsoeuer the Romans had left behind; and so singing songs of victory, they returned vnto Ierusalem, hauing lost very few of their companie, and slaine fiue thousand, and three hundreth and eightie of the foot-
B men of the Romans, and their helpers; and nine hundreth and fourescore horsemen. And this was done vpon the eight day of October, and in the twelfth yeere of the raigne of *Nero.*

The yeer of the world, 4030. after christs birth, 68.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the cruelty of those of Damascus against the Iewes, and of IOSEPHS *affaires in Galilee.*

INcontinently after *Cestius* aduerse fortune, many of the chiefest amongst the Iewes daily fled and forsooke the Citie, as a ship presently ready to sinke. *Costobarus* and *Saul* two bre-
C thren, and *Philip* the sonne of *Ioachim* Generall of *Agrippas* army, fled out of the Citie and yeelded themselues vnto *Cestius.* As for *Antipas*, who was also besieged with them in the Kings Palace, he would not flye with the rest, and so was killed by the Rebels. But *Cestius* sent *Saul* and the rest of his company into Achaia vnto *Nero*, to let him vnderstand the cause of their flight, and to shew how *Florus* had caused all these wars: for so he hoped that *Nero* would bend his wrath against *Florus*, and quit him from danger. Then the people of Damascus vnderstanding the death of the Romans, deuised how to destroy the Iewes which inhabited amongst them: and they thought it was easie to be accomplished, for that the Iewes were already assembled in the common baths, for feare of some such matter: yet they mistrusted their women, who all, except a few, were Iewes in religion. Wherefore they tooke great heed to conceale their intent
D from them: and so assaulting the Iewes altogether in a narrow place, and hauing nothing to defend them, they put them all to the sword, who were in number ten thousand. The Rebels that so pursued *Cestius*, returned into Ierusalem, and ceased not to ioyne all vnto them that fauoured the Romans, either by force or by flattery: and assembling themselues in the Temple, they determined to choose a greater number of Captaines. Wherefore *Ioseph* the son of *Gorion*, and *Ananus* the high Priest were appointed rulers of the City, and especially to see the wals therof repaired. *Eleazar* the sonne of *Simon* was put in no authoritie, notwithstanding that he had in his custodie all preies and spoiles taken from the Romans, and *Cestius* his money, and a great part of the publike treasure, because they perceiued him through authority to waxe proud, and his attendants become stately. Yet in time *Eleazar* by money and craft, perswaded the people to obey him in
E all things. And they requested other Captaines to be sent into Idumæa, who were *Iesus* the son of *Sapphas*, and *Eleazar* the sonne of the new high Priest: and they commanded *Niger* who was borne beyond Iordan, to obey these Captaines, who was therefore called *Peraides*, and was then Gouernour of Idumæa. And they neglected not to doe the like by other regions: for *Ioseph* the sonne of *Simon* was sent to Iericho and Manasses beyond the riuer, and *Iohn* the Essean to Tamna, euery one to rule the gouernment of his country as a Toparchy. Lydda, Ioppe, and Ammaus, were annexed to *Iohn* the Essean, and *Iohn* the sonne of *Ananias* was appointed Gouernour of Gophnitis and Acrabatena. And *Ioseph* the son of *Matthias* was made Ruler ouer both Galilees, vnto which was ioyned Gamala the strongest Citie in that coast.

The yeere of the world, 4031. after christs birth, 69.

Diuers of the noblest Iewes forsake the city, as it they had beene in a ship ready to sinke.

The Damascenes kill 10000. Iewes in one houre.

Ioseph the son of Gorion and Ananus the High Priest appointed to gouerne the Citie.

Ioseph the Historiographer Gouernour of both Galilees.

As for other Gouernors, euery one discharged his place according to his wisedome and dexte-
F rity. When *Ioseph* came to Galilee, which was committed to his protection, his first care was to get the good will of the inhabitants, knowing that it might much profit him, although in other matters he had offended. Then considering that he should haue most mighty and assured friends, if he made them partakers of his authority; and likewise get the loue of the common people, if he did esteeme of those things which they should thinke well of; He chose seuentie of the most ancientest wise men amongst them, and made them rulers ouer all Galilee, and elected seuen Iudges ouer the lesser townes to iudge inferiour matters: for he reserued all great affaires and criminall causes to his owne hearing. Moreouer, hauing ordained a forme of iustice that those seuentie

Ioseph makes 70. Elders Rulers in Galilee, and appointeth seuen in euery city to determine the causes of lesse waight.

uentie ſhould follow, he tooke counſell how to worke their outward ſecurity: And being aſſured that the Romans would come into Galilee, he compaſſed thoſe places with ſtrong wals that were fit for his purpoſe, to wit, Iotapata, Berſabea, Selamis, Pereccho, Iapha, and Sigoph, with the mountaine Itaburium, Tarichea, and Tiberias. Moreouer, hee fortified the caues neere the lake Geneſar, which is in lower Galilee, and in high Galilee Petra, which is alſo called Achaberon and Seph, Iamnith, and Mero; in Gaulanitis alſo Seleucia, and Soganes, and Gamala: he only permitted them of Sephoris to build their owne wals, becauſe he perceiued them to be rich and prone to warre of themſelues. Likewiſe *Iohn* the ſon of *Leuias*, at *Ioſephs* command, built the wall of Giſcala himſelfe alone: but in all other places that were fortified, *Ioſeph* put to his helping hand, and told how they ſhould be done. He leuied alſo an army of an hundred thouſand, who were all young men, whom he armed with old armour, which he gathered from all parts of the country: and conſidering that the Roman army was inuincible, for that they were all obedient vnto their rulers, and expert in warre, he could not inſtruct them in martiall diſcipline, other occaſions forcing him to the contrary: but calling to minde that the multitude of rulers made obedience, he ordained many captaines, and conſtituted diuers ſorts of ſouldiers, as the Romans vſed to doe; making ſome gouernors often, otherſome ouer a hundred, and others ouer a thouſand; and appointed likewiſe rulers ouer them. He taught them alſo how to giue the ſigne of warre, and how to ſound the trumpet both to call them to combate, and to retire: how to march in length, and caſt in a ring, and alwaies to ſuccour them that were moſt in danger: and to be ſhort, he taught them whatſoeuer might either incourage them, or make them actiue: but eſpecially he exerciſed them in feates of armes, imitating in particular the order of the Romans, often telling them that they were to fight with men, who for ſtrength of body and courage paſſed all nations of the world. Alſo he told them that hereby he ſhould perceiue whether they would be obedient in warre, if now they abſtained from ſuch things as were vſuall to ſouldiers, to wit, robbing and ſpoiling their countrimen, and crafty and deceitfull dealing; nor thinke the ſpoile of thoſe with whom they conuerſed, to be their owne gaine: for thoſe wars had alwaies beſt ſucceſſe, where the ſouldiers carried good conſciences; and they that were bad, ſhould not onely haue men, but God alſo for their enemy. And after this manner he daily exhorted them, and now he had appointed how many were to fight. For 60000. footmen, and 200. and 50. horſemen, and beſide theſe 4000. and 500. whom he hired, were alwaies in readineſſe, and 600. choſen men to guard his owne perſon. And the hirelings onely excepted, the reſt of the ſouldiers were prouided for by the cities: for euery city before mentioned, ſent one halfe of their men for ſouldiers; and the other halfe they kept to prouide victuals for them, that one part being employed in warre, the other might doe ſuch buſineſſe as the city required.

The yeere of the world, 4031. after chriſts birth. 69.

Ioſeph fortifieth the cõuenient cities with wals.

Ioſeph inſtructeth the Galileans in warre.

Ioſeph teacheth the Galileans how they ſhould obey in the warres.

Euery one of the cities of Galilee ſend the halfe of their multitude to warfare, the reſt they keepe to prouide them victuals.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of IOSEPHS *danger and eſcape, and of the malice of* IOHN *of Giſcala.*

WHileſt *Ioſeph* thus ordered the eſtate of Galilee, there aroſe a traitor borne in Giſcala, the ſon of *Leuias*, whoſe name was *Iohn*, a moſt ſubtill and deceitfull treacher, who by vile meanes was now become the richeſt man in that countrey, being before very poore; whereby for a while he was hindred from putting his villanies in practice: who could lie at his pleaſure and eaſily giue credit vnto lies, who thought deceit to be a vertue, which he vſed euen toward his deareſt friends: and a great counterfeiter of humanity: yet for the hope of gaine became a cruell murtherer. He alwaies aimed at high matters, with an aſpiring mind, and at firſt nouriſhed his hope with ſmall villanies. For firſt he was a thiefe after his owne maner, and liued in woods and ſolitarie places; at laſt he got him a company of audacious people like to himſelfe, at firſt ſmall, but afterward he greatly increaſed it. He alſo had a great care to chooſe no idle perſons, but ſuch as were ſtrong of body, valiant of mind, and skilfull in martiall affaires: of theſe he gathered foure hundreth, the moſt of them out of Tyre, and the villages thereabout: and with them he waſted all Galilee, and put many in mind of the miſerable wars to come. This man a long time before deſired to be Gouernor of the army: and aſpired to greater matters, only the want of money hindred him: and perceiuing that *Ioſeph* tooke delight in his induſtrie, he perſwaded him to ſuffer him to build the wals of that place where he was born, which was now deſolate; and to accompliſh this, he gathered great ſummes of money of the richer ſort. Then he deuiſed another ſhift: for hauing perſwaded the Iewes that were diſperſed ouer all Syria, that they

Iohn a notable diſſẽbler, and a thirſtie murtherer vnder hope of gaine.

A they ſhould vſe no oile, ſaue onely that which was made by their owne nation, he cauſed diuers veſſels of oile to be brought vnto the confines of Galilee, and buying foure barrels for a piece of Tyrian money (which amounted vnto foure Antique groates) he ſold them againe vnto the Syrian Iewes, the halfe of one barrell for as much as all foure coſt him. And for that Galilee abounded with oiles, and eſpecially at that time, he conueied it to ſuch places where there was great want, and none was brought but by himſelfe. By this meanes he gathered an infinite maſſe of money, which preſently he turned to his preiudice who had giuen him licence ſo to get it. And thinking that if he could depoſe *Ioſeph*, that then he might come to be ruler ouer Galilee, he commanded his followers to robbe and ſpoile more then they did before, and ſo to trouble the

B countrey, that he might either kill the Gouernour, if he ſought to redreſſe it, at vnawares; or if he let all alone, to accuſe him of cowardice to the people for ſo doing. Moreouer, he had already giuen out ſpeeches, that *Ioſeph* went about to betray Galilee to the Romans, and deuiſed many things to this effect to worke *Ioſephs* ouerthrow. It hapned that at that time, ſome of the village of Dabarita, who watched in the field, ſet vpon *Ptolomæus*, who was factor for *Agrippa*, and his ſiſter *Berenice*, and ſpoiled them of all carriage, wherein was much coſtly apparell, and many ſiluer cups, and ſixe hundreth pieces of gold. And for that they could not doe this ſecretly, they brought all the whole bootie to *Ioſeph* at Tarichea: who reprouing them for offering violence vnto the Kings ſeruants, commanded the things to be kept at the houſe of *Aeneas*, who was one of the richeſt men in the towne, who ſhould reſtore them to the owner when time ſerued: wherein

C thinking to doe himſelfe great good, he wrought himſelfe much danger. For the theeues being offended that they receiued no part thereof, and ſeeing that *Ioſeph* would reſtore to *Agrippa* and his ſiſter *Berenice* that which they had laboured to get, they went round about the villages in the night, and ſpred this falſe report in euery place, that *Ioſeph* was a traitour to his countrey, and with the ſame rumour filled the cities thereabout. So that early in the next morning, 100000. armed men came againſt *Ioſeph*. Finally, the multitude aſſembling themſelues together in the Theater at Tarichea, the greateſt part cried out in their choler and fury, that the traitor might be depoſed, or herſome that he might be burned, and *Iohn* himſelfe incited many, and with him one *Ieſus* the ſonne of *Sapphas*, who at that time was Gouernor of Tiberias. All the friends of *Ioſeph* and his guard being terrified with ſuch a multitude, fled, foure onely excepted. But *Ioſeph* in the

D meane while was aſleepe: and had he ſlept a little longer, they had ſet his houſe on fire. Whereupon he aroſe, and the foure that remained with him, counſelled him to flye: but he not diſmaid in that he was left alone, nor for that ſo great a multitude came againſt him, went boldly towards them with his garment all torne and aſhes vpon his head, holding his hands behind him, and his ſword vpon his necke. Whereat they that bare him good will, eſpecially the people of Tarichea, were moued to compaſſion: but the country people and they whom he ouerlaid with taxes and tributes, curſed him, and bad him bring forth the publike treaſure, and confeſſe his treaſon: for becauſe of the attire and habit he came in; they thought he would not haue denied any thing whereof he was accuſed, and that he came ſo to mooue them to compaſſion, and ſo to obtaine pardon for his offence. This his humility ſtood him in good ſtead, for hereby thoſe that

E before were inraged againſt him, now began one to fall out with another in his behalfe, when he promiſed to confeſſe the whole matter: and then obtaining licence to ſpeake, he ſaid: I was neuer minded to ſend backe that money to *Agrippa*, nor to keepe it vnto my priuate vſe. For (God forbid) that I ſhould euer hold him for my friend, who is your open enemy, or that I ſhould ſo ſeeke mine owne profit, that I ſhould thereby damnifie you all. But (O ye men of Tarichea) foraſmuch as I perceiued that your city eſpecially had greateſt need to be fortified, and that you were not able to build the walles, and for that I feared the people of Tiberias, and others adioyning, who ſtill gaped after this prey and wealth that was taken from *Agrippa*; I determined to get thoſe ſpoiles for you to reedifie your walles. If ye miſlike this, I will bring out the treaſure, and giue it to be diuided amongſt you: but if you like thereof, then it appeareth

F how you moleſt him who is your benefactor.

This ſpeech of his well pleaſed the people of Tarichea, and diſpleaſed them of Tiberias; ſo that they breathed out threatnings againſt him. Thus they both left *Ioſeph*, and fought one againſt another. He now hauing many partakers (for the people of Tarichea were almoſt forty thouſand) ſpake more boldly vnto the multitude, and rebuked their temerity; affirming that it was neceſſary to ſtrengthen Tarichea with that preſent money, and that he would alſo prouide to ſtrengthen other cities, and that they ſhould not want money, if they would agree and conſpire together againſt them, from whom they ſhould take it; and not to offer violence vnto him who

The yeere of the world, 4031. after Chriſts birth, 69.

Iohn imploieth the money he got, againſt him by whoſe meanes he gained it.

Agrippas preſident robbed.

An hundreth thouſand armed mē come out againſt Ioſeph.

All Ioſephs friends and guard ſaue 4. fly from him.

Ioſephs oration to the ſeditious.

The yeere of the world, 4031. after Christs birth, 69.

would endeuour to get it. So the reſt of the multitude being deceiued, though they were angry, yet departed; and two thouſand armed men offered to ſet vpon him: but he being already retired into his houſe, they ſtood without, threatning him. Wherefore *Ioſeph* vſed another deuice likewiſe to repreſſe theſe: and getting vp into the top of the houſe, he beckned vnto them with his hand to keepe ſilence; and then ſaid, that he was ignorant what they requeſted at his hands: for he could not heare one for another, becauſe their voyces were confounded through the multitude; but if they would ſend ſome into the houſe to talk friendly with him, he would do whatſoeuer they requeſted. The nobles and magiſtrates hearing this, preſently went into the houſe: whom, when he had led into the innermoſt part of the houſe, hauing ſhut the doores, he cauſed to be beaten, ſo long till that all their bowels appeared: the doores in the meane time being made faſt, the people ſtaied before the houſe, thinking that the cauſe of their long tarrying was, to alledge reaſons to and fro; and preſently *Ioſeph* opening the doores, put them forth amongſt the people all bloody as they were: wherat they were ſo terrified, that leauing their weapons behind them they ran away. Hereat *Iohn* tooke occaſion to encreaſe his enuie; and hauing ill ſucceſſe in this policy, he ſtill attempted other plots to bring *Ioſeph* in danger: and counterfeiting himſelfe ſicke, he requeſted *Ioſeph* to permit him to goe to Tiberias, and vſe the hot baths for to recouer his health. But *Ioſeph* not hauing yet perceiued his treaſon, wrote letters in his behalfe to the gouernour of the towne, willing him to be *Iohns* oaſt, and to let him want nothing that he needed: which he had in good ſort. And two daies after his arriuall there, he went about the buſineſſe, which he came to effect, and entiſed ſome with money, others with flatteries, to reuolt from *Ioſeph*. *Silas* whom *Ioſeph* had made Gouernor of the City vnderſtanding this, he preſently by letters gaue notice thereof to *Ioſeph*: who receiuing them in the night, went to Tiberias, and was there early in the morning, and the reſt of the multitude came out to meete him: but *Iohn* notwithſtanding he iudged that he came againſt him, yet ſtill he counterfaited himſelfe ſick in bed, and ſent a man of his acquaintance to excuſe his abſence for not comming to meete *Ioſeph*. Then *Ioſeph* aſſembled the Tiberians together in a place to ſpeake vnto them, concerning that which was written vnto him: and *Iohn* ſent armed men thither with commandement to kill *Ioſeph*. The people perceiuing them to draw their ſwords, cried out: and *Ioſeph* at their cry looking about him, and perceiuing their ſwords euen almoſt at his throat, he leapt downe a little hill vpon the ſhore, which was ſix cubits high, vpon which he ſtood to ſpeake vnto the people: and going into a boat with two of his guard which he found there, he went into the midſt of the lake, and preſently his guard taking their weapons aſſaulted the traitors. *Ioſeph* fearing that a great conflict would enſue, and ſo the whole city for a few mens fault be deſtroied, ſent to his ſouldiers, charging them onely to worke their owne ſafety and no more, and to kill none, nor reproue any for that wicked fact: who forthwith obeying his command, ceaſed from fight.

Another ſtratageme of Ioſephs againſt the Iewes.

Iohns enuy and treaſon againſt Ioſeph.

Iohn perſwadeth the Tiberians to reuolt from Ioſeph.

Iohn ſendeth certain armed men to kill Ioſeph.

Ioſeph flees in a little boat by the lake.

But they that inhabited about the citie, and heard of the treaſon, and by whom it was attempted, armed themſelues and came againſt *Iohn*: but he before they came, fled into Giſcala, where he was borne. In the meane while, all Galilee came and ioyned with *Ioſeph*, and there were many thouſands of armed men gathered together, affirming that they came againſt *Iohn*, and to fire that citie which had receiued him. *Ioſeph* thanked them for their good will, ſaying that he had rather conquer his enemies by policy, then by fire or ſword; and therefore requeſted them to be content. He alſo publiſhed an edict, wherein he declared that all thoſe that had rebelled with *Iohn*, and did not forſake him within fiue daies next following, ſhould loſe all their liuings, and their manſions ſhould be ſacked, and their houſes & family ſet on fire. Hereupon three thouſand preſently forſooke *Iohn*, and came and caſt downe their weapons before *Ioſephs* feete, proſtrating themſelues before him: ſo that there onely remained with *Iohn* but one thouſand of fugitiue Syrians. By whom *Iohn* being aſſiſted, again went ſecretly to work, hauing ſo ill ſucceſſe by plain dealing: and ſo priuily ſent meſſengers to Ieruſalem, who told that *Ioſeph* had gathered a great armie, and that except he were quickly preuented, he would come and vſurpe the dominion ouer that mother citie. But the people vnderſtanding before of *Iohns* hatred, did not regard it: yet diuers rich men and magiſtrates who enuied *Ioſeph*, ſecretly ſent money vnto *Iohn*, to hire ſouldiers that were ſtrangers, that he might warre againſt *Ioſeph*; and determined amongſt them to diſplace him: and thinking that their decree was not ſufficient to effect it, they ſent moreouer fiue hundreth and foure thouſand armed men, and foure of their principall nobility amongſt them, to wit, *Ioazar* the Lawyer, and *Ananias* the Sadducee, and *Simon* and *Iudas* the ſonnes of *Ionathas*, all very eloquent and learned men, to withdraw the peoples minds from *Ioſeph*; giuing them charge, that if he of his owne accord came vnto them, that then they ſhould permit him to

Iohn fleeth into his country Giſcala. The Galileans flocke to Ioſeph againſt Iohn.

Iohns treaſon againſt Ioſeph

ſpeake

A speake for himselfe: but if he refused so to doe, that then they should hold him as an enemy. *Iosephs* friends at Ierusalem gaue him intelligence, that an army came against him, but for what cause they knew not, for that it was kept secret. And hereupon before he could preuent it, foure Cities did reuolt from him, to wit, Sepphoris, Gamala, Giscala and Tiberias, the which he soone after easily recouered, without any force of armes: and hauing taken the foure captaines and counsellors of his enemies, hee sent them vnto Ierusalem: against whom the people being incensed, would haue killed them, and those that brought them, had they not fled betime.

The yeere of the world, 4031. after Christs birth, 69.

Foure cities of Galilee, submit themselues to Iosephs enemies.

CHAP. XXVII.

B *Tiberias and Sepphoris were recouered by* IOSEPH.

NOvv *Iohn*, for feare of *Ioseph*, kept himselfe within the walles of Giscala: and a few dayes after Tiberias reuolted againe, the inhabitants calling in *Agrippa*, who came not at the day appointed, and yet a few Romane souldiers shewing themselues, they reuolted from *Ioseph*. *Ioseph* vnderstanding this at Tarichea, hauing sent his souldiers to fetch corne, thought it not good to goe alone against the Rebels, neither did he thinke it best to delay the time any longer, fearing that whilest he delayed, King *Agrippa* would come and possesse the towne: for the next day, becausse it was the Sabbath, he could doe nothing. Wherefore he thought to ouercome the Rebels by policie, and so he commanded the gates of Tarichea to be kept shut, that his C intent might not be reuealed vnto them of Tiberias. Then taking all the boates that were in the lake, in number two hundreth and thirtie, and in euery one of them foure saylers, he hastily sayled to Tiberias: and when hee came neere the city, yet so farre off that the inhabitants thereof could not easily descry him, he left all the boates vpon the water emptie, & taking onely seuen of his guard with him, vnarmed, he went neere vnto the city, that they might see him. When the rebels perceiued him, and thought that the boates had beene full of armed men, they cast downe their weapons, and held vp their hands to him, beseeching him to spare the city. *Ioseph*, after many threatning and bitter speeches, first, for that hauing vndertaken warres against the Romanes, they with ciuill wars consumed their owne forces: secondly, for that they had sought his life, who had wrought their safety, and that they were not ashamed to shut the gates against him, who D had builded the city wals: yet (said he) if any would come and talke with him, and confirme a league of their fidelity vnto him, he would not refuse them. So ten of the chiefest among them came vnto him, whom hee carried away in a fisher-boat farre from the citie, and sent for fiftie Senators, as though he requested their promise also. And deuising new causes, he still vnder pretence of agreement sent first for one, and then for another, as he thought good, till he had loaded all the boats: which done, hee commanded all the boatmen with all speed possible to goe to Tarichea, and put them in prison, so that he carried away all the councell, which were in number sixe hundreth and two thousand people, all whom he brought to Tarichea in boates. But they which remained in the Citie, cryed with one voyce, that one *Clitus* was cause of that reuolt, and therefore besought *Ioseph* to punish him for all. *Ioseph* told them that he would put E none of them to death, but commanded one of his guard called *Leuia*, to come and cut off *Clitus* his hands: but he fearing to trust himselfe amongst all his enemies, refused to doe execution. *Clitus* perceiuing that *Ioseph* was angry, and ready to come out of his owne boat to doe it himselfe, besought him to grant him one of his hands: which *Ioseph* did, vpon condition, that hee should cut off the other himselfe. So *Clitus* drawing out his sword with his right hand, cut off his left, being afraid of *Ioseph*; and after this, he returned to Tiberias to bring it againe vnder his subiection: and within a few daies after, he tooke Giscala and Sepphoris, which were reuolted, hauing giuen the spoyles thereof to his souldiers, but yet afterward he restored all that was taken away, vnto the people, and so he did to the inhabitants of Tiberias and Sepphoris: and by this meanes got the good will of them all.

Tiberias is recouered by Ioseph, and saued by a stratagem.

Ioseph with seuen souldiers commeth to Tiberias, and terrifieth his enemies.

Ioseph by a subtill policy tolleth out the chiefest of Tiberias, and carrieth them away in boats to Tarichea.

Clitus the author of the sedition, drawing his sword with his right hand, cut off his left.

F

CHAP. XXVIII.

How the people of Ierusalem *prepared themselues to warre, and of the tyrannie of* SIMON GIORA.

VNtill this time, there were broyles in Galilee: and now ceasing from ciuil dissension, they prepared themselues against the Romans. And the Potentates of Ierusalem, and *Ananus* the high Priest, with all speed renued and repaired the wals, and made all sorts of instruments

The troubled estate of Ierusalem.

The yeere of the world, 4031. after Christs birth, 69.

Simon the ſon of Giora committeth great rapines and murthers in Acrabatena and Idumæa.

ments for warre, arrowes and other weapons; ſo that all the Citie was buſied heerein, and trayned their men in warlike diſcipline. All places were filled with tumults; but the grauer ſort were very penſiue, and many as it were foreſeeing the calamitie that after enſued, burſt out into teares: they that deſired peace, receiued no comfort in any thing: all things were done at their beck, who were cauſe of all this warre. And the eſtate of the Citie euen then before the Romans came, was like a Citie to be deſtroyed. Now *Ananus* omitted that which was neceſſary for war, and laboured to reconcile the ſeditious faction of them that were called Zelous: but how he was ouercome and what his end was, we will declare heereafter. Now one *Simon* the ſonne of *Giora* in the Toparchie of Acrabatena, hauing gathered together a multitude of ſeditious people, robbed and ſpoyled al; and not only brake into rich mens houſes, but alſo did beate them grieuouſly, openly exerciſing his tyranny. But when *Ananus* and the reſt ſent an army againſt him, hee fled vnto his fellow theeues of Maſſada, and there he ſtayed till *Ananus* and the reſt of his enemies were ſlaine: and then he waſted Idumæa with the reſt, ſo that the gouernours of that place were faine to put a garriſon in euery village: ſo great was the number of them that were ſlaine by theſe theeues. And thus ſtood the affaires of the Iewes.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF THE WARRES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the third Booke.

1 *Of the comming of* Veſpaſian *Generall of the Romans into Iudæa, and of the two maſſacres of the Iewes, and how the Sephorites yeelded themſelues to* Veſpaſian.
2 *The deſcription of Galilee, Samaria, and Iudæa.*
3 *Of the helpe ſent vnto them of Sephoris, and of the military diſcipline amongſt the Romanes.*
4 *How* Placidus *aſſaulted* Iotapata.
5 *How* Veſpaſian *inuaded Galilæa, and at his onely preſence how the Galileans fled.*
6 *How* Gabara *was taken.*
7 *How Iotapata was beſieged, and of the ſituation and battery thereof.*
8 *Of the ſiege of Iotapata by* Veſpaſian, *and of* Ioſephs *diligence, and of the excurſions of the Iewes againſt the Romanes.*
9 *How* Veſpaſian *did beate the walles of Iotapata, with a Ramme and other warlike engines.*
10 *How Iotapata was againe aſſaulted.*
11 *How* Traian *and* Titus *tooke Iapha.*
12 *How* Cerealis *ouercame the Samaritans.*
13 *How Iotapata was taken.*
14 *How* Ioſeph *being taken ſaued his owne life.*
15 *How Ioppe was taken againe.*
16 *How Tiberias was yeelded.*
17 *How Tarichea was beſieged.*
18 *Of the lake called Geneſar, and the fountaines of Iordan.*
19 *How Tarichea was deliuered.*

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

The yeere of the world, 4031: after Christs birth, 69.

Of VESPASIANS *comming into Iudæa, and of the massacres of the Iewes.*

AFter that *Nero* vnderstood of his euill successe against the Iewes, he was seized with feare and astonishment; yet he dissembled it as much as necessity would permit him. In the meane-while he set a good face on the matter, and made as though hee were of more courage, saying, that that which happened, was rather by the fault of his Generall, then by the valor of their aduersaries: thinking that it behooued him, who was Emperour, not to shew himselfe mooued with a little bad newes; and the greatnesse of his Empire shewed he had a minde which yeelded to no misfortune. Yet it appeared by the vexation of his spirit that he was much mooued, and in great care vnto whom he should commit the charge of the East, which rebelled; who both would conquer the Iewes, and chastise the inhabitants about them, that bare the same minde as they did. At last, he found *Vespasian*, whom he thought onely meet for that purpose; a man who from his infancy had beene trained vp in warres, euen vntill he was gray-headed, who had appeased the people of the West, and helped them being troubled by the Germanes, and recouered it for the Romanes: as also he did Britanny, which was vnknowne before; and for that cause made his father *Claudius* triumph without taking any paines for it. *Nero* considered all these, and his prudence grounded in old age with his experience, who also had sonnes in the flower of their age to be pledges for his fidelitie, and that represented their fathers wisedome. God, as it should seeme, euen then disposing something of the whole Common-wealth, *Nero* sent him to gouerne the armies in Syria, greatly encouraging him with faire speeches and promises, as at that time need required.

Nero is amazed and afraid at the valiant acts of the Iewes.

Nero sendeth Vespasian to gouern in Syria and direct his warres.

Thus he departed out of Achaia, where he was with *Nero*: and he commanded *Titus* his sonne to leade the fifth & tenth legions from Alexandria, and he himselfe crossing ouer to Hellespont, went after by land into Syria, where he assembled all the Romane forces, and all the helpe of the Kings adioyning that were confederates. But the Iewes after *Cestius* vnfortunate successe became proud of their victory, and could not containe themselues; but like men tossed at Fortunes pleasure, they still gaue more occasion of warre: and gathering all their warlike forces together, they went to Ascalon, which is an old Citie seuen hundreth and twenty furlongs distant from Ierusalem, which the Iewes alwaies hated, for which cause also they first assaulted it. The Gouernours in this expedition, were three men excellent aboue the rest for strength and wisedome, to wit, *Niger* of Peræa, *Silas* the Babylonian, and *Iohn* the Essean. Now the citie of Ascalon had very strong walls, but few men to defend it; for it had onely one company of footmen, and one band of horsmen, whom *Antonius* gouerned. The Iewes made such haste, as though they had dwelt hard by. *Antonius* perswading himselfe that they would assault him, caused his horsemen to issue forth of the citie: and neither fearing the multitude nor the malice of his aduersaries, he valiantly aboad the first assault of the enemies, and beat them backe that attempted to assault the wall. So the Iewes who were vnskilfull, hauing to doe with them that were expert; and they being on foot fighting against horsemen, without order, against those that were in good order, being lightly armed, against their aduersaries who were well prouided, were easily repulsed.

Vespasian and Titus gather great forces against the Iewes.

The Iewes besiege Ascalon.

Antonie fighteth with the Iewes.

Finally, they were more led by rage and wrath, then by good counsell; and they against whom they fought were obedient, and would doe nothing without the commandement of their Leader. For their first rankes being broken, they were forced by the horsemen to turne their backs; and turning themselues to their owne company, who turned toward the wall, became as it were enemies to themselues. So that euery one seeking to auoid the horsemen, they were all dispersed about the field, which was in euery place for the aduantage of the horsemen. This greatly helped the Romanes to kill so many Iewes: for they that fled were easily ouertaken by the Romanes, and killed; and others compassing diuers of the Iewes about, slew them with darts: so that the Iewes were in as great desperation for all their huge multitude, as if they had bin alone. The Iewes indeuouring to ouercome their misfortunes, were ashamed to flie, and so fled not hastily, hoping that fortune would change. But the Romans not wearied in that which they did with great dexterity, continued the fight the most part of the day: so that there were slaine of the Iewes ten thousand, and two of their Leaders, *Iohn* and *Silas*. The rest, many being wounded, followed their Generall *Niger*, who fled into a little towne of Idumæa, named Salis: many of the

The Romanes ouercome the Iewes, and make a great slaughter of them.

Ten thousand Iewes slaine.

The yeere of the world, 4031. after Christs birth, 69.

the Romans also were wounded in that fight. But the Iewes were not daunted with this misfortune, but the griefe thereof much increased their courage: neither were they dismayed with the former losse of so many men within so short time; but rather calling to minde their great victory they had before, were drawne to vndergoe yet another mishap. Shortly after, before the mens wounds were healed, they gathered together all their forces, and went againe to Ascalon in greater number and fury, but with the same successe and skill in warlike affaires which they had before. For *Antonius* hauing warning which way they meant to come, placed an ambush in the way, and the horsemen setting vpon them at vnawares, they killed aboue eight thousand of them, before they could prepare themselues to fight: and all the rest fled, and *Niger* with them, shewing as he fled many arguments of a valiant minde: and for that the enemies pursued them, they fled into the safest tower of a towne called Bezedel. *Antonius* knowing it to be in vaine to stay about the tower that was inuincible, yet loth to let the Generall of their aduersaries to escape, set fire on the walles; and so departing, triumphed, thinking that *Niger* had beene burned. But he leapt into a deepe vault in the Castle, and so escaped, and three daies after he shewed himselfe vnto his souldiers, who sought for him weeping, that they might haue his body, for they thought him dead: whom against all expectation seeing aliue, they were very glad, as though by Gods prouidence he escaped to be still their Leader.

Eight thousand Iewes slaine at Ascalon.

Vespasian with his whole armie commeth to Ptolemais.

Vespasian came to Antiochia, which is the mother citie of Syria, and brought his armie with him, which for greatnesse and happy successe, doubtlesse was the third in the whole world, and finding that King *Agrippa* did expect his comming, he hasted with all his forces from thence to Ptolemais. At this place there came vnto him the Citizens of Sephoris a Citie of Galilee, who had no thought at all of rebellion: these both prouident for their owne safetie, and well knowing the forces of the Romanes, before *Vespasian* came, submitted themselues vnto *Cestius Gallus*, and receiued from him a garrison of souldiers; and now also courteously entertaining *Vespasian*, offered their helpe against their countrymen. To whom *Vespasian* at their request gaue a guard of horse and foot, so great as he thought was able to resist the force of their enemies, if the Iewes should attempt any thing against them. For hee thought it would be a great helpe vnto him in his warre to come, to haue Sephoris the greatest Citie of Galilee situate in a strong place on his side, which otherwise might be a safeguard to the whole nation.

The Sephorites doe courteously entertaine the Romans.

CHAP. II.

The description of Galilæa, Samaria, and Iudæa.

The description and situation of the higher Galilee.

THERE are two places named Galilæa, the one is called high Galilæa, and the other low Galilee: and they are both compassed with Phœnicia and Syria. On the West Ptolemais with the limits of his territorie doth part their borders, and the mount Carmell, which in time past belonged vnto Galilee, but now vnto the Tyrians. Vnto which adioyneth Gabaa, which signifieth the horsemens Citie: so called for because King *Herods* horsemen were sent thither to inhabit. On the South part it ioyneth to the Samaritanes and Scythopolitanes vnto Iordan. On the East part it bordereth vpon Hippene, and Gadaris, and Gaulanitis, which are the borders of King *Agrippa* his country. On the North it bordereth vpon Tyria. The length of lower Galilee reacheth from Tiberias vnto Zabulon; neere which is Ptolemais by the Sea coast. In breadth it reacheth from the village Xaloth, situate in a great field, vnto Bersabe, where also begins the bredth of high Galilee, and reacheth vnto the village called Baca, bordering vpon the Tyrians; and the length thereof is from a village neere Iordan named Thella, vnto Meroth. And being of such bignesse, and enuironed with so many nations, yet did they alwaies resist forraine forces. For the Galileans are from their childhood warlike, and neuer are daunted by feare or penurie: for their countrey is most fruitfull, set with all manner of trees, and very fertile, notwithstanding the inhabitants take small paines in tilling the ground. All parts thereof are tilled by the inhabitants, and there is no waste part.

The length and breadth of the lower Galilee.

The fertilitie of Galilee.

There are many Cities, and in euery place there are villages populous and rich: so that the least village there, hath in it aboue fifteeene thousand inhabitants. And although Galilee bee lesse in compasse then the region beyond the riuer, yet it is more populous, fertiler and richer then the same: for it is all tilled, and all beareth fruit. But that beyond the water, though it be bigger, yet it is not all inhabited, for there are many desarts and barren places, and one beareth wild fruits. Peræa hath a good soile & large field, beset with diuers trees, especially oliues, vines, and palme trees: and it is abundantly watred with brookes running from the mountaines, and

The description of the countrey beyond the ſloud.

springs

springs that continually come downe, when in the Dog daies they are almoſt drie. The length of this place is from Macherunt to Pella: the breadth from Philadelphia to Iordan. This towne Pella before mentioned, lieth on the North part, and Iórdan on the Weſt, and the countrey of the Moabites bordereth on the South, and on the Eaſt Arabia, Silbonitis, Philadelphia and Geraſis. Samaria is ſeated between Iudæa and Galilee, beginning at a towne ſituate in a place called Ginæa, and endeth in the Toparchy of Acrabatena, nothing differing in nature from Iudæa. For both of them are full of mountaines and fields, and good for tillage; full of trees abounding both with wilde apples and others: for they are of their nature dry, but haue raine enough, and haue paſſing ſweet waters, and aboundance of good graſſe, and great ſtore of milch beaſts, and which is a great argument of wealth, both places are very populous. The confines of theſe countries is Anauth, a village otherwiſe called Borceos, which lieth on the North part of Iudæa. The South part of Iudæa, if you meaſure the length, is extended vnto the village of the Arabians, called Iardan: the breadth reacheth from Iordan vnto Ioppe: in the midſt thereof is ſituate Ieruſalem; ſo that ſome call that City the nauell of the countrey. Iudæa alſo bordereth on the ſea-coaſt, euen vnto Ptolemais. It is diuided into eleuen portions: the firſt is Ieruſalem, head and chiefe of all, being aboue all the reſt, as the head is aboue the body: and the reſt are Toparchies. Gophua is the ſecond, after that Acrabatena, then Thamna, afterward Lydda, alſo Ammaus, and Pella, and Idumæa, and Engadda, and Herodium, and Iericho: beſides theſe Iamnia and Ioppe command the places adioyning. Moreouer, there is Gamala and Gaulanitis, and Batanea and Trachonitis, which are portions belonging to King *Agrippa* his Kingdome. This countrey beginneth at mount Libanus, and the fountaines of Iordan, and reacheth in breadth vnto the lake neere Tiberias. And in length it reacheth from Iulias to Arphas, and the inhabitants are partly Iewes, and partly Syrians.

The yeere of the world, 4030. after Chriſts birth, 68.

The deſcription of the Region of Samaria.

The deſcription of Iury, whoſe middle part is Ieruſalem.

The diuiſion of Iudæa.

CHAP. III.

How aid was ſent vnto the people of Sephoris: and of the military diſcipline of the Romanes.

IHaue already ſpoken of Iudæa as briefely as might bee, and with what countries it is enuironed. Now *Veſpaſian* ſent helpe vnto the inhabitants of Sephoris, to wit, one thouſand horſmen, and ſixe thouſand foot, *Placidus* the Tribune being their Gouernour: the horſemen diuided themſelues into two companies, lodged in a great Plaine, and the foot-men were in garriſon in the citie for to defend it, but the horſe-men ſtaied without. Theſe horſe-men made excurſions on euery ſide, and greatly moleſted *Ioſeph*, who was quietly bent, and alſo ſpoiled all that was without the cities, and alwaies repulſed the inhabitants, if at any time they tooke courage to reuenge themſelues. Notwithſtanding, *Ioſeph* aſſaulted the city Sephoris, hoping to take it: which he before ſuch time as it reuolted vnto the Romanes, had compaſſed with ſo ſtrong wals, that the Romans themſelues could not haue taken it, ſo his hope was fruſtrate: for neither by force nor faire meanes would the Sephorites yeeld vnto him. Hereat the Romanes being angry, troubled the countrey more then before; who now neither night nor day ceaſed from deſtroying it, but robbed and ſpoiled all they found, and all men able to beare armes they ſlue, and made the reſt their ſlaues: Thus all Galilee was filled with fire and ſword, and no man eſcaped that calamitie; onely they ſaued themſelues, that fled into the cities that *Ioſeph* had walled.

Veſpaſian ſendeth helpe to the Sephorits, but filleth Galilee with ſword and fire.

Titus came to Alexandria being winter, ſooner then he was expected: and ſo receiued there the ſouldiers that he was ſent for: and hauing a proſperous iourney, he quickly came to Ptolemais; and finding his father there with two of the chiefeſt legions, to wit, the fift and tenth, he alſo adioyned that fifteenth legion that he brought with him. And there followed them eighteen companies, fiue out of Cæſarea, one troupe of horſemen, and fiue companies of horſemen out of Syria: ten of theſe companies of foote had in euery one of them a thouſand men, the reſt only ſixe hundreth and thirteen, and in euery troupe of horſemen were a hundreth and twenty. The Kings alſo brought great aide: for *Antiochus*, *Agrippa* and *Sohemus*, brought each of them 2000. Bowmen, and a thouſand horſemen: and *Malchus* King of Arabia, brought 5000. foot, & 1000. horſe, and the moſt of his footmen were Archers; ſo that the whole army together with the Kings aid, amounted vnto the number of threeſcore thouſand horſe and foote together; beſides them that followed the campe, who were a great multitude, and not inferiour vnto the ſouldiers in warlike diſcipline: ſo that one may admire the Romanes, who ſo traine vp their ſeruants in time of peace, that they are very fit for warres. So that whoſoeuer well beholdeth their military diſcipline,

Titus bringeth a mighty army into Iudæa.

The yeer of the world, 4031. after Christs birth, 69.

discipline, he shall perceiue that they gained not this their goodly Empire by chance and fortune, but by vertue: for they do not only then begin to vse weapons when they come to fight, but they practise military discipline before they need: and they are not idle in time of peace, but alwayes practise themselues therein without ceasing. Their exercises are like warre it selfe, and euery souldier is euery day exercised in euery sort of weapons, euen as though they were fighting against the enemy; so that hereby they easily indure the burthen and trauell of wars. For their disorder doth not make them forget what to do, neither doth feare dismay them, nor continuance of fight and war weary and tire them. So that whosoeuer they fight against, who are not so well prouided in these affaires, as they are, they alwayes ouercome them: and one may well call their practices amongst themselues, conflicts without blood-shed; and their wars indeed, conflicts with blood-shed. They are not easily ouercome at vnawares: for in what enemy-countrey soeuer they come, they fight not before they haue fortified their camp about, which they do not rashly, neither do they pitch their tents in marish or high places, after a disordered manner, for if the place be vnequall, they make it plaine. And they proportion their campe foure-square: for they haue many Smiths, and all kind of workemen needfull, which doe still follow the army, to accomplish such businesse. And in the innermost part of the campe they make Tabernacles, whose outside resembleth a wall, with towers equally distant one from another, and between them engines of warre to cast stones, and such like, that all kind of shot may be in readinesse. They also build foure gates large and wide, both for their cattell easily to come in at, and also for themselues if need require, to enter in or issue out speedily.

The diligence and labour of the Romanes in prouiding things necessary for the warres.

The industry of the Romanes.

The order of the Romanes in their camp.

Within the campe, there are streets diuided into certaine spaces: in the midst their rulers, and amongst them all, the Generals tent like a Temple, so that it seemeth a citie, and a market full of shops made in an instant. There are also seats builded for the Gouernours to iudge of controuersies, if any arise betweene the souldiers and others. All this place and all things belonging thereto are made in an instant, partly by reason of the multitude, partly by the industry of such as worke: and if need require, they compasse it with a trench foure cubits deepe, and as many broad. Thus the souldiers enclozed with armes, doe liue quietly in their tents, without disorder, and all things are done with good aduice and order, whether they need water, or corne, or wood: for they must all go to dinner at the time appointed, and all sleep at once, and a trumpet giueth notice when to watch and guard, and nothing is done that is not commanded.

The reuerēce & obedience of the Roman souldiers to their captains

In the morning, all the souldiers come vnto their captaines to salute them, the captaines to the tribunes, and they all to the Generall, and he giueth them a watch-word, and telleth them what he thinketh good, & how they shall behaue themselues towards those that are vnder them, whereby in fight they may demean themselues, & well know when to assault, and when to retire. When they go forth of the camp, a trumpet soundeth, and no man is idle, but at the first beck taketh away his tabernacle, and makes all ready for their departure. Then the trumpet soundeth againe, warning them to be ready: & hauing loden their beasts with their baggage, they expect the sound again, as though they were to run a race, and at their departure they burne their camp, because it is easie to build the like again, and also lest afterwards it may aduantage their enemies. When the trumpet hath sounded the third time, which is a signe to set forward, then they hasten those that are slow, lest they forsake their order. And a crier standeth on the right hand of their Generall, asking thrice if they be prepared to fight, and they as often answer that they are, holding vp their right hands with lofty courage: and so they march on easily, euery man keeping his rank, as though they were ready to giue battell. The footmen haue a head-piece, a brest-plate, and a sword on the left side, and on the right side a dagger. The footmen guarding the Generall, haue a Iauelin and a shield: the rest, armed euery one with bucklers and pikes. Moreouer they carry a saw, a basket, a fardle, a hatchet, also a cord, a sythe, a chaine, and victuals for 3. daies, so that the footmen are as much loden as their cattel. The horsmen carry at their right side a long sword, in the left hand a dart, and a long shield hanging against the horse side, and a quiuer with 3. darts with broad edges, wch are as big as a speare: they haue also helmets and brest-plates like the footmen. And the Generals horsemen that guard his body, do nothing differ from the rest. That company alwaies leadeth, that the lot falleth vnto. And these are the fashions of the Romans concerning their warlike discipline. They neuer doe any thing vnaduisedly in battell, but manage all things according to counsell; so that they either do not erre, or if they do, their fault is easily amended. For they think that bad successe after deliberation, is better then good fortune without it; and they thinke that therin fortune did but flatter them, to worke them some great despight, by reason they haue not deliberated: but that which is premeditated, although it haue euill successe, yet it maketh thē wary against

How the Romans forsake their campe.

The armour of the Roman footmen.

The furniture of the Roman horsemen.

The Romanes attempt nothing vnaduisedly or rashly.

A gainſt another time. And none of them accounts that good ſucceſſe, which commeth by chance, and yet euery one is comforted in their misfortune, for that they take good aduice. By the military exerciſes they doe not only make the bodies of their ſouldiers ſtrong, but their minds alſo more hardy: and their diligence is the greater by their feare. For their lawes are capitall, not only for them that forſake their order, but alſo for them that cõmit the leaſt enormity or negligence; and their Generals are more ſeuere then their lawes: who only by rewarding the good, purchaſe fauour, leſt they ſeeme cruell in puniſhing the wicked. Moreouer, they are ſo obedient to their Rulers, that in peace they honour them, and in warre the whole army ſeemeth one body vnited together: they ſo keepe order, & are ſo ready to turne here or there, and ſo attentiue to any com-
B mand, and alſo diligent to note ſignes made vnto them, and ſo quicke to labour with their hands, that they are alwaies apt to do any thing, but ſlow to endure. Inſomuch that they know no place, where they haue beene ouercome, either by number, or courage, or counſell, or by the difficulty of the place, nor by fortune it ſelfe: For they think victory more certaine then Fortune. Therefore ſeeing that their deeds are ruled by aduice and counſell, and their commandements ſo well fulfilled by the armie, what maruell is it if their Empire in the Eaſt reach vnto Euphrates, in the Weſt vnto the Ocean, in the South vnto Affrick, in the North vnto Rhene and Danubius? ſeeing that one may iuſtly affirme the poſſeſſion leſſe then the poſſeſſors. This I haue ſpoken, not to praiſe the Romanes, but to comfort the conquered, and to terrifie thoſe that deſire alteration: and perhaps it may teach them who want good diſcipline, and are ignorant of the manners and
C cuſtomes of the Romanes in their militarie affaires. But I returne to my purpoſe.

The yeere of the world, 4031. after Chriſts Natiuitie, 69.

The Romans grow more diligent by feare.

The obedience of the Romane ſouldier is no ſmall occaſion of his victory.

How farre the Romane gouernment extendeth.

CHAP. IIII.

How PLACIDVS *aſſaulted* IOTAPATA.

IN the meane time *Veſpaſian* liuing at Ptolemais with his ſon *Titus*, prepared his armie. But *Placidus* was already entred into Galilee and runne thorow it, where hee ſlew almoſt all hee found who were of the weaker ſort of people and cowards: And ſeeing that thoſe of courage alwaies fled into the Cities that *Ioſeph* had fortified, hee turned his forces againſt *Iotapata*, which was the ſtrongeſt of them, thinking it might eaſily be taken by a ſudden aſſault, and that
D he thereby ſhould get great glory, and that by taking it great profits might enſue, in that the people ſeeing the ſtrongeſt Citie ſurprized, they would not flie to any againe. But it fell not out as he expected; for the people of Iotapata vnderſtanding of his comming, met him neere the towne, and ſuddenly encountring the Romanes, being a great multitude and well diſpoſed to fight, as thoſe that bare armes for the generall ſafetie of the countrey, and the liues of their wiues and children, they put the Romanes to flight, wounding many, only ſeuen being ſlaine: for the Romanes in flying kept their rankes: and being armed round about, they were not dangerouſly wounded; but the Iewes being vnarmed, rather truſted to their darts and arrowes then to handy blowes. There were three Iewes ſlaine, and a few wounded: and ſo *Placidus* when he ſaw himſelfe repulſed from the towne, he fled.
E

Placidus draweth his forces againſt Iotapata, and being repulſed, flies.

CHAP. V.

How VESPASIAN *inuaded Galilee, and how at the very ſight of him the ſeditious fled.*

VESPASIAN deſirous to take Galilee himſelfe, departed from Ptolemais, making ſuch iournyes as ſouldiers ought to keepe, which the Romans are wont to follow. And he commanded thoſe that came to helpe him, and the bowmen becauſe they were lighter armed, to goe before and repreſſe the enemies incurſions, and ſearch the wood and forreſt fit for ambuſhes, whereby they were to paſſe: after them followed part of the Romane footmen and horſemen: and after them there marched ten by ten out of euery hundreth; bearing with them
F their armour, and the meaſures of their campe. After them followed men, whoſe office it was to mend the waies, where they were bad, and cut down the woods that were in the way, leſt with bad way the army were tyred. After them he ſent his baggage and the baggage of the Rulers vnder him, and withall horſmen to guard it. And after them he himſelfe followed, leading an army of choſen footmen and horſemen, accompanied with his owne guard of horſemen, and he had out of euery legion ſixſcore men for his own guard. After followed they that carried the engins to batter the wals of the cities, and other inſtruments, and with them the Prefects and Tribunes, guarded with their choſen ſouldiers. After them other Enſignes, and the Eagle, the which the

Veſpaſian directeth the Romanes march.

The yeere of the world, 4031. after Christs birth, 69.

Romanes hold for chiefe of all, becauſe it is the King of all birds, and is moſt valiant and ſtrong, wherefore they think it a ſigne of dominion and victory, ouer all them againſt whom they beare it. After theſe ſacred Enſignes followed the Trumpets ſounding in warlike manner; and after them the Army marching ſixe in a rank; & as the cuſtome is, a Centurion went by them to keepe order: the ſeruants were all with the footmen and baggage. After the laſt company who were hyred, followed armed footmen and horſemen in great number. And thus *Veſpaſian* with his whole army came vnto the borders of Galilee: and there pitching his Tents, he ſtayed the ſouldiers who were very eager to fight; as it were boaſting and ſhewing his army to terrifie his aduerſaries, and giuing them time to repent, if any one would alter his minde before the warre began, yet did he prepare to beſiege the walles and fortreſſes. The only ſight of him made many rebels flie, and danted the moſt of them. For *Ioſephs* ſouldiers who had pitched his Tents a little from Sephoris, when they knew that warre grew on, and that they were preſently to fight with the Romans, they did not onely flie before they fought: but alſo before they ſaw their enemies. *Ioſeph* being left with a very few, knowing hee was not able to abide the enemies; and that the Iewes were diſcomfited, and that if he put any truſt in them, they would for the moſt part reuolt vnto the enemies; for that time abſtained from all warre, and thought to get himſelfe out of danger: and ſo accompanied with them that remained with him, he went to Tiberias.

The Eagle by the Romanes is held the Enſigne of the Empire, and a ſigne of victory.

Ioſeph forſaken by his friends, flyes to Tiberias.

CHAP. VI.

How Gadara was beſieged and taken.

VESPASIAN went vnto Gadara, and tooke it at the firſt aſſault: for all able men fit for warre were fled out of the Citie: and entring the Citie, he put all to death. For the Romans had no mercy, partly for the hatred they conceiued againſt the Iewes, and partly in reuenge of that which had befalne *Ceſtius*. And they burned the citie and all townes and villages adioyning: ſome of them being already deſolate, and the inhabitants of the reſt were made ſlaues. *Ioſeph* fled into the citie which he made choice of for his ſafegard, and filled it with feare. For the people of Tiberias thought he would neuer haue fled, if there had beene any hope of withſtanding the Romanes: wherein they iudged not amiſſe, for he did foreſee what euent thoſe warres would haue, and that their only ſafety conſiſted in changing their rebellious minds. He himſelfe, though he hoped to obtaine pardon of the Romans, yet had he far more rather haue dyed, then to haue liued pleaſantly with them againſt whom he was ſent, and ſo become a traitor vnto his countrey committed to his charge. Wherefore he determined faithfully to write all his eſtate, and the eſtate of the country vnto the nobilitie at Ieruſalem, and not to extoll the enemies forces too much, leſt they ſhould ſay he was a coward; nor yet putting them in any comfort, leſt perhaps they now penitent for that they had done, againe by his letters ſhould be incited to goe forward in their rebellious courſe: willing them preſently to write an anſwer, whether they thought it good to enter the league with the Romanes; or if they would make warre, then they ſhould ſend a ſufficient army againſt the Romans: and hauing written to this effect, he preſently ſent men away to Ieruſalem to beare theſe letters.

Ioſeph is afraid of the Romanes and writeth to Ieruſalem.

CHAP. VII.

Of the ſiege of Iotapata.

VESPASIAN was very deſirous to take Iotapata, for that hee knew many of his enemies were fled thither, and for that this was the ſtrongeſt refuge they had. So he ſent before footmen and horſemen, to plaine the waies which were full of ragged ſtones, ſo that it was hard for footmen to paſſe, and altogether vnpoſſible for horſemen: who within foure daies effected that which they were commanded, and made a large way for the army to paſſe: And the fift day which was the one and twentith of March, *Ioſeph* before they came entred into the citie, comming thither from Tiberias to encourage the Iewes who were diſmayed. A certaine run-away told *Veſpaſian* that *Ioſeph* was come thither, willing him to haſten thither, for if hee could take *Ioſeph*, he might eaſily take all Iudæa. Hereat *Veſpaſian* was very glad, & took it as good fortune, that the moſt prudent and potent of his enemies, ſhould (God at that time ſo working) put himſelfe as it were in hold; and ſo preſently hee ſent *Placidus* before with a thouſand horſemen, and with him Captaine *Ebutius*, a man both ſtrong, valiant and prudent, and commanded them to compaſſe the Citie with a ſiege, leſt *Ioſeph* ſhould priuily eſcape from thence. The day

Ioſeph comes to Iotapata from Tiberias.

Iotapata beſieged.

A day after he himselfe followed with the whole army, and about noone came to Iotapata, and leading his army vnto the North side of the towne, he pitched his tents vpon a hill seuen stounds distant from the city. Vpon purpose placing himselfe within the view of his enemies, that the very sight of his army might terrifie them: which he also did; for presently euery one was in such a feare, that none durst goe out of the citie. The Romans being wearied all that day, would not assault the city: wherefore they inuironed the towne with two squadrons, and the third that consisted in horsemen, was placed without to intercept all passage, that none of the Iewes could passe any whither. Heereby the Iewes now in desperation tooke heart; for in warre nothing is more forcible then necessitie. The next day began the battery, and euery Iew kept his quarter, and
B kept themselues in order, and resisted the Romans before their wals. But when *Vespasian* sent all the bowmen, and those who cast darts and other things to beat them off from the walles, and he himselfe with footmen assaulted the walles in another place where they might easily be entred: then *Ioseph* fearing the citie, accompanied with all the people issued out of the towne, and assaulted the Romanes fiercely, and did driue them from the walles, shewing courage and strength: and they themselues suffred as much harme as they did vnto their enemies. For as they were encouraged with desperation, so were the Romans with shame, who were armed with military knowledge and strength, and the Iewes only with anger. And the fight continued all day euen vntill night; wherein many Romans were wounded, and only thirteene slaine: and of the Iewes there were sixe hundreth wounded, and seuenteene slaine. The next day also they met the Romans, and
C resisted them more stoutly then before, taking courage for that they the day before had resisted them, contrary to their expectation: and all the Romanes fought more valiantly, ashamed as it were of themselues, in suffering the Iewes to resist them; thinking withall that they themselues were ouercome, if they did not quickly suppresse their enemies. Wherefore the Romans for fiue dayes together ceased not to assault the towne, and the Iewes strongly rebatted them: and now neither the Iewes feared their enemies, nor the Romans were dismayed with the difficulty of taking the towne. Iotapata is almost all situate vpon a rocke, and compassed about with deepe vallies, which descend straight downe like a wall: so that one can scarcely see the bottome. There is only accesse vnto it on the North part, where it is seated vpon a mountaine going ouerthwart; which *Ioseph* inclozed with a wall, to the end it might be no passage for the enemies: all the rest
D of the citie is inuironed with high mountaines, so that it cannot be discerned by any before they be hard at it. And Iotapata was thus strengthned.

Vespasian determined both to striue against the nature of the place, and hardinesse of the Iewes; and therefore called all his Captaines together, and consulted with them to begin a hot siege: at last they resolued to reare a mount in that place where the citie was easiest to be entred. He sent his whole army to prouide wood to do it, who cut downe the mountaines neere vnto the towne: and great store of wood and stone being brought, setting hurdles before them to beare off the darts and arrowes, hee began to raise a mount; so that they receiued little or no harme by darts cast from off the wals: others brought earth from places thereabout, and no man was idle. The Iewes cast continually great stones and all kinde of darts vpon that which defended them; which
E though they pierced not thorow, yet they made a great noyse and terrified the workemen. Which *Vespasian* seeing, caused all engines that did cast stones and darts, which were in number a hundreth and threescore, to be placed against the wals, to beat the Iewes from thence. And so they cast stones, and darts, and fire, and arrowes in great abundance: so that they did not onely beat the Iewes from off the walles, but also out of the reach of their shot; for both the Arabian archers & those that vsed slings and darts, and all the engines continually played vpon them. For all this the Iewes rested not, but running out in companies as theeues, they took away that which defended the workmen, and then assaulted them hauing no defence: and when they had beaten them away, destroyed and fired all that the Romanes had wrought for their owne defence and
F safegard. At last *Vespasian* perceiued that these domages hapned for that there was space left betweene all these workes, whereby the enemies had accesse to doe them such harmes: wherefore he vnited them together, and so hindred the priuy excursions of the Iewes. When the mount was almost made and the towers vpon it finished, *Ioseph* afraid to doe nothing for the safegard of the towne, called all workemen necessary together, and commanded them to make the wall there higher; but they said it was vnpossible for them to worke, for the number of shot in that place. Then *Ioseph* made this deuice to defend them: he fixed stakes in the ground, and fastned vnto them hides of Kine and Oxen new slaine, by which they were defended from shot, and fire; so that they labouring night and day raised the wall twentie cubits high, erecting

The yeere of the world, 4031. after Christs birth, 69.

Nothing is more effectuall in warre or more desperate then necessitie.

A fight betweene the Romanes and the Iewes continued a whole day, & broken off by night.

The situation of Iotapata.

Vespasian intends to begin a sharpe siege.

The Iewes break out and beat down the bulwarke.

Ioseph fixeth stakes in the ground and fastneth vnto them raw Oxe hides to raise the wall, and beat off the shot.

The yeere of the world, 4032. after Christs birth, 69.

also vpon it many towers: and by this meanes made it a strong defence. Whereat the Romans, who before thought themselues sure of the towne, were now greatly dismaid both by this deuice of *Iosephs*, and also by the hardinesse of the Iewes.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the siege of Iotapata by VESPASIAN, *and the diligence that* IOSEPH *vsed, and how the Iewes made excursions against the Romanes.*

THIS stratagem & the carriage of the Iewes greatly moued *Vespasian*: for now they receiuing courage in that defence, made assaults vpon the Romans of their owne accord, and euery day skirmished, running out in companies, and like theeues, taking away whatsoeuer they lighted vpon; and what they could not carry away, they set on fire. At last *Vespasian* would not permit his souldiers to fight any longer: but determined now to besiege it and take it by want of victuals, purposing either to make them come & yeeld themselues for lacke of food, or if they held out, to famish them: and that it would be more easie to take it by force, if ceasing a-while from assaulting it, he afterward set vpon it, they being in anguish for the danger they were in. Wherfore he commanded all passages to be kept, that none could go out of the city. But they had great store of corne, and of all other things else, except salt and water, whereof they stood in great want: for there is neuer a fountain in the city, and they haue little raine in Summer-time, so that the inhabitants were in great distresse; for now there was hardly any water left in the citie. *Ioseph* perceiuing there was abundance of all things else, and that the citizens were valiant, as also the siege like to continue long, he gaue to euery one water in measure: with which they were not contented, thinking it as good to want altogether, as to haue it in that manner; and now they began to faint, as though they had suffred extreme drought. The Romans perceiuing this, being vpon a high hill, ouer against the place whither all the Iewes came together to receiue water, they with their shot killed many that came thither, insomuch that *Vespasian* hoped that within short time their water would be spent, and they constrained to yeeld. But *Ioseph* to frustrate this hope, commanded a great many garments to be laid in water and hanged vpon the walls, so that the water might run downe on euery side. When the Romans saw this, they were much grieued and afraid, for that they wasted so much water in mockery, and before had thought that they had wanted water to drink. And now *Vespasian* scorning to win the citie by siege, purposed to assault it againe by force. The Iewes were very glad of this: and the citie being in danger, rather wished to be slaine then perish through hunger or thirst. *Ioseph* deuised also another way to get such necessaries as he wanted, out of the countrey: for there was a valley out of the way, and therefore not regarded by the Romanes: wherefore *Ioseph* sent men into the countrey to his friends for such things as the city wanted, by this way, commanding them when they came neere the watchmen, to hide and couer themselues with hairy skins, that the watchmen might thinke them to be dogs: and this he vsed a good space, till at last the watchmen perceiued it, and so set a guard there to stop the passage. When *Ioseph* perceiued the Citie could not hold out long, and fearing his owne life, if still hee continued there, hee treated with the chiefe of the citie that hee might flie. But the people perceiuing his intent, flocked about him, and besought him to take pitie vpon them, and not forsake them, who had no hope but in him, affirming that for his sake they were all couragious and bold to fight; and if they were taken, yet he would be a comfort vnto them, telling him that it did not become him to flye from his enemies, nor to forsake his friends, neither as it were to leape out of a ship shaken with a tempest, into the which he came when the Seas were calme, for so by this meanes he would soone ouerthrow the citie; and once gone, no man afterward could or durst resist their enemies; for in him was all their hope.

Ioseph kept it to himselfe that his purpose was to worke his owne safety: for he told them the thing which he intended was for their good, affirming that though he stayed still in the citie, yet he could do them little good: and if the citie should chance to be taken, then he and they were like to perish; but if he were abroad and not besieged, he could doe them great good: for hee would presently assemble all the people of Galilee, and come against the Romanes, and so raise their siege; whereas now in staying with them, he saw not wherein he did them any good, but rather incited the Romanes against them, making them more earnest to take the towne then they would be, onely because he was there, that they might take him; but if they knew once that hee were fled, they would not then be so earnest in the siege. *Ioseph* herewith could not perswade the people,

Vespasian restraineth his souldiers from fight and besiegeth the Citie.

Ioseph deliuereth his souldiers water by measure.

Iosephs stratagem.

Another policy of Iosephs.

The people besecched Ioseph that hee would not forsake them.

Iosephs prudence.

people, but they flocked faſter about him, and both young and old of all ſorts came and proſtrated themſelues at his feet, weeping, and beſeeching him to take ſuch hap as ſhould befall them, whether it were good or bad; not for that they enuyed his eſcape, but for that they hoped they ſhould receiue no harme if he remained with them. *The yeere of the world, 4031. after Chriſts birth, 69.*

He then bethought himſelfe that if he ſtayed with them, he fulfilled their requeſt; and if he denyed, he feared they would force him. Wherefore being partly mooued by compaſſion, hee determined to ſtay; and being now, as all the citie was, deſperate, he told them that now it was time to fight, ſeeing there was no hope of ſafety: and that it was a goodly matter to ſpend their liues renowmedly, and doe ſome noble act to leaue a remembrance vnto their poſteritie of their valour: and ſo went about it. And iſſuing out of the citie with the moſt valiant among them, when hee had killed the watchmen, at the firſt encounter hee came euen vnto the Romans tents, and tore the skins that their tents were made of, and fired others, and their engines: and ſo hee did the ſecond and third day, and for certaine daies and nights afterward neuer ceaſed. When *Veſpaſian* perceiued the Romans greatly endomaged by ſuch incurſions, and very loth to flye for ſhame, and not able to follow them being ſo loaden with their armour, and that the Iewes alwaies did ſome exploit before they retyred themſelues into the citie; hee gaue commandement vnto his ſouldiers to leaue their aſſault, and not to fight againſt men who deſired to die, affirming that no men were ſtronger then thoſe in deſperation, and that if they found none to aſſaile, their courage would ſoone by alaid; like vnto a flame of fire, when the matter that nouriſheth it, is conſumed. Moreouer, the Romans muſt ſeeke victory more warily, for that they fought not for neceſſitie, but onely to increaſe their dominions: and after that, oftentimes they beat the Iewes by the Arabian archers, and with ſlings and darts, and other ſhot which neuer ceaſed, and ſo the Iewes by this meanes were repreſſed. But ſo ſoone as they were without the danger of the ſhot, they more furiouſly aſſailed the Romanes, ſparing neither body nor minde, but continually fought by turnes, and euery one of the citie aſſiſted them that ſo laboured.

Ioſeph ſtayes in Iotapata. Whereas there is no hope of help, there warre is the laſt remedy.

The audacious courage of the Iewes in their extreme deſperation.

The Iewes with their ſlings are repulſed by the Arabian archers.

CHAP. IX.

How Veſpaſian *did beat the walls of Iotapata with a Ramme, and other warlike Engines.*

VESPASIAN thinking himſelfe as it were beſieged, both for the long time which he had continued the ſiege, and alſo for the diuers aſſaults and priuy excurſions of the Iewes; hauing now almoſt raiſed the Rampiers as high as the walles of the Citie, determined to batter them with a Ramme. A Ramme is a huge beame like the maſt of a ſhip, whoſe end is armed with a ſtrong maſſiue iron, made in the forme of a Rammes head: whereupon it takes his name, becauſe he butteth with his head. It hangeth on another beame with ropes, like the beame of a paire of ballances: the beame it hangeth on lying acroſſe, is held vp with two props, which being drawne backe by force of many men, and then ioyntly with all their forces ſhooued forward, it ſtriketh the wall with the head of iron: And there is no wall nor tower ſo ſtrong, but though it abide the firſt ſtroke of the Engine, yet can it not hold out long. The Generall of the Romans thought good to vſe this meanes to take the city by force, for that the ſiege was dangerous, by reaſon that the Iewes neuer reſted; ſo the Romans with all kind of ſhot endeuoured to beat the Iewes from off the walles that made any reſiſtance: and the archers and they who vſed ſlings, were hard by: and when they ſaw that none of the Iewes durſt come vpon the walles, they applyed the Ramme vnto them; and couered it aloft with hurdles and skins, both for to defend themſelues and the engine, and at the firſt aſſault the walls were ſhaken, ſo that the citizens cried, as though the towne had bin already taken. *Ioſeph* ſeeing them ſtill beat one place, and that preſently the wall would fall, deuiſed a way to reſiſt the force of the Ramme, and ſo he filled ſacks with chaffe, and let them down off the wall iuſt againſt that place, where the Ram ſtrook ordinarily, and ſo brake the force of the blowes, the looſeneſſe of the chaffe making no reſiſtance; and ſo drowning or abating the violence of the ſtroke. By this meanes the Romanes were hindered: for whitherſoeuer they brought the Ramme, thither did they vpon the walls alſo remooue the ſacks of chaffe, and brake the force thereof: till at laſt the Romans alſo deuiſed a way to cut theſe ſacks, taking long poles & binding Siethes vnto the end of them, and ſo cut theſe ſacks of chaffe. And the Ram ſhooke the wall, and the wall newly built was not ſtrong enough to reſiſt. Then *Ioſeph* and his ſouldiers ſought to helpe themſelues by fire-workes, and ſo they fired all that was made of dry wood in three ſeuerall places, and withall the engines, and forts, and mounts of the

A Ramme.

Ioſephs deuice how to breake the force of the Ramme.

The yeere of the world, 4031. after Christs birth, 69.

Romans, who now had much adoe to defend themselues: first, becauſe that they were terrified with the valour of the Iewes: and ſecondly, becauſe euery one had worke enough to defend himſelfe againſt the fire, which ſeizing vpon dry matter with Brimſtone and Pitch wonderfully increaſed; ſo that in one houres ſpace it conſumed all the works that the Romans had made with ſo great labour. There was a Iew the ſon of *Samæus* called *Eleazar*, who deſerued eternall memory: this man was borne at Saab in Galilee. This *Eleazar* tooke vp a great ſtone, and caſt it downe with ſuch force vpon the Ramme, that he brake off the head thereof; and nothing fearing leapt downe amongſt the midſt of his enemies, and brought it away into the Citie: at the laſt being vnarmed, and as it were a marke for his enemies to ſhoot at, hee receiued in his body fiue arrowes; and as though he had not felt them, ſo ſoone as he had gotten vp the wall where all might ſee him, he boldly ſtood ſtill, and ſo through griefe of his wounds hauing the head of the Ramme in his armes fell downe. Next vnto him two brethren of Ramath in Galilee ſhewed themſelues valiant, named *Netiras* and *Philip*, who aſſaulted the tenth legion of the Romans with ſuch violence, that they brake their ranks, and put all to flight that ſought to withſtand them: which *Ioſeph* and thoſe that were with him perceiuing, tooke fire and burnt the engines, workes, and defences of the fift and tenth legions that were fled, and thoſe that followed deſtroyed all engines, and other matter that was left. In the euening the Romanes erected the Ram againſt that part of the Citie which before they had beaten, and ſo began afreſh to ſhake the wall in the ſame place that before they had battered: and one of the Iewes ſhot an arrow from the wall, and wounded *Veſpaſian* in the ſoale of the foot, yet the wound was not great, for that the force of the arrow was ſpent before it came to him, hauing come a great way off.

Ioſeph burnes the engins, & turneth off the Romanes.

Eleazars ſtrength and courage.

Netiras and *Philips* valour againſt the Romanes.

Veſpaſian wounded in the ſole of the foot by an arrow.

This fact greatly troubled the Romanes, who ſeeing *Veſpaſian* bleed, preſently ſpred theſe newes through the whole army, and almoſt all of them came running to ſee their Generall, and eſpecially *Titus* who feared his fathers death: ſo that the whole army partly for the loue of their Generall, and partly for the feare of *Titus* his ſon, were greatly troubled: but *Veſpaſian* preſently freed the army from all perturbation; and his ſonne *Titus* from feare. For the griefe of the wound being paſt, he ſhewed himſelfe to all that were ſorrowfull for him, and incited them to fight againſt the Iewes more earneſtly then before; and now euery one as it were to reuenge their Generall, deſpiſed all danger, and aſſaulted the wals, one exhorting another. *Ioſeph* and his aſſociates, notwithſtanding, that many of them were killed with ſhot, darts and arrowes; yet they forſooke not the walles, but with fire and ſword, and ſtones fiercely aſſaulted them, that being defended with hurdles, battered the walles with the Ram, but to little purpoſe: for they were continually killed, being in ſight of their enemies, and for that they could not ſee them, preſently were ſtriken downe, for their fire did make ſuch a light as though it had beene day, ſo that the Romans eaſily perceiued whither to direct their ſhot: and for that their engines were not perceiued afarre off, the Iewes could not defend themſelues from the arrowes and ſtones that were ſhot againſt them, by which meanes many of them were ſlaine, and the tops and corners of the towers beaten downe. And there was no man ſo well guarded, but he was ſlaine by force of thoſe ſtones; ſo that any man may know of what force that engin is, by that which hapned that night. For one that ſtood neere *Ioſeph* vpon the wall was ſtriken with a ſtone, and his head carried from his body by violence of that blow three furlongs, as though it had beene caſt out of a ſling: and the next day a woman great with childe was ſtriken on the belly with one of thoſe ſtones, and the childe carryed forth of her from the place where ſhe was ſtriken three furlongs; ſo great was the force of this engine: Therefore the violence of the engines was more terrible, and likewiſe the noiſe of darts, arrowes and other ſhot. And many were ſlaine on euery ſide, and the bodies of thoſe that were killed, ſtriken againſt the wall made a noiſe: and within the Citie was heard a pitifull lamentation, and weeping among the women; and without, a heauy mourning and cry of them, that were wounded to death; and all that part of the wall where the fight was, flowed with blood: ſo that now the multitude of dead bodies had ſo filled the ditch before the wall, that the Romanes might eaſily paſſe ouer them into the Citie, and the mountaines about did eccho with the cryes of the Citizens: and all that night long nothing wanted, that either might by the eye or eare mooue terrour. And many ſtoutly fighting for Iotapata dyed moſt valiantly, many alſo were ſore wounded: and notwithſtanding the wall was continually battered, yet it was almoſt morning before it fell, being all night long beaten with the Ramme. And then they of Iotapata repaired the breach with their bodies and armour, before the Romanes could ſet bridges to enter it.

The warre renued againſt the Iewes.

The force of the Romane darts.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

How Iotapata was againe aſſaulted.

The yeere of the world, 4031. after Chriſts birth, 69.

IN the morning *Veſpaſian* brought his army to enter the breach, hauing giuen them but little reſt after their whole nights labour: and deſirous to make the Iewes that defended the breach, to forſake their place, before ſuch time as he entred, he tooke the moſt valiant of his horſemen, and vnhorſed them, being armed from the head to the foot, and placed them in three ranks; that they, being ſo armed, might beſiege round that part of the wall that was battered, and ſo take long pikes in their hands, ſo that as ſoone as the bridges were ſet, they ſhould firſt enter the breach. After them he placed the ſtrongeſt of his footmen: the reſt of his hoſemen he ſet round about the city vpon the mountaine, to the end that none might eſcape thereabout: after the footmen he commanded archers to follow with their arrows ready in their hands, and them that vſed ſlings alſo, and other engins for ſhot. And he cauſed other to ſcale the wals, where they were not battered, to the intent that the towneſmen, buſied in reſiſting them, might leaue the breach vnmanned; and the reſt being wearied and oppreſt with the thicknes of the ſhot, ſhould of force forſake their ſtanding. But *Ioſeph*, perceiuing his intent, placed old men and children, and thoſe that were already wearied, vpon thoſe parts of the wals that were not battered: & himſelf with the ſtouteſt of the city went to defend the breach, and placed ſix men before them, whom he choſe out, himſelfe being one of them, to ſuſtaine the firſt brunt of their enemies aſſault: commanding them likewiſe to ſtop their eares, to the end that they might not be terrified with the cries of the army. He willed them alſo to defend themſelues with ſhields againſt the darts & arrowes, and giue back a little, till ſuch time as the archers quiuers were emptied: and if ſo be that the Romans ſhould offer to make bridges, that then they with their inſtruments ſhould reſiſt; and that euery one ſhould now fight, not to defend his country, but as it were to recouer it being in a maner already loſt; and imagine, that they now did ſee their aged men ſlain with their children, and their wiues almoſt taken by their enemies, and now to reuenge themſelues vpon thoſe that hereafter would maſſacre their whole city: and thus he appointed men in both places. The weaker multitude, women and children, ſeeing the city compaſſed about with three ranks of horſemen, & that the Romans with their ſwords drawn preaſed againſt the breach, that all the mountaines about did ſhine and glitter with their weapons that were placed there, and certain Arabians to ſerue the archers with arrowes: they cried out as though the city were now taken, ſo that a man would haue iudged them already amidſt their enemies ſwords, and not onely in danger to fall into their hands. Wherefore *Ioſeph* commanded the women to their houſes, leſt their cries ſhould effeminate his ſouldiers minds; willing them likewiſe to keep ſilence, and threatned them if they did not: and ſo he marched to the breach, which place fell to his lot, and gaue no heed to them that ſought to ſcale the wals, but onely beheld a far off the force of the arrowes.

Veſpaſian leadeth on his army to enter the city.

Ioſephs ſubtil policy.

The cries of women and children in the battell.

When all the trumpets began to ſound, and the aire to be obſcured with the multitude of arrowes; *Ioſephs* companions, remembring the charge giuen them, ſtopped their eares, and armed their bodies againſt the ſhot of arrowes: And ſo ſoon as the bridges were ſet againſt the wal, preſently they ran; and before the Romans could enter vpon them, they got them into their hands, and reſiſted them that ſought to come vpon them, ſhewing great proweſſe & ſtrength, and themſelues no way inferiour vnto the Romans, though they were in extreme danger, and the Romans in none: and did not giue one foote backe, till either they did kill or were killed. But the Iewes had not any freſh men to ſecond them that were tired; & the Romans, ſtill as they were wearied, ſent freſh ſupply, and ioyning together their long ſhields, exhorting one another, they became as it were a wall or defence inuincible; and the whole army like one body did beate backe the Iewes, and ſo ſet foote on the wals. Then *Ioſeph*, in this deſperate caſe, deuiſed ſome way to repell this preſent calamity: wherfore he commanded the Iewes to fetch ſcalding oyle, which they had ready, and powre it vpon the Romans yet ſeething, who alſo caſt the pans vpon them. This deuice brake the ranks of the Romans, ſo that with great paine and griefe they fell from the wal, and tumbled downe: for the ſcalding oyle eaſily got betweene their fleſh and armour, and ſcorched them like fire being eaſily heated, and long continuing hot by reaſon of the fatneſſe; and the Romans, being loaden with helmets and breſt-plates, could not flee; ſo that ſome leapt down off the bridge, and others for griefe died; others would faine haue retired themſelues, but could not, becauſe their enemies followed them ſo hard. But neither the Romans wanted vertue and

The warre of the Romanes with the Iewes vpon the bridge.

The Iewes powring ſcalding oile vpō the Romanes.

valour

The yeere of the world, 4031. after Christs birth, 69.

valour in aduerſe fortune, nor the Iewes prudence and good aduice. For the Romans, notwithſtanding they were in intolerable paine, being ſcalded with hote oyle, yet did they freſhly aſſault them that hurt them, and euery one did thruſt him forward that was before him, as it were deſirous to ſhew their courage. Then the Iewes vſed another deuice to make them retire: for they powred fenugreek boyled vpon the bridge, ſo that they ſlid downe: and neither they that would haue fled, nor they who did ſtriue to aſſault the Iewes, could ſtand vpon their feet, it was ſo ſlippery; and many falling downe vpon the bridge, were by their owne company trodden to death; others did ſlide downe vpon the Rampier; and alwaies as they fell, the Iewes ſtrooke them: and ſeeing that the Romans were retired from the place, ſo that now they were not forced to handy blowes, they had leiſure to ſhoot arrowes and darts againſt them. When *Veſpaſian* ſaw that his men in that fight endured much miſery, towards euening he cauſed them to retire, many being ſlaine, and more wounded, and 6. men of Iotapata were ſlaine, and aboue 300. wounded: this fight was vpon the 20. day of Iune. But after that *Veſpaſian* had comforted his ſouldiers for that which had hapned, and perceiuing that they were angry, and deſired to fight to reuenge themſelues, ſo that they needed no exhortation; he raiſed the Rampier higher, and erected 3. towers 50. foot high, couering them aloft with iron, that ſo by reaſon of their waight they might ſtand ſtedfaſt, and not be conſumed by fire: and theſe he placed vpon the Rampiers, and in them Archers, and men that caſt darts and ſuch like: who not being perceiued of them that were vpon the wall, by reaſon of the highneſſe of the towers, and the couering thereof, eaſily wounded them who were placed thereon. So the Iewes, when they could not auoid the arrowes, nor be reuenged vpon them whom they could not ſee, nor yet fire the towers being couered with plates of iron, forſooke the wals; yet alwaies encountred with them who ſought to enter. And the people of Iotapata thus reſiſted, notwithſtanding that many euery day were ſlaine, and that they did their enemies no harme without great danger to themſelues.

G

The Romans retire without obtaining their purpoſe.

H

Veſpaſian ereCteth higher platformes and towers.

I

The Citizens of Iotapata valiantly ſuſtain the ſiege

CHAP. XI.

How Iapha was taken by TRAIANVS *and* TITVS.

The taking in of Iapha by Traiane.

AT this time *Veſpaſian* vnderſtood that Iapha, a Citie neere Iotapata, minded to rebell, encouraged ſo to doe, for that they vnderſtood how they of Iotapata had held out contrary to all expectation: wherefore he ſent thither *Traianus*, Gouernour of the tenth legion, and with him 2000. footmen, and a thouſand horſe: who perceiuing the towne able to reſiſt, and the inhabitants prepared for to fight, and come out to meet him (for the towne being for the ſituation ſtrong enough, it was alſo compaſſed with a double wall) ſeeing this, he fought with them, and after a while put them to flight, and the Romans following them, brake in with them at the firſt gate: which the Citizens perceiuing, ſhut the ſecond gate, not ſuffering their own Citizens to enter in, for feare that the enemies alſo ſhould ruſh in with them, as they had done into the firſt gate. Truely, God gaue that victory vnto the Romans, whoſe will it was that all the warlike men of the Citie ſhould haue their owne gates ſhut vpon them, and ſo fall into their enemies hands, who were moſt greedy to deſtroy them. For many came to the gates, and called thoſe that kept them by their names, pitifully intreating that they might come in: which whileſt they did, they were butchered like ſheepe, being enclozed betweene two wals: their owne Citizens hauing ſhut one gate vpon them, and the Romans the other: and many thus enclozed periſhed with their fellowes ſwords, and an infinite number by the rage of the Romans, hauing no courage to reſiſt and reuenge themſelues. For the treaſon of their owne Citizens, and the terror of their enemies together, vtterly diſcouraged them, and ſo they died all in number 12. thouſand, not curſing the Romans, but the Iewes their owne countrimen. *Traiane*, thinking that the City was now deſtitute of fighting men, or if any were within, that they durſt not reſiſt being thus terrified, reſerued the taking of the Citie for the Generall, and ſent meſſengers vnto him, requeſting him to ſend his ſon *Titus* to make an end of the victory. *Veſpaſian*, fearing that yet there would be ſome reſiſtance, ſent *Titus* with 500. horſmen, and 1000. foot: who haſtning thither, placed *Traianus* on the left ſide of the towne, and himſelfe on the right: ſo the Romans on euery ſide ſcaled the wals, & the Galileans hauing a while reſiſted, preſently left them. Then *Titus* and his followers leaping down, preſently got into the city, & began a vehement fight with them that were aſſembled therin, ſome valiantly iſſuing out of the narrow ſtreets, and aſſaulting them, and the women caſting ſuch things as they could get, vpon the Romans from the tops of their houſes, and thus they held battell ſixe houres. When their fighting men were all ſlaine, then the old

K

The Iewes ſhut vp by the Romans, betweene two wals are ſlain.

L

12000. Iewes ſlaine.

Titus with his forces comes to Iapha.

M

A ſharp skirmiſh within the towne betweene the Galileans and the Romanes.

A old men and children, and all the other company both in the ſtreets and in their houſes were ſoone diſpatcht, ſo that none of them were left aliue, ſaue onely infants, who with the women were led captiues. The number of them that were ſlaine, both in the city and in the firſt conflict, amounted to 15000; and the number of thoſe that were led into captiuity, were 1000. 100. and 30. And this maſſacre of the Galileans hapned the 25. day of Iune.

The yeere of the world, 4031. after chriſts birth, 69.

CHAP. XII.

How CÆREALIS *conquered the Samaritanes.*

B THE Samaritanes alſo were partakers of this calamity, who aſſembled themſelues together in mount Garizin, which they account a ſacred place. But both their aſſembly and their courage did portend their warres: and not warned by their neighbours harmes, nor with any aduice or iudgement conſidering their owne infirmity, and the Romans power, began to be tumultuous. *Veſpaſian* forſeeing this, thought it good to preuent them: and although all the region of Samaria had garriſons in it, yet for all the great multitude aſſembled, it was thought that the garriſons were able to keepe them vnder. Wherefore he ſent thither *Cærealis*, the Tribune of the fift legion, with 600. horſmen, and 3000. footmen. *Cærealis* thought it not the beſt way to goe vnto the mountaine, and fight with the whole multitude, becauſe a great many C of their enemies were vpon it: wherefore he commanded his ſouldiers to beleaguer the mountaine about, at the foot thereof, and to keepe them there all the whole day. There hapned at that time a vehement heat, and the Samaritans wanted water: for it was then Summer, and the people had not prouided themſelues of victuals, ſo that many in one day only for want of drinke died of thirſt, the reſt preferred death before the miſery they indured, and ſo fled to the Romans: of whom *Cærealis* learned that thoſe that yet remained on the mount, were euen diſmaid by the miſery they endured. Wherefore he aſcended the mountaine, and compaſſing about the enemies with his army, he firſt exhorted them to yeeld, willing them to ſaue themſelues, promiſing them all their liues, if they would caſt downe their weapons: but nothing preuailing with them, he ſet vpon them, and kild them all, in number 11000. and 600. and this was done the 27. day of D Iune. And theſe were the miſeries that befell the Samaritanes.

The aſſembly of the Samaritanes on the mountaine Garizin.

Want of water in the mountain Garizin.

11000. & 600. Samaritanes ſlaine.

CHAP. XIII.

How Iotapata was taken.

THe Citizens of Iotapata indured this hard ſiege contrary to all expectation, and in the ſeuen and fortieth day, the Romans mounts were raiſed higher then their wals: on the ſame day one of the Citie fled vnto *Veſpaſian*, and told him in what caſe the City ſtood, and how few Citizens were left, and that with daily watchings and fighting they were far ſpent, E whereby they were not able to reſiſt any more, and that they might be taken by policy if they were followed: for in the laſt part of the night, being wearie, they ceaſed from their labour, and ſlept vntill the morning: wherefore he perſwaded *Veſpaſian* to aſſault them at that time. But *Veſpaſian* knowing how faithfull the Iewes were one vnto another, and how they contemned all puniſhment, gaue little credit to this run-away: for a little before, one of Iotapata being taken, could not by any torments be compelled to confeſſe, or diſcloſe the eſtate of the city, whom the fire nothing moued, and ſo at laſt he was crucified, laughing and ſcorning death: yet a probable coniecture which he had, perſwaded him to giue credit ſomewhat to this traitors words: and for that he knew no great harme could befall him, if he ſo aſſaulted the city as the traitor willed, he commanded the man to be kept, and made all his army in readines to aſſault the town. F So at the houre appointed, he made towards the wals with ſilence; *Titus* being the firſt, accompanied with one *Domitius Sabinus* a tribune, & a few of the 15. legion: who killing the watchmen, entred into the city, and after them *Sextus Cærealis* and *Placidus*, with their companies; ſo the Caſtle was taken, and the enemies were in the midſt of the towne, and it was faire day light, and yet the townſmen knew nothing, being now faſt aſleepe after their great labours and watchings: and they that did watch could ſee nothing, there was ſo thicke a miſt by chance that morning, & the reſt neuer wakened till death was at their doore; and that they perceiued their calamity and deſtruction. The Romans, mindfull of all that had befallen them in the time of the ſiege, did neither

A fugitiue certifieth the weak eſtate of the Citizens of Iotapata, and how few they were.

The Romans enter the city whileſt the Iewes are aſleepe.

The yeere of the world, 4031. after Christs birth, 69.

ther ſpare nor pity any one: but driuing the people out of the higher part of the city into the lo- G
wer part therof, they maſſacred them al, where they that would, could not fight for the narrow-
neſſe of the place: ſo being cumbred for want of roome, and ſliding downe the banks for haſte,
their enemies ſtill purſuing them, they were eaſily ſlaine. Many of *Ioſephs* guard ſeeing this that
they could not fight, gathered themſelues together in a corner of the city, and ſlew themſelues,
that the Romans might not kill them. But ſome of the watchmen, who firſt perceiued the city to
bee taken, fled into a tower, and reſiſted a while (this tower was ſituate on the North ſide of the
City) and at laſt being enuironed with their enemies, towards euening yeelded, and offered them-
ſelues to be ſlain. And the Romans might haue boaſted that that victory had bin without blood-
ſhed on their part, had not *Antonius* a Centurion been ſlain treacherouſly. For one of them who H
fled into the caues (as many did) requeſted *Antonius* to giue him his hand, in token that he might
come out ſafe and without danger: which he doing vnaduiſedly, ſtraightway the Iew with a ſpear
ſmote him in the flank, wherof he preſently died. The Romans that day ſlew all the people that
they found, and the daies following they ſearcht all the ſecret places, and drew thoſe out of the
caues and dens that had fled thither, and ſlew all but women and infants: ſo that they tooke away
1000. and 200. captiues: and the number of them who were ſlaine during the ſiege, and at ſuch
time as the city was taken, amounted to 40000. And *Veſpaſian* commanded the city to be de-
ſtroyed, and the caſtles to be burnt, and ſo Iotapata was taken the 13. yeere of *Nero's* raigne, on
the firſt of Iuly.

The Romans are touched with no mercy nor compaſſion.

The fight of the Iews with the Romanes in the tower.

Antonius ſlain by a Iew thorow treaſon.

40000. Iewes periſh during the ſiege, and in the former battell.

CHAP. XIIII. I

How IOSEPH *was taken, and how he redeemed his life with deeds and words.*

BVT eſpecially aboue all others, the Romans made diligent ſearch for *Ioſeph*, both for the hatred they bare him, and alſo becauſe *Veſpaſian* greatly deſired to get him, for that hee being taken, the greateſt part of the warres were then ended; ſo they ſought him among the dead, and amongſt thoſe that were hid: but he (fortune fauouring him) when the city was taken, eſcaped from the midſt of his enemies, and leapt into a deep Well, which had a large caue on the one ſide, the which they aboue could not perceiue; where he found forty principall men K
who had prouiſion for many daies. The enemies being in euery place, he in the day time lay hid, and in the night he went forth to ſee if he could eſcape: and perceiuing that all places about were diligently watcht for to take him, he returned againe into the caue, and lay there two daies: the third day a certain woman that had bin with them in the caue was taken, and ſo he was deſcri'd. Then *Veſpaſian* ſent two Tribunes to him to promiſe him ſafetie, and bring him before him; the Tribunes names were *Paulinus* and *Gallicanus*: But *Ioſeph* would not accept their offer, fearing that becauſe he had bin the author of all the euils that the Romans had indured, that therefore they ſought him out to puniſh him: till *Veſpaſian* ſent vnto *Ioſeph*, *Nicanor*, the third Tribune, one of *Ioſephs* acquaintance. *Nicanor* recounted vnto him how mild the Romans were towards them whom they had conquered, and that the Roman Captains rather admired him for his ver- L
tue, then hated him. Moreouer, that his Generall intended not to puniſh him (which if he plea-
ſed, he might do whether he yeelded himſelfe or no) but to ſaue him, who was ſo valiant a man:
adding alſo, that if *Veſpaſian* meant ill, he would neuer haue imployed his friend in ſuch a meſ-
ſage, to vſe friendſhip (ſo noble a vertue) to ſo euill a purpoſe as to worke treaſon: and that hee,
though *Veſpaſian* had beene ſo minded, would neuer haue conſented to haue betrayed his friend.
Ioſeph, after *Nicanors* words, began to ſtudie, as doubtfull what beſt to doe. Whereat the
ſouldiers being angry, began to caſt fire into the caue: but *Veſpaſian* hindered them, being
deſirous to take *Ioſeph* aliue. *Nicanor* ceaſed not to intreat him: and he perceiuing how his ene-
mies began to waxe angry, and calling to mind the dreames he had in the night, wherein God
foretold him of all the Iewes calamities, & what ſhould betide the Roman Princes (for he could M
interpret dreames, and whatſoeuer God obſcurely ſhewed, being inſtructed in the holy bookes
of the Prophets, and himſelfe a Prieſt as his parents were.) So at that time being as it were filled
with the Spirit of God, and recording the dreames and horrible viſions which he ſaw in his
ſleepe, hee prayed ſecretly to God after this manner; O Creator (quoth hee) ſeeing that
it pleaſeth thee to ruinate the nation of the Iewes, and that all good fortune is gone vnto the Ro-
mans, and that thou haſt choſen my ſoule to foretell future euents, I yeeld vnto the Romanes to
ſaue my life, proteſting that I meane not to goe to them to play the traytor vnto my countrey,
but

Ioſeph leapt into a deep trench, and lieth hidden in a caue.

Veſpaſian by Tribunes ſendeth Ioſeph aſſurance.

Nicanor the Tribune knowne to Ioſeph.

Ioſephs dreame of the ſlaughter of the Iewes.

Ioſeph, filled with the Spirit of God, ſecretly praieth.

Ioſeph conſents to Nicanor.

A but as thy miniſter;and hauing thus ſpoken,he yeelded himſelfe vnto *Nicanor*.But they,who fled into the caue where *Ioſeph* was,perceiuing that *Ioſeph* yeelded vnto the Romans,flocked al about him,and cryed out, How are our country lawes violated? Where are thoſe promiſes of God made to the Iewes? where are thoſe gallant minds that contemne and deſpiſe death? Art thou O *Ioſeph* deſirous to liue,and ſee thy ſelfe to become a vile bondſlaue? How ſoon haſt thou forgotten thy ſelf? How many haſt thou perſwaded to embrace death for their liberty ſake? Truly thou haſt but a ſhadow of valour and prudence in thee, if thou doſt hope that they will ſaue thy life againſt whom thou haſt ſo behaued thy ſelfe:or if they would ſaue thee, to deſire life at their hands. But ſeeing the Romans offer hath made thee forget thy ſelfe; yet we,to preſerue the ho-
B nour and credit of our country,will lend thee our armes and ſwords,and ſo if thou be willing to die,die like the Generall of the Iewes: which if thou refuſe to do; thou ſhalt whether thou wilt or no die like a traitour to thy countrey. When they had thus ſaid,they all threatned to kill him with their ſwords, if he did yeeld to the Romans. *Ioſeph* feared their violence, and perſwaded himſelfe, if he died before he had put them in minde of Gods Commandements, that then he ſhould die a traitour to God: wherefore he began to make a Philoſophicall diſcourſe vnto them concerning this preſent eſtate, what was to be done.

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The Iewes violence & expoſtulation againſt Ioſeph.

Wherefore (O my friends, quoth he) are we become murtherers of our ſelues? Wherefore do we make war betweene things ſo vnited,as are the ſoule and the body? Will any man ſay that my mind is changed? Why, the Romans know that it is a thing moſt honourable to die in wars,
C not any way,but according to the law of armes, to wit, by the conquerers hand. If I intreat the Romans to ſpare my life,then am I worthy to periſh with mine own ſword and hand:but if they think good to ſpare their enemies,ſhould not we think it good likewiſe to ſpare our own ſelues? Truly it is meer folly to do that to our own ſelues,for the which we fight againſt them. I cõfeſſe it is a commendable thing to die for ones liberty; but yet to die in fight, & by their hands who took away that libertie:but now neither do they war againſt vs,nor kill vs. He is not onely to be iudged a coward, who refuſeth to die when need requireth,but alſo he who wil die whẽ no need vrgeth. Moreouer, what with-holdeth vs from offring our ſelues to the Romans? Truly, feare of death. Shall we therefore make that certain our ſelues,which we feare at the Romans hands? But ſome will ſay, How if not? then we are made captiues: conſider what libertie we now haue.
D You will ſay it is the part of him that is valiant to kill himſelfe:nay truly,it is the part of a verie coward. For I think him to be a timorous ſeaman, who perceiuing a tempeſt comming; before it fall,ſinketh the ſhip wherin he is. Moreouer,it is againſt the law of nature, and the nature of all creatures to kill themſelues,and thereby we ſhould commit a hainous crime againſt God. There is no liuing creature that of his owne ſeeking would willingly die: for euery one feeleth in himſelfe the ſtrong & forcible law of Nature,wherby they deſire to liue:and for this cauſe we iudge them for our enemies,that ſeeke to take it from vs; and puniſh them that do take it indeed. And doe you thinke it is not a greater contempt of God for a man to deſpiſe his gift? For we of him receiued our firſt being,and from him let vs expect our ending. The body is mortall,framed of corruptible matter; but our ſoules are immortall, and there is a little part of God, placed in our
E bodies. If any one abuſe that which another man putteth him in truſt with, preſently we thinke him a perfidious and wicked man:and ſhall we think that if we caſt away out of our bodies that which God hath put vs in truſt withal,and placed in the ſame,that he ſhal not know of it,whom we haue ſo abuſed? We hold thoſe ſlaues worthie to be puniſhed that run away from bad maſters: and ſhall not we then be held for impious,who flee from ſo good a maſter as God is? Doe ye not know that they,who according to the law of nature depart out of this life,and render that to God which they receiued of him,when he who gaue it requires it, ſhall leaue behind them a perpetuall name to their poſteritie and family? And that vnto thoſe ſoules who are obedient to their Creator when he cals them, he giues a holy and ſacred manſion in heauen, and from thence after a reuolution of the heauens, departing, are againe commanded to dwell in chaſte bodies?
F And that they who haue wrought their owne death, go vnto dark hell? and that God puniſheth this their offence vpon all their poſterity? Hence it is that God is diſpleaſed therewith, and it is forbidden by our moſt wiſe Lawmaker. For if any amongſt vs kill themſelues,it is decreed that till the ſun goe downe they ſhall be vnburied,yet we hold it lawfull to bury our enemies. Other nations cauſe their right hands to be cut off,who haue kild themſelues; iudging that as the ſoule thereby was made a ſtranger to the bodie, euen ſo by that fact was the hand made a ſtranger vnto it. Wherefore, O companions, thinke on that which is decent, and not to adde to our humane miſerie impietie againſt God who created vs. If we deſire to be ſaued, let vs ſaue our ſelues:

Ioſephs oratiõ to his countrimen.

It is a goodly matter to dye for liberty,but yet to dye fighting.

The ſimilitude of a ſayler.

It is againſt the common courſe of nature for a man to kill himſelf, yea and a hainous ſinne againſt God.

The ſoule is immortal,& a portiõ of God placed in our bodies.

God reuengeth him on the author of iniuries.

The cuſtome of the ancient Iewes & how they dealt with thoſe that ſlue themſelues.

Ioſephs peroration.

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ſelues: for it is no diſgrace to receiue our liues at their hands who are witneſſes of ſo many valiant deeds of ours. If we deſire to die, let vs die by their hands who haue ouercome vs. I will not goe into my enemies campe to be a traitor againſt my ſelfe. For I beare not their minde who forſake their owne company to flee to their enemies: for they flee vnto them to ſaue their liues, but I go vnto them to worke mine owne death, euen the death of my ſelfe. And I would to God that the Romans would breake promiſe with me; for if they kill me after they haue promiſed to ſaue my life, I ſhall willingly die, and with great courage, hauing their breach of promiſe and periurie for a comfort of the laſt victorie.

Ioſeph is in great danger to bee ſlaine.

Ioſeph ſpake much to this effect, to diſſwade his companions from killing themſelues. But they ſtopping their eares with deſperation, wherewith they had armed themſelues to die, came furiouſly towards him with their ſwords drawne, vpbraiding him that he was a coward, and euery one was ready to ſtrike him. Then *Ioſeph* calling one by his name, and looking vpon another with a countenance like a Gouernour, holding anothers hand, and intreating the reſt (diſtracted in ſuch danger) at laſt eſcaped from being killed at that inſtant: for ſtill as one came neere him to ſtrike him, he turned his face vpon him like ſome cruell beaſt; and ſome of them who remembred how he had bin their Captaine in their extremitie, with reuerence of his perſonage trembled, ſo that their ſwords fell out of their hands: and many lifting vp their armes to ſtrike him, of their owne accord let their weapons fall. *Ioſeph*, notwithſtanding his deſperate eſtate, yet was he not void of counſell, but aſſiſted by Gods prouidence, he hazzarded his life, and ſpake vnto them as followeth: Seeing (quoth he) that yee are all determined to die, let vs caſt lots who ſhall kill one another; and he, to whom the lot falleth, ſhall be kild by him who next enſueth, and ſo the lot ſhall be caſt vpon euery one of vs, ſo that none of vs ſhall be forced to kill our ſelues. For it were iniuſtice, that when ſome of vs be ſlaine, the reſt ſhould repent themſelues, and ſo eſcape. They all liked well of this, and alwaies he vpon whom the lot fel, was ſlain by him that followed, as though they were now to die with their Captain: for death was more acceptable, becauſe they thought *Ioſeph* ſhould die with them. Now it hapned by the prouidence of God, that *Ioſeph* remained aliue only with one other, and then perſwaded him who was left aliue, to liue and not ſeek death, for feare the lot ſhould fall vpon himſelfe: and for that if he ſuruiued, he ſhould be polluted with the murther and ſlaughter of his owne nation. Thus *Ioſeph*, deliuered both from the wars of the Romans, and alſo of his owne nation, went with *Nicanor* vnto *Veſpaſian*.

Another policy of Ioſeph.

Ioſephs fellowes dye by lots, & Ioſeph and another are reſerued.

Ioſeph reſorteth to Veſpaſian with Nicanor.

All the Romans came about him to ſee him: and preſſing about their Generall, they made a great noiſe, ſome reioycing that he was taken, others crying out to puniſh him, others ſtriuing to come neere to behold him better: and they who were a far off, cryed out to kill their enemy: but thoſe who were neer him and beheld him, remembring his proweſſe, were aſtoniſhed to ſee that change. And there was no Captaine nor Ruler, but although before they were all moued againſt him, yet now beholding him, they all began to pitie him: and eſpecially *Titus*, who being of a gentle diſpoſition, admired *Ioſephs* valour, his conſtancie in aduerſitie, and his age, and thereby was moued to take compaſſion vpon him, remembring what a manner of man he had beene during the wars, and what he now was being fallen into his enemies hands: calling alſo to mind the force and power of fortune, and how ſmall a ſtay the chance of warres had, and that no humane affaires had any ſtay or hold in them; wherefore he drew many mens minds to pitie him, ſo that *Titus* was the chiefe author of *Ioſephs* life: yet *Veſpaſian* cauſed him to be carefully kept, as though he meant to ſend him to *Cæſar*. Which *Ioſeph* hearing, requeſted that he might ſpeake a word or two with him alone. Then all but his ſon *Titus* departing and two of his friends, Thou O *Veſpaſian* (quoth he) thinkeſt onely that thou haſt *Ioſeph* for thy captiue, but I am a meſſenger vnto thee of great matters from God, otherwiſe I knew my country lawes, and how it behoued the Generals of our nation to die, and not to be taken aliue by their enemies. Wilt thou ſend me to *Nero*? Wherefore? As though *Nero* ſhould liue ſtill, and thou not ſucceed him? Thou, O *Veſpaſian* art *Cæſar*, and the Emperour of Rome, and *Titus* alſo thy ſonne; and keepe me in bonds with thee, for thou art not onely my Lord, but Lord of all the world, and ſea, and land, and all mankind. And if I now faine theſe things in this ſtate that I am, of mine own mind againſt God, let me be reſerued vnto a greater puniſhment. After he had thus ſpoken, *Veſpaſian* gaue ſmall credit to his words, and onely thought that *Ioſeph* fained theſe things of himſelfe to ſaue his life: yet by little and little he began to giue credit vnto him, becauſe God put it in his mind to hope for the Empire: and foretelling his raigne by many ſignes and tokens, he alſo found *Ioſeph* to tell the truth in other matters. For one of *Veſpaſians* friends anſwered, that it was maruaile that he knowing that, could not prophecie the euent of the warres againſt Iotapata, and what was like to

An example of Titus grace and mercy towards Ioſeph.

Ioſeph hath priuate conference with Veſpaſian.

Ioſeph foretelleth Veſpaſian of his future honours.

Ioſephs truth in all things.

A to befall himſelfe, that ſo he might haue auoided thoſe euils. *Ioſeph* anſwered, that he foretold the citizens of Iotapata, that after ſeuen and forty daies they ſhould bee deſtroyed, and that the Romans ſhould keepe him aliue in hold. *Veſpaſian* ſecretly enquired of theſe matters, and finding by the relation of the captiues that it was true, he began to giue more credit to that which *Ioſeph* had told him concerning himſelfe. So he commanded *Ioſeph* to be kept priſoner, yet did he giue him aparrell and diuers other things in moſt kinde manner: and *Titus* did greatly honour him. The fourth day of Iuly *Veſpaſian* returned vnto Ptolomais, and from thence he came into the ſea-coaſt vnto Cæſarea, which is the greateſt Citie of Iudæa, whoſe inhabitants are for the moſt part Greeks: ſo the inhabitants receiued the army and the Generall with all friendſhip poſſible, both
B for that they loued the Romans, as eſpecially alſo for that they hated them who were deſtroyed; ſo that many intreated *Veſpaſian* to put *Ioſeph* to death. But *Veſpaſian*, iudging this a raſh petition, would make no anſwer vnto it: and he left two legions to winter at Cæſarea; becauſe he ſaw it was a fit place, and ſent the tenth and fift vnto Scythopolis, becauſe hee would not ouer-charge Cæſarea with the whole army. This place is warme in winter, and exceeding hot in ſummer, by reaſon it is ſituate on a Plaine by the ſea-coaſt.

The yeere of the world, 4031. after Chriſts Natiuitie, 69.

Ioſeph is kept bound, yet rewarded by Veſpaſian.

Cæſarea a great citie by the Sea ſide, inhabited for the moſt part by Greeks.

Scythopolis.

CHAP. X.

How Ioppe was taken againe.

C IN the meane time, a great multitude being gathered together, who either were ſeditious perſons, or theeues, or ſuch as had eſcaped out of the ruinated cities, began to reedifie Ioppe for their refuge, which *Ceſtius* beforetime had deſtroyed: and ſeeing that they could not rob nor ſpoile the countrey which was already waſted, and left deſolate by warres, they purpoſed to become Pyrates: and ſo building ſhips for that purpoſe, they robbed the Phœnicians, Syrians and Egyptians, not ſuffering any to paſſe thoſe ſeas without danger. *Veſpaſian* vnderſtanding their intent, ſent horſemen and footmen thither: who finding the citie not guarded, got into it in the night time: which the inhabitants perceiuing were ſo affraid, that they durſt not make any reſiſtance to expell the Romanes, but they all retired themſelues vnto their ſhips, and there ſtaied all night, a flight-ſhot from the ſhoare. Ioppe is naturally no road for ſhips (for it is
D ſituated vpon a turbulent ſhoare) and on euery ſide hath very high and eminent rockes, which trouble the ſeas, and make huge waues: in this place (if wee may beleeue the fable) one may ſee the ſignes of *Andromedaes* chaines. When the North winde blowes, it ſtriketh the waues againſt the rockes, and ſo cauſeth a dangerous ſea, that it were farre more ſafe to be in the midſt of the ſeas, then at that ſhoare when the ſame winde bloweth. The inhabitants of Ioppe rode there all night, and by breake of day the North winde began to blow fiercely, and draue ſome of the ſhips one againſt another, and others againſt the rockes: and many ſtriuing againſt winde and weather, and ſeeking to get into the midſt of the ſea for feare of the rocky ſhoare, and their enemies there, were drowned; and they that eſcaped, neither had any place of refuge, nor hope of ſafety; for the tempeſt did driue them from the Sea, and the Romanes from the Citie, ſo that
E the ayre was filled with cries of the people expecting to be drowned, and with the noyſe and ſound of the ſhips beating one againſt another. So ſome of the inhabitants of Ioppe were ſwallowed by the waues, others ſuffered ſhipwracke, ſome killed themſelues rather then to be drowned: many with the waues were ſtricken againſt the rockes, ſo that the ſea was bloody, and all the ſhore was couered with dead bodies: and whoſoeuer eſcaped the ſea and got to ſhoare, the Roman ſouldiers there ready ſtanding, killed them. There were foure thouſand and two hundreth dead bodies caſt vpon the ſhoare. So the Romans hauing without any fight taken the City, they deſtroyed it: and thus was Ioppe taken, and twice deſtroyed by the Romans in a ſhort time. *Veſpaſian* builded there a Caſtle, and placed in it ſome few horſemen and footemen, to the end that
F none of the Iewes ſhould come thither againe to play the Pyrats, and that the footemen might keep the Caſtle, and in the meane time the horſmen might go forth, and ſpoile all the towns and villages, and territories belonging to Ioppe: which alſo they did. When the newes of the deſtruction of Iotapata was brought vnto Ieruſalem, many gaue ſmall credit to it, partly for the greatneſſe of that calamitie, partly for that no one man could ſay, that hee had ſeene the deſtruction of the city: for none eſcaped that maſſacre to bring newes, but only report therof was ſpred abroad; but at the laſt it was verified to be true by thoſe that dwelt neere vnto that place, and then they beleeued it. Many things alſo which were falſe, were reported as true. It was likewiſe bruted, that *Ioſeph* was ſlaine in the deſtruction of the city, for whoſe death all Ieruſalem ſorrowed, and euery

Ioppe the retreat of the ſeditious and theeues.

Of Andromeda, read lib. 4. Ouid. Metamorph.

A huge tempeſt drowneth thoſe of Ioppe in the Sea.

Foure thouſand and two hundreth bodies caſt out. Veſpaſian taketh Ioppe & encampeth in the Caſtle.

Fame it ſelfe declareth the deſtruction of Iotapata.

The yeere of the world, 4031. after Christs birth, 69.

one mourned for their loſt kinred; all bewailed the ſuppoſed death of the Generall, and ſome of their ſonnes, others of their brethren and kinsfolke, and others of their acquaintance. They all mourned for *Ioſeph* thirty daies, and hired many muſicians to ſing funerall ſongs for him. At laſt, truth diſcouered it ſelfe, and the true newes of the deſtruction of Iotapata with the accidents there: alſo how *Ioſeph* was not ſlaine, but liued with the Romans, and that the Romans honoured him with more then a captiue could expect. Then the Iewes began as much to hate him now liuing, as before they mourned for him when they ſuppoſed him dead. And ſome ſaid he was a coward, others that he was a traitor vnto his countrey, and the whole citie breathed out reproachfull ſpeeches againſt him. Theſe heauie tydings encreaſed their rage, and this their aduerſitie (which vnto wiſe men had bin a warning to prouide leſt the like befell them) made them more outragious; ſo that alwaies the end of one miſchiefe was the beginning of another. To be ſhort, now they were more incenſed againſt the Romans then before, as it were that they might alſo be reuenged of *Ioſeph*. And this was the eſtate of the Citizens of Ieruſalem.

Ioſeph is laid to be ſlaine in Ieruſalem.

The hatred, malice and wrath in Ieruſalem againſt Ioſeph.

Chap. XVI.

How Tiberias was yeelded.

Veſpaſian commeth vnto Aprippas Kingdom and recreateth himſelf there, and feaſteth twenty dayes.

Veſpaſian was deſirous to ſee the Kingndome of *Agrippa* (for the King had intreated him to go thither, partly to feaſt him and his whole army, partly to repreſſe ſome troubles ariſing in his Kingdome, in the time of his abſence) and ſo departed from Cæſarea vpon the ſea-coaſt, and went vnto Cæſarea Philippi, where he ſtaied, and refreſhed his ſouldiers twentie daies; and himſelfe alſo feaſted, giuing God thankes for his proſperous ſucceſſe in the warres. This done, he had intelligence that Tiberias and Tarichea were reuolted (both which cities belonged vnto *Agrippa* his kingdom) and fully determining vtterly to deſtroy the Iewes which inhabited thereabouts, he thought it good to lead his army againſt theſe two places, eſpecially that hee might reward *Agrippa* for his good entertainement, by ſurrendring theſe cities vnto him. Wherefore hee ſent his ſonne *Titus* to Cæſarea to bring the ſouldiers there vnto Scythopolis, which was the greateſt of all the ten cities, which alſo is neere vnto Tiberias; whither himſelfe being come, he expected his ſonnes comming: and departing from thence with three legions, he pitched his tent in a place called Enabris, where the ſeditious people of Tiberias might behold his army; this place was thirty furlongs from Tiberias: from thence he ſent *Valerianus* the *Decadarch* to entreat a peace with them, and ſent fifty horſemen to accompany him: for he vnderſtood that the people deſired peace, and againſt their will were forced to warre, by ſome of the ſeditious amongſt them. *Valerianus* comming neere the citie wals, lighted from his horſe; commanding all his company to doe the like, that they of Tiberias might not thinke that they came to fight, but in peaceable manner: but before he ſpake any one word, the boldeſt and ſtrongeſt of the ſeditious perſons came out armed againſt him, hauing one *Ieſus* the ſonne of *Tobias*, who had beene a captaine of theeues, for their Gouernour and leader. *Valerianus* not preſuming to fight without authority from his Generall, although he had been certaine of the victory; againe conſidering that it was great danger for ſo few to fight againſt a whole multitude, and withall terrified with the boldnes of the Iewes, contrary to his expectarion; he fled on foot accompanied only with fiue other, leauing his horſe and the reſt behinde him, whom *Ieſus* and his followers took, and brought into the citie, reioucing as though they had taken them in fight, and not by treaſon. But the Senators and chiefe of the citie, fearing what might enſue of this fact, went vnto the Romans, and together with King *Agrippa* came vnto *Veſpaſian*, and proſtrated themſelues at his feet, beſeeching him not to deſpiſe them, and not to thinke that the whole city were partakers with thoſe few wicked perſons, that ſo had merited his diſpleaſure; requeſting him to ſpare the people who alwaies had honoured the Romans, but rather that he ſhould puniſh the authors of that reuolt and miſdemeanour: who alſo had withheld the whole Citie, euen vntill now, to yeeld it ſelfe vnto the Romans, *Veſpaſian* moued by their entreaties, pardoned the Citie, though he was incited againſt them all for taking of *Valerianus* his horſe; in that he perceiued *Agrippa* was ſorrowfull, fot feare that the City ſhould bee deſtroyed, and ſo by them *Veſpaſian* promiſed the towneſ-men pardon. Then *Ieſus* and his aſſociates thinking it not ſafe for them to abide there, fled vnto Tarichea. The next day, *Veſpaſian* ſent before him *Traianus* with certaine horſemen into the Caſtle, to ſee if all the multitude deſired peace: and finding the people to beare peaceable mindes, he with his whole army came vnto the Citie. And the inhabitants opening the gates of their

Valerianus peaceably ſpeakes to the towneſ-men.

The ſeditious ſally out, and put the Romans to flight

The citizens of Tiberias proſtrate themſelues before Veſpaſian and obtaine pardon.

A their citie, went to meet him with great ioy, all crying out that he was the author of their welfare and benefactor, and wishing him all prosperity and felicitie. The gates of the city were narrow, so that the army could not quickly enter in: wherefore *Vespasian* commanded a part of the wall on the south side to be pulled downe, and so entred in: yet did he not sacke the citie, nor ruine the wals, for *Agrippaes* sake, who promised that from thenceforth the citizens would bee quiet. And so he pacified the citie greatly troubled with sedition.

The yeer of the world, 4031. after christs birth, 69.

The Tiberians entertaine Vespasiã with acclamations.

Chap. XVII.

How Tarichæa was besieged.

B

Vespasian departed from Tiberias, and pitched his tents betwixt it and Tarichea, and encamped himselfe; foreseeing that there he should haue some trouble and long abode: for all rebels that desired warre came thither, trusting both to the strength of the Citie, and the lake adioyning vnto it called Genesar. For this Citie was situate like Tiberias, vnder the mountaines: and *Ioseph* had enclozed it with a wall on euery side, where it was not compassed by the lake. But the wall though it were strong, yet was it not so strong as that of Tiberias: for *Ioseph* builded that in the beginning of the rebellion, hauing men and money at will; but that of Tarichea was built onely by the remainder of his liberality. The Taricheans had great store of ships in the lake adioyning, to the end that if they were ouercome by land, they might flie by C water: and therefore they had prepared their ships for battell by water if need should be. Whilest the Romans entrenched themselues, *Iesus* & his followers not dismaied either with the multitude or militarie discipline of his enemies, issued out of the citie, and slew the workemen, and destroied a part of the worke: and perceiuing the Romans armed and assembled together against him, he fled againe vnto his companie without any losse or harme receiued. But the Romans pursued them so fast, that they forced them to take their ships: & so being gone as far from the shore, as that yet they might easily reach them with the shot of an arrow, they cast anchor and disposed their ships in warlike maner, and fought against the Romans who were on shore. *Vespasian* vnderstood that a great multitude of them were gathered together in a place neer vnto the city: wherefore he sent his son *Titus* against them with 600. horsmen, who finding the number of his ene- D mies to be infinite, certified his father, that he needed more forces: and perceiuing many of those horsmen of good courage, before any more aide came, and yet that some of them were afraid of the Iewes; he stood in a high place where all might heare him, and said, O ye Romans, I will first put you in mind who you are and of what nation, that so you considering what your selues are, may also consider who they are with whom we are to fight; neuer yet was there any enemy in any part of the world that could escape our hands. The Iewes themselues though already ouercome, yet doe they endure and manfully beare out their misery: if therefore they constantly endure wars, and fight valiantly being in aduersity; what should we doe who are in prosperity? I reioyce to see you shew good countenance, yet I feare lest so huge a multitude of our enemies discourage some of you: let euery one therefore once againe consider, who himselfe is, and with E whom he is to fight: and that although the Iewes be bold and valiant enough, yet they obserue no warlike order, and are vnarmed, and so are more fitly tearmed a multitude then an army. I need not speake of your knowledge and skill in wars: nay for this only cause are we trained vp in warlike discipline in the time of peace, to the end that our number should answer to the number of our enemies when we are to ioyne battell: for what fruite shall we shew of this our perpetuall warlike order & discipline, if we dare only fight with a rude multitude that are no more in number then our selues? Thinke that you being armed are to fight with vnarmed, and being horsmen are to fight with footmen, and being guided by the aduice of a Captain, with them who haue no head nor ruler: and that these things considered, doe supply in vs the want of more men, and the contrary in our enemies doth as it were much diminish their number. Victorie doth not onely F consist in the multitude of men, be they neuer so warlike, but also in a few, if they be valiant: for as they are few, so are they easily guided, and may easily come to helpe one another, not being pestered; whereas huge multitudes doe more hinder one another then doe good, and doe themselues more harme then their enemies. So the Iewes are led with desperation, rage & fury, which indeed in prosperous successe are of some force, but in a desperate fortune they are quickely daunted: but we are led by vertue and obedience and fortitude, which both are of force in prosperitie, and also are good in aduersitie. Moreouer, we haue greater occasion to fight then the Iewes haue: for they fight only for their country and liberty, but we fight for renowne and Empire;

Vespasian besiegeth Tarichæa.

The Romans driue the Iews to their ships.

Titus Oration to his terrified souldiers. Iewes are not to be feared.

Victory consisteth not in themultitude, but in the courage of a few that fight valiantly.

The Romans haue greater cause of warre then the Iews.

The yeere of the world, 4031. after Christs birth, 69.

pire; that we haue already gained the Empire of the whole world, it might not be thought that our enemies the Iewes were aduerſaries able to match vs. Conſider moreouer, that ye need not feare any great danger, for we haue many to help vs; and that hard by: let vs therefore atchieue the victory before any more ſuccour come vnto vs; ſo ſhall our credit be greater, and our victory more famous. I verily thinke that now triall is made of me, my father, and you; to diſcerne if he be my father, I his ſon, and you my ſouldiers: for he is wont to be victorious, and ſhall I returne vnto him being conquered? and are you not aſhamed to be diſmaied, ſeeing that I your Captain will offer my ſelfe and vndergoe the greateſt perils? My ſelfe will beare the brunt of the enemies, and firſt encounter with them, and let none of you depart from me: perſwade your ſelues that God will aſſiſt my force, and boldly preſume that we can do much more being in the midſt of our enemies, then if we ſhould only fight without and not be amongſt them.

It becõmeth ſouldiers to obey their Captaine.

Titus hauing thus ſpoken, as it were by Gods prouidence, all his ſouldiers took heart and courage, ſo that now they were ſorry to ſee *Traianus* come with 400. horſmen more before the fight was begun, as though their victory ſhould be leſſe renowned, becauſe he came to helpe them. *Veſpaſian* alſo ſent *Antonius* and *Silo* with 2000. archers, to take the mountaine that was iuſt oppoſite vnto the towne, and to beate them that defended the City, off from the wals: and they did as they were commanded. Then *Titus* with all force poſſible, firſt ruſhed with his horſe vpon the enemies: and all followed him with a huge cry, ſcattering themſelues in ſuch order as they occupied as much ground as the Iewes, and ſo appeared more then they were. The Iewes though terrified by their diſcipline, yet they withſtood the firſt aſſault: but in the end diſmaied, and put out of order with their lances, and killed with the horſmen, euery one fled as faſt as he could into the Citie. And *Titus* killed ſome as they fled, others as he met them, and thoſe he ouertooke, and many one for haſte tumbling one vpon another; and he preuented all that fled vnto the wals, and draue them backe againe into the field, till at laſt the multitude preuailed, and ſo they got into the Citie. Now at their returne into the City, there befell a great diſſenſion: for the inhabitants conſidering their owne eſtate, and the euent of all former warres, and eſpecially of this laſt fight, miſliked of warre, and deſired peace: but the ſtrangers that had fled from other places thither, and were in great multitudes, would needs contend therein; and ſo one part began a mutinie againſt the other, as though they would preſently one haue taken armes againſt another. *Titus* being not farre from the wall, heard theſe tumults within the Citie, and cried out vnto the Romans; This is the houre (fellow ſouldiers) wherein God hath giuen the Iewes into our hands: why doe we deferre the time any longer? why doe we not take the victory offered? doe you not heare the cries within? they who eſcaped our hands, are at variance amongſt themſelues: the city is ours, if we make haſte; and making haſte, take courage: for nothing worth renowne can be atchieued without danger: and let vs not only preuent our enemies concord which neceſſity will ſoone effect, but alſo our owne forces before any freſh aide come vnto vs; that beſide the victory we haue, being ſo few ouer ſo huge a multitude, we may alſo diuide the ſpoile of the citie among vs. No ſooner had he thus ſpoken, but preſently he mounted vpon his horſe, and rode into the lake, and ſo paſſed into the Citie, and all the ſouldiers followed him. They that defended the wals, were amazed at his boldnes, ſo that none made reſiſtance againſt him as he came: but *Ieſus* with his followers leauing his quarter which was his to defend, fled into the fields, others flying towards the lake, fell into their enemies hands, who came that way againſt him, and ſo were maſſacred euen as they were getting into their ſhips: otherſome were ſlaine as they did ſwim to ouertake the ſhips that were new launcht from the ſhore: and there was a great ſlaughter of men all ouer the City. For the ſtrangers that fled not, made reſiſtance, and the towneſ-men did not offer to defend themſelues; for they abſtained from fight, hoping for pardon in that they were not againſt thoſe proceedings: till at laſt *Titus* hauing ſlaine the wicked, tooke compaſſion vpon the towneſ-men and ſaued their liues, and cauſed the ſlaughter to ceaſe. They who fled into the lake, ſeeing the city euen taken, ran away as farre as they could from their enemies. *Titus* ſent horſmen to let his father vnderſtand what he had done. Whereof he hauing intelligence, being very glad for his ſons valour and magnanimity, and for the atchieuing of ſuch a victory, wherby a great part of thoſe warres was ended, he commanded the City to be guarded preſently round about, to the intent that none might eſcape away aliue. And the next day he came downe vnto the lake, and commanded ſhips to be built to purſue thoſe that had eſcaped by it: and hauing many workemen and great ſtore of matter to build them withall, his command was preſently effected.

Veſpaſian ſendeth new ſupplies to Titus.

The Iewes flie into the City.

A bitter diſſenſion & ſedition in the city.

Titus oration to the Roman ſouldiers.

Ieſus with his followers flieth into the fields.

Titus certifies his father of his exploits and victory.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the lake of Genezar, and the fountaine of Iordan.

The yeere of the world, 4031. after Christs birth, 69.

THe lake of Genezar taketh his name from the countrey adioyning vnto it, the breadth thereof is forty furlongs, the length a hundreth. The water of this lake is ſweet and good to drinke, and is more ſubtill then ordinarily pure water of mariſh places are, and it is very cleere neere the ſhoare, and more temperate to drinke, then either that of the riuer or fountaine, but it is alwaies more cold then one would iudge ſuch a lake to be of that largenes: for the water being ſet in the ſunne, doth not loſe his coldnes: which the inhabitants haue vſed to doe in ſummer euenings to allay the naturall coldnes thereof. There are here many ſorts of fiſhes nothing like to fiſhes of other places, either in ſhape or taſte. The riuer Iordan paſſeth thorow the midſt of it. It is thought that Panium is the head and fountain of Iordan, but in truth it hath his original from Phiala, and from thence paſſeth vnder the ground: this place is a hundreth and thirty furlongs from Cæſarea, towards that way which leades vnto Trachon on the right hand. This water is called Phiala, by reaſon of his roundnes: for it is as round as a wheele, and the water ſtill keepeth within the brink of Phiala, neuer encreaſing or diminiſhing; and no man knew that this was the head of Iordan, til *Philip* the Tetrarch of Trachon found it to be ſo: for he caſting ſtraws into Phiala, found them afterward carried vnto Panium, which before that time was thought to be the fountaine of Iordan. Panium, though it be naturally beautified, yet by *Agrippa* his coſt and charges it was much more adorned. Iordan beginneth with a deep riuer out of this denne, and paſſeth along the mariſh places, and durty lake of Semechonitis, and from thence 120. furlongs vnto the city of Iulia, and in the way diuideth the lake Genezar, and paſſing a great way further into the wildernes, at laſt it endeth in the lake called Aſphaltites. Vpon the lake Genezar there bordereth a countrey of the ſame name, naturally beautifull and admirable: for there is no kind of plant which groweth not there, and the inhabitants haue repleniſhed it with plants and trees of all ſorts, and the temperature of the aire well agreeth with ſo diuers trees; for there are an infinite company of Nut-trees, which of all trees eſpecially require a cold ſoile: there are alſo abundance of Palmes, which deſire great heat: likewiſe great ſtore of figges and oliues, which require a temperate aire: ſo that one may iuſtly ſay, that through the bounty of nature, ſo different and oppoſite qualities are here in one vnited; and at one time, as it were, all difference of ſeaſons of the yeere conioyned for good purpoſe. And it doth not onely nouriſh theſe fruits, but alſo conſerueth them for ten whole moneths: there grow figs and grapes; which two one may well call the kings of fruits, all other fruits continue all the yeere long. For beſide the temperature of the aire, it is alſo wattered by a fertile fountaine called Capernaum: many thinke it to be an arme of Nilus, becauſe it hath fiſhes like a Corbe bred in a lake neere Alexandria. The length of this countrey along the lake bearing the ſame name, is thirty furlongs, and the breadth twenty. And this is the name of the lake Genezar, and the countrey about it.

The fountain of Iordan.

The deſcription of Genezar.

The fertilitie of Genezar.

The length and breadth of Genezar.

CHAP. XIX.

How the Taricheans were deſtroyed.

VEſpaſian hauing finiſhed his ſhips, and furniſht them with as many men as he thought ſufficed againſt them whom he was to purſue, he embarked vpon the lake, and himſelfe alſo went againſt them. The Taricheans could not poſſibly make any eſcape by land, although they would, and were not able to fight hand to hand with the Romanes, for their ſmall pyrat boats were not able to withſtand their enemies great veſſels; and beſide that, they were not ſufficiently manned, ſo that they feared to encounter with the Romanes who preſſed all together vpon them: yet notwithſtanding ſomerime they came about the Roman ſhips, and caſt ſtones at the Romans afar off, and ſometime alſo came neere, and skirmiſhed with them: yet they themſelues alwaies had more harme then the Romans; for their ſtones which they caſt did only rattle againſt the Romans armour, but hurt them not, and they were killed by the Romans arrowes: and if at any time they were ſo bold as to come neere the Romans, they were ſlain before that they could doe them any harme, or elſe drowned with their boats. And as many as attempted to wound the Romans, were ſlaine with Iauelins, and other with ſwords, the Romans leaping into their boats; and many were taken with their boats, the ſhips meeting one another. They that were in the water and did lift vp their heads to ſwim, were preuented with arrows, or

A fight by ſea againſt the Taricheans.

The yeere of the world, 4031. after Christs Natiuitie, 69.

Vespasians victory in the lake of Genezar against the Taricheans.

ouertaken with Roman boats: and if in desperation they came swimming towards their enemies, their hands or heads were presently cut off. And thus some perished one way, some another, till at last they fled, and arriued vpon the shore, their ships being compassed round about. So the Romans kild many vpon the lake, and many vpon the land, and one might then haue seen all the lake stained with blood full of dead bodies, for not one escaped aliue. A few dayes after in that countrey there was a very odious stinch, and a horrible spectacle: for the shores were all full of boats that had suffered shipwracke, and dead bodies swollen in the water: and those dead bodies taking heat, did putrifie and so corrupt the aire all about, that not onely the whole countrey and inhabitants thought it a miserable affliction, but also the Romans who were the authors thereof. And this was the end of that warre by water. And the number of them that were slain here in the citie, was 6500. The fight being ended, *Vespasian* sate in a tribunall seate, and separated the strangers from the inhabitants, for that they seemed to be the authors of that warre: yet he deliberated with the Captaines and Gouernours, whether he should likewise pardon them: but they told him that their liues might endomage him; for said they, if thou send those men away and let them liue, they cannot liue peaceably, because they want abiding places; and are able to disturbe and disquiet those to whom they shall flie. *Vespasian* for this cause iudged them vnworthy to liue; assuredly knowing that if they were let go, they would fight against them who pardoned their liues, yet he deliberated what death to put them to. But he thought with himself the inhabitants would not patiently abide so many to be massacred, who had fled vnto them for succour: wherefore he sought to vse no violence vnto them, because he had promised them securitie. But at last he was ouercome by the perswasion of his friends, who told him that all things against the Iewes were lawfull, and that profit was to be preferred before honesty, seeing both could not be had: so licence being granted vnto them to depart, they suspecting nothing, were commanded to take onely that way that leadeth vnto Tiberias: and they fearing nothing, willingly obeyed that which was commanded them, not misdoubting the safety of their goods or money: but the Romans had placed themselues on euery side the way euen vnto Tiberias, to the intent that none might escape, and so shut them all in the city. Presently after came *Vespasian* and inclozed them all in an Amphitheater, and so killed 1200. of them, who were all old men or young, and vnable for seruice: of the rest that were all strong young men, he sent 6000. vnto *Nero* at Isthmos neere Corinth. The rest of the multitude he sold, in number 30400. beside others that he gaue vnto *Agrippa:* for he permitted him to doe what he would with those sort that were of his kingdome: But *Agrippa* sold also those that were giuen him. The rest of them were fugitiues and seditious persons of Trachon, Gaulanitis, and Hippenis, and many of Gadara, whose contempt of peace iustly procured these wars. They were taken the sixt of the Ides of September.

Vespasian consults with his chieftains about the Iewes.

The destruction and sale of the Iewes.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE OF THE WARRES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the fourth Booke.

1 *How Gamala was besieged.*
2 *How* Placidus *tooke Itaburium.*
3 *How Gamala was destroyed.*
4 *How* Titus *tooke Giscala.*
5 *Of the beginning of the destruction of Ierusalem.*
6 *Of the comming of the Idumæans vnto Ierusalem, and of their deeds.*
7 *Of the massacre of the Iewes by the Idumæans.*

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

How Gamala was beſieged.

The yeere of the world, 4031. after Chriſts birth, 69.

AFter that Tarichea was conquered, all thoſe that from the time that Iotapata was ſurprized till this inſtant, had reuolted from the Romanes, did now againe vnite themſelues vnto them: ſo that the Romanes had now gotten into their hands all Caſtles and Townes, Giſcala onely excepted, and Itaburium, a mountaine ſo called. With theſe two rebelled Gamala, a towne ouer againſt Tarichea, and ſituate vpon the lake, belonging to the kingdom of *Agrippa*, and alſo Sogane and Seleucia: and theſe two laſt were both belonging to Gaulanitis, and Sogane appertained to the higher part called Gaulana, and Gamala vnto the lower, Seleucia vnto the lake Semechonitis, which is thirtie furlongs in breadth, and threeſcore large, whoſe mariſhes reach euen vnto Daphne, which countrey is very pleaſant of it ſelfe, and famous for that it entertaineth the ſtreame called little Iordan, and at the foot of the golden mountaine doth deriue it into the great Iordan. *Agrippa*, in the beginning of the rebellion, vnited Sogane and Seleucia vnto himſelfe: but Gamala, by reaſon of the ſituation apt to reſiſt, did not yeeld vnto him, for it is farre ſtronger then Iotapata. For, from an exceeding high mountaine, there deſcendeth a hill very difficult for any to paſſe, riſing high in the midſt, and then deſcendeth lower and lower both before and behinde, ſo that it repreſenteth the figure of a Camell, which the Hebrews call Gamal, & ſo thereof it tooke the name, though the inhabitants doe not keepe the exact ſignification. Before it, and on either ſide there are deepe vallies, into the which a man can hardly deſcend, onely it may be taken and aſſaulted on that ſide where it ioyneth vnto the mountaine, which alſo the inhabitants haue made inacceſſible, by cutting out there a deepe ditch. In that place the Citie was very well inhabited on the deſcent of the hill, and towards the South part it ſtood on ſo ſteepe a hill, that it ſeemed as if it would haue falne euery houre, and the South hill ſerued the inhabitants in ſtead of a Caſtle, being vnwald: for it was an exceeding high rocke, and reached downe euen to the bottome of the valley in the towne, and at the walles thereof there was a fountaine. Although this Citie were of his owne nature inuincible, yet *Ioſeph* compaſſing it with a wall, and with ditches and mines, made it ſtronger. Wherefore the inhabitants of this place put farre more confidence in their walles then they of Iotapata did; yet were they fewer in number, and not ſo warlike people as they; but for the ſituation of the Citie, they eſteeemed themſelues more then their enemies: for the City was full of men that fled thither by reaſon of the ſtrength of the place: ſo that for ſeuen moneths they reſiſted them that were ſent by *Agrippa* to beſiege them. *Veſpaſian* departed from Ammaus, and pitched his tents before Tiberias, and ſo went vnto Gamala, (Ammaus is interpreted hote waters, for there is a fountaine of hot water which cureth many diſeaſes) and the Citie was ſo ſituate, that hee could not beſiege it round about: wherefore he placed men to keepe watch in ſuch places as it was paſſable, and obtained the higheſt mountaine, where his ſouldiers pitching their tents, laſtly, entrenched themſelues. On the Eaſt-part of the citie in the moſt eminent place there was a caſtle, where the fifteenth and fift legions laboured againſt the towne, and the tenth legion filled vp the ditches and vallies. King *Agrippa* went vnto the walles, and ſpake vnto them that defended them, willing them to yeeld to the Romanes: but one of them with a ſling ſtrooke him on the right arme, and hurt him, and his familiar friends came about him to defend him. Then the Romanes, for anger that the King was hurt, and for feare of ſuch miſchances to themſelues, now became earneſt to aſſault the towne, perſwading themſelues that they would vſe ſtrangers and their enemies hardly, if it lay in their lot, ſeeing they had ſo euill entreated one of their owne nation, for perſwading them vnto what was profitable for them.

The victory of the Romans againſt the Iewes.

Semechonitis a lake.

The fountain of Iordan.

The ſituation of Gamala.

The citie of Gamala inexpugnable and ſtrong.

Veſpaſian beſieged Gamala.

One with a ſling woundeth Agrippa.

Hauing quickly intrenched themſelues by reaſon of the multitude that laboured in that buſineſſe, and by reaſon that they were accuſtomed to ſuch like worke, they began to place the engines againſt the towne wals. *Chares* and *Ioſeph* were two of the moſt potent men in the towne: they therefore animated and armed their Citizens, and brought them vnto the wals, who trembled for feare. And although they well perceiued that the citie could not long hold out, ſeeing they wanted water, and many other things neceſſary to withſtand a ſiege; yet notwithſtanding, they exhorted the townesmen to be valiant, and ſo brought them vnto the walles, and a while they reſiſted, notwithſtanding the ſhot: but at laſt, they were therewith ſo terrified, that leauing the wals, they fled into the city. Then the Romans did batter the wals with Rams in three ſeuerall

The Romans beſiege Gamala, and aſſault it.

The yeere of the world, 4031. after Christs birth, 69.

rall places, and where the wall fell, there they issued in with trumpets and a great noise, and cries, and fought with the townsmen, who in the first conflict so valiantly resisted them, that they permitted them not to enter any further into the towne. At last being ouercome both in strength and number, they all fled into the highest part of the city, and from thence they turned againe vpon the Romans, who pursued them, and draue them downe into the vallies, and kild many, and diuers in that straight passage were troden to death by their fellowes. The Romanes, seeing that they neither could flee, nor resist their enemies aboue their heads, fled into their houses, which adioyned vnto the Plaine, and so filled them, that being ouercharged, they fell down, and lighted vpon other houses beneath them, which did beare them downe also, and they likewise others situated beneath them. Many of the Romanes this way perished; for being amazed, and not knowing what to doe, they fled into their houses, notwithstanding they did see them shake and totter: and many seeking to escape, were maymed by some part of the ruines that fell vpon their bodies, and many were choaked in the dust. The citizens of Gamala reioyced thereat, thinking that this ayde was sent from God: and not regarding their priuate commodities, they ceased not to compell the Romanes into their houses; and if any were in the narrow streets, them they slew with darts from aboue out of the high places. Thus the ruines afforded them stones enow, and their slaine enemies swords and armour, which they tooke from them, being now halfe dead, and vsed them against themselues: many dyed, who cast themselues headlong from off the houses being ready to fall, and those that sought to flee could not easily escape; for being ignorant of the wayes, and there being such a dust that one could not see another, one of them killed another: and so with much adoe finding passage, they went out of the citie.

The Romans fall down with the ruines of the Iewes houses.

Many Romanes slaine and spoyled.

Vespasians fortitude and warlike valour.

Vespasian, who was alwayes among the midst of these hurlyburlies, was greatly moued to see the buildings fall so vpon his souldiers: and forgetting his owne safetie, he secretly retired himselfe with onely a few into the higher part of the citie, where he was left in great danger, hauing very few about him (for *Titus* his son was not there, being before this time sent vnto *Mutianus* in Syria) and now he could not flee safely, nor yet had it bin for his honour, if he could. Wherefore remembring all that he had done euen from his child-hood, and his owne vertue, he encouraged his men, and with them ioyned armes, and couered themselues with their shields; and so as it were mooued with some diuine motion, defended themselues from all darts, arrowes and stones, which were cast from aloft vpon them, and so remained there, not terrified either by the number or might of his enemies, till at last, they wondring at his diuine vertue and courage, asswaged their fury. And now perceiuing his enemies to assault him but faintly, he retired backe, till at such time as he got without the citie walles.

Vespasians fight with the Iewes.

Many Romanes perished in that fight, and amongst the rest, *Ebutius* a Decadarch, who not onely in that fight shewed himselfe valiant, but also in many wars before, and had done the Iews much harme. Also in that fight a certaine Centurion, named *Gallus*, accompanied with ten souldiers, hid himselfe in a house, and at supper time he heard the people of that house talk, what the citizens of Gamala were purposed to do against the Romanes (this *Gallus* & they with him were Syrians) and in the night time he slew them all, and after escaped safe vnto the Romans. *Vespasian* perceiued all his army sorrowfull for that mischance, and so much the more, for that they neuer as yet had so bad a breakfast, and especially, for that they had forsaken their Generall, and left him in danger and distresse: wherefore he thought it good to comfort them, nothing speaking concerning himselfe, lest he should seeme to finde fault with some in the beginning of his speech. Wherefore he told them, that it behooued them patiently to abide that which was common to all men, affirming that there was no victory without bloodshed, and that fortune was mutable: and that he had already slain many thousand Iewes, and now had paid a small bribe for his happy successe vnto aduerse fortune. And that as it did not become any but vaine-glorious people to boast in their prosperitie, so it behooued none but cowards to feare and tremble in aduersitie: For, said he, fortune is very mutable both to the good and bad, and he is a valiant man that is not mooued by aduersitie: for he, hauing all his wits about him, can euen in the midst of his troubles see where any fault is, and amend it. Yet (quoth he) this hath not befalne vs through the weakenesse of our courage, or the valour and prowesse of the Iewes, but the difficultie of the place was the cause that they should ouercome vs, and we be ouercome. Wherefore one may well reprehend the too much rashnesse of your spirits: for when you saw your enemies flee into the higher places, you should then haue held your hands, and not to haue pursued them with so manifest danger to your selues, as euery one might foresee in this pursuit; so you hauing gained the lower part of the citie, you might in time haue drawne them to a sure and safe conflict: but

Gallus with ten souldiers lyeth hid in a certain house.

Vespasian comforteth his souldiers.

The inconstancy and mutabilitie of Fortune.

but you, being eager of the victory, did not respect your own safety. It is not the manner of the Romans rashly and vnaduisedly to fight, who are wont to do all things orderly and aduisedly: for the other is fit for barbarous people, and as you see proper to the Iewes. Wherefore, let vs call our owne vertues to mind, and rather be angry for this that hath hapned (and so incite our selues to reuenge) then sorrowfull. And let euery valiant souldier with his owne hand comfort himselfe; so shall we both reuenge the death of our friends, and be reueng'd of them by whom they were slaine: and I my selfe (as also now I did) will expose my selfe to all dangers with you, and go first to fight, and come last from fight. With these and such like speeches he comforted his souldiers.

The yeere of the world, 4031. after Christs birth, 69.

The Romane souldiers doe all things with discretion.

The people of Gamala were of great courage, and much emboldened with their prosperous successe, which notwithstanding did not happen through their valour: but presently perceiuing that now all hope of pardon was taken away, and that there was no way to escape, they were very sorrowfull, and their hearts relented (for now victuals failed them) yet they omitted not to prouide for their owne safety wherein they could; for the most valiant among them kept the breach, and the rest, other strong places about the walles which were yet vnbattered. The Romanes againe built mounts, and attempted to assault the Citie, and many of the Citizens fled by the vallies where no guard was, and by secret vaults vnderneath the ground; and they who for feare lest they should bee taken remained in the Citie, perished for hunger: for all the victuals were reserued for them that fought. And they still continued in this calamitie.

The Romanes once more attempt the assault of Gamala.

CHAP. II.

How PLACIDVS *tooke the mountaine Itaburium.*

DVring this siege, *Vespasian* made another expedition against them that kept the mountaine Itaburium, situate betweene the great field and Scythopolis, which is 30. furlongs high, and inaccessible on the north side. In the very top of this mountaine there is a Plaine 20. furlongs ouer, enclosed with a wall; all which wall being of so huge a compasse, *Ioseph* had built in 40. daies: they receiued all necessary prouision from beneath, for they had onely raine water. Vnto this place a huge multitude were gathered, and *Vespasian* sent *Placidus* against them with 600. horsemen, who could no waies get vpon the mountaine: wherefore he exhorted many of them to peace, putting them in hope of pardon: likewise many of the Iewes came downe vnto him, as it were to entrap him, and assault him at vnawares. *Placidus* for the nonce gaue them faire speeches, hoping to get them downe into the Plaine: so they, as though they would haue obeyed him, followed him thither, meaning when they came there, suddenly to assault him: yet *Placidus* his deuice tooke place. For when the Iewes assaulted him, he fained himselfe to flee, and the Iewes hauing pursued him a great way from the mountaine, hee turned againe vpon them, and wounded many on the backs as they fled, and killed some, and hindred the rest of the multitude from ascending the mountaine: so the rest left Itaburium, and fled vnto Ierusalem, and the inhabitants (now water failing them) yeelded to *Placidus*, and deliuered the mountaine vnto him.

The height of the mountaine Itaburium.

Fraud paide with fraud.

Placidus victory.

CHAP. III.

How Gamala was destroyed.

NOvv the most presumptuous among the Gamalians fled and hid themselues, and the weaker sort did perish through famine: yet the most courageous that were left among them, defended the wall till the 27. day of October. Vpon which day, three souldiers of the fifteenth Legion, towards breake of the day, vndermined the highest tower in their quarter, and entred into it; those that kept it, neither perceiuing them when they came in, nor when they went out, (for it was in the night time.) These souldiers being wary lest any noise should be made, remooued fiue of the greatest stones, and presently leapt away, and incontinently the tower fell with a hideous noise, and with the fall kild those that kept it, and many that kept watch in those quarters fled, being sore afraid: and they who sought to escape the Romans, were killed, amongst whom one *Ioseph* was strooken with a dart from a part of the wall that was falne downe, and there dyed. They who were within the city were terrified with the noise hereof, and ranne vp and downe as though all the enemies were already entred into it. And *Chares*, *Iosephs* companion, being sicke, yeelded vp the ghost, feare encreasing his disease, and helping to shorten

The Romanes vndermine a certain tower, and it falleth with a great noise.

The yeere of the world, 4031. after Christs birth, 69.

shorten his life. The Romanes, remembring the bad successe at the last assault, did not enter the Citie till the 23. day of the foresaid moneth.

Titus with a hundred horse besides chosen footmen, entreth Gamala

Then *Titus*, as it were vexed at the misfortune of the Romanes in his absence, accompanied with 200. horsemen, and certaine chosen footemen, entered the City, no man resisting him: and he being passed into the same, the watchmen then first perceiuing it, cried, To armes. Those within the Citie fearing that *Titus* was entred, some tooke their children, some their wiues, and fled into the Castle with pitifull cries and weeping: others met *Titus*, and were all put to the sword: and they that could not get into the Castle, not knowing what to doe, fell among the Romane watchmen: then the skies were fild with the cries of men dying, and the lower places of the city flowed with blood. *Vespasian* led his whole army against those that fled into the castle, which was of a huge height, and scarcely to bee come vnto, being all of stone, and full of ditches and deepe dens, and compassed with steepy rockes: so the Iewes did driue downe the Romanes that offered to come vp vnto them, partly with darts, partly with stones, which they rouled down vpon them; and they were so high, that the Romanes arrowes could not reach them. But at last, as it were by Gods prouidence, who would haue it, a whirlewinde arose, which carried the Romanes arrowes amongst them into the castle, and the Iewes arrowes from the Romans, and the wind was so violent, that it was not possible for them to stand vpon those high places; and so not being able to stand, nor to see those that came against them, the Romans ascended and took the castle; some resisting for their defence, others yeelding themselues. The Romanes now call'd to minde their fellowes that perished in the first assault, and so became more cruell. Many despairing of their liues, cast their wiues, their children, and themselues headlong downe those high places, into the deepe vallies vnderneath. So that the cruelty that the Romanes shewed against the people of Gamala, was not so great as that which they vsed against themselues: for there were onely 4000. that perisht by the Romans sword; and the number of them who so cast themselues downe, was found to be 5000. and not one escaped, but two women that were sisters, and daughters to *Philip*, who was son to *Ioachimus*, a worthy man, and Gouernor ouer all *Agrippas* army vnder him; and these two were saued onely, because at such time as the city was taken, they hid themselues; for they spared not infants, but many took them and cast them downe from the castle. And thus was Gamala destroyed the 23. day of October, which began to rebell the 21. day of September.

The top of the Castle of Gamala stony and hard to be climed.

The Romans victory by Gods prouidence.

9000. Iewes slaine in Gamala, & onely two women escape.

CHAP. IIII.

How TITVS *tooke Giscala.*

The yeere of the world, 4032. after Christs birth, 70.

NOw all the cities and strong places of Galilee were taken, Giscala onely excepted: the inhabitants whereof desired peace, for that they were husbandmen, and their riches consisted in the fruites of the earth; but there were many theeues in the city: to which vice also many of the Citizens were addicted. The people were incited to rebell by one *Iohn*, a witch; and a deceitfull person, sonne to one *Leuias*; who was of strange manners, and bold to presume any thing, and wonderfully atchieuing all he tooke in hand, and he was knowne to all men for one that desired warre to make himselfe mighty. This man was Ringleader of the seditious persons in Giscala: and for feare of them, the people, who perhaps otherwise would haue sent Legates to the Romanes to request peace, were hindred and forced to stay, till the Romanes came to warre against them. Against these people *Vespasian* sent *Titus*, and with him a thousand horsemen; and the tenth legion toward Scythopolis: and he with the rest went to Cæsarea, to refresh them after their great labour, at the charge of the townes adioyning; iudging it necessary to comfort their bodies, and encourage their mindes to sustaine manfully the wars that were to ensue: for he foresaw that he should haue much adoo to win Ierusalem, both for that it was wont to be the Kings seat, and also because it was the chiefe and head City of all the nation. And his care in this point was so much the more encreast, for that he perceiued many out of all parts fled thither; and that it was naturally strong, and also compassed with almost inuincible walles: and beside this, the boldnesse and desperate courage of the inhabitants, who although that they had no walles at all, yet had beene scarcely to be conquered: and therefore hee thought it necessary to comfort his souldiers before the fight, like champions who ought to enter the field and fight couragiously.

Iohn a poysoner and a deceitfull man, inforceth the Citizens of Giscala to rebell.

Vespasian foreseeth his no small trouble in the siege of Ierusalem.

Titus (comming on horseback vnto Giscala) perceiued that it might easily be taken: yet knowing that if it were taken by force, all the people should be destroyed by the Romans (and now he was weary of bloodshed) he cõpassionating the well disposed people, which were otherwise like

Titus his compassion towards those of Giscala,

to

A to periſh together with the wicked, attempted to take it by condition. Wherefore the wals being full of people, amongſt whom were many of the ſeditious, he told them that he maruelled what help they had or expected, or by whoſe aduice, all other cities being now taken, they alone would abide the laſt brunt of the Roman forces, eſpecially when as they had already ſeen many towns, far ſtronger then theirs, ouerthrowne at the firſt aſſault: and contrariwiſe, thoſe who had yeelded themſelues to the Romans, liued in peace, and peaceably enioyed all that was theirs. Which offer (ſaid he) I now alſo make vnto you, and am not yet incenſed againſt you, becauſe that which you doe is for your liberty: but if (quoth he) you do ſtill perſeuere in this impoſſible courſe, my diſpleaſure ſhall be kindled againſt you. And if ſo be they refuſed this kind offer, they ſhould pre-
B ſently perceiue the Roman ſword to be ſharpened for their deſtruction, and incontinently ſhould find that their wals were but a mockery, and no waies able to reſiſt the Romane engines: where contrariwiſe, if they yeelded themſelues, and truſted to the fidelity of the Romans, they ſhould be the moſt happy people of all Galilee. None of the towneſ-men were admitted to make anſwer, nor to come vnto the wals: for the theeues were maſters of them; and a guard was placed at euery gate, leſt any one ſhould go forth to ſubmit themſelues, or any horſemen ſhould bee re-
C ceiued into the city. Then *Iohn* made anſwer, that he liked well of the conditions offered, and that he would either perſwade or compell the inhabitants to accept of them, yet hee requeſted, that that day might be granted vnto the Iewes: for it was the 7. day, wherein it was not lawfull for them to entreat of peace, nor make warre. For as the Romans knew, the Iewes euery ſeuenth day ceaſt from all work: and which if they profaned, they who cauſed it to be ſo abuſed, though it were *Titus* himſelfe, were as great offenders as they who were forced to it. Moreouer, ſo ſhort time could not preiudice the Romans, to wit, one nights ſpace: for nothing hee could effect in that time to endammage them, except only by fleeing out of the city (which *Titus* might preuent by placing a ſtrong guard & watch in euery place thereabout) and that he thought it a great priuiledge to be ſuffred to keepe the cuſtome of his countrey; and that it was his part, who offred peace & ſafety to them that expected it, and alſo to keep their laws whoſe ſafety he granted. With theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches *Iohn* ſought to delude *Titus*, being not ſo religious about the keeping of the Sabbath, as carefull for his own ſafety: for he feard that the city would preſently be taken,
D and he left alone, & ſo he determined in that night to flee, as the only way to ſaue his life. Truly God would haue it ſo, that *Iohn* ſhould then eſcape, to be the ouerthrowe of Ieruſalem, and that *Titus* ſhould not onely grant him the time he requeſted to deliberate, but alſo that night ſhould pitch his tents neere Cydæſſa, by the higher part of the towne, which is the ſtrongeſt village of all that are in the heart of the Tyrian ſoyle, which the Galileans alwaies hated. In the night time *Iohn* perceiuing no Romanes to keepe watch about the towne, hauing now opportunity, fled not onely with the armed men about him, but alſo with many of the chiefe of the Citie, and whole families, whom he promiſed to conduct vnto Ieruſalem. But *Iohn* fearing captiuitie, and carefull for his owne ſafetie, hauing carryed them twentie furlongs out of the Citie, forſooke them: who being ſo left deſolate, began grieuouſly to lament. For euery one thought himſelfe as neere his enemies, as he was farre from the Citie and his friends: and ſtill euery ſtep, they thought their
E enemies at hand ready to take them, and euer they lookt backe, as though their enemies heard the noiſe they made as they went, and ſo came againſt them; inſomuch that many ruſhed forward on heapes, and many were killed in the way with the preaſe of them that followed; ſo that women and infants did periſh miſerably: or if they ſpake any thing, only it was entreating their parents or their kinsfolke to ſtay for them.

The yeere of the world, 4032. after Chriſts birth, 70.

Titus his mercifull oration to thoſe of Giſcala.

Iohns anſwer to Titus exhortation.

Iohn reſerued by Gods prouidence to be at the ſiege of Ieruſalem.

The feare of thoſe Iewes that fled with Iohn.

But *Iohns* exhortation tooke effect, wherein he cryed vnto them to ſaue themſelues, and haſten vnto ſuch a place, where they might be ſafe, and reuenge themſelues of the Romans, for the outrages which they that remain'd behind were like to indure: and ſo the multitude that fled, euery one as he was able diſperſed themſelues. *Titus* early in the morning came vnto the wals to know whether they accepted of his offer. Then the people ſet open the gates, and with their wiues and
F children came to meet him, all crying that he was their ſafetie, and worker of their welfare, and that he had deliuered their City out of captiuity: alſo they certified him how *Iohn* was fled, and beſought him to pardon them, and execute iuſtice vpon thoſe malefactors that remained in the city. And at their requeſt, he ſent certaine horſemen to purſue *Iohn*, but they could not take him, for before they came, he had gotten into Ieruſalem: yet they ſlew almoſt two thouſand of them that fled with him, and brought backe againe three thouſand women and children. *Titus* was angry that he ſuffred *Iohns* deceit to eſcape vnpuniſhed: yet his anger was ſomething appeaſed, for that hee perceiued *Iohns* purpoſe preuented, in that ſo many of his company were ſlaine, and

The citizens of Giſcala entertaine Titus with all obedience.

and ſo many brought backe their captiues. Thus hee peaceably entred the city, commanding the ſouldiers to break down a little piece of the wall, as it were to take poſſeſſion of it, and ſo puniſht the ſeditious rather with threats then torments. For hee thought that many were accuſed onely for priuate hatred, and ſo were in danger to ſuffer being innocent: and he thought it better to let the wicked liue in feare, then with them to deſtroy the guiltleſſe. Thinking moreouer, that hereafter they would be more quiet, either for feare of puniſhment, or for ſhame of their former offence, for which they were pardon'd: and that if any man ſuffered vnworthily, he could not afterward complaine. Then he placed there a garriſon, both to repreſs the ſeditious, & alſo to confirme them that deſired peace. And thus was Galilee conquered after it had much toyled the Romans.

The yeere of the world, 4032. after chriſts birth, 70.

Titus mercy to his enemies

It is better to leaue an enemy in ſuſpence through feare, then with the guilty to confound the innocent.

CHAP. V.

Of the beginning of the deſtruction of Ieruſalem.

SO ſoone as *Iohn* was entred into Ieruſalem, all the people flocked about him and thoſe that came with him, enquiring what calamity had befalne them without the city. Some of them being yet out of breath, and not able to ſpeake, by ſignes diſcouered their neceſſity: yet amidſt theſe their miſeries, they boaſted that it was not the Roman power that forced them to flee, but that they of their own accord fled thither to war againſt the Romans in a ſafer place, then that from whence they fled, was; for none but vnaduiſed and raſh-headed men would fight for ſuch a citie as Giſcala and other places that were not able to reſiſt, ſeeing that it behoued them all to reſerue their vigour and ſtrength to defend their Metropolitane City. They alſo ſignified vnto them, how Giſcala was taken by the Romanes, and that they departed in good ſort away, though ſome reported that they fled. The people of Ieruſalem, hearing what theſe men reported, and how many were captiues vnto the Romans, they fell into a great feare, as though that which they told did portend their ruine. But *Iohn*, nothing aſhamed in that hee had ſo ſhamefully forſaken them of Giſcala who fled with him, went firſt to one, and then to another, inciting them all to warre vnder a vaine hope, alleadging the weaknes of the Romans, and extolling their owne puiſſance, deceiuing the ſimple people; and perſwading them, that though the Romans ſought to reuenge, yet could they neuer enter the wals of Ieruſalem, who had ſo much adoo, and endured ſuch affliction in entring the little burges & villages of Galilee, againſt whoſe wals they had broken all their engines. Theſe words of his, incited many young men to ſedition: but all the wiſer ſort foreſaw what was like to enſue, and euen now mourned their loſt city. And in this caſe were they of Ieruſalem: yet before this ſedition in the city, the countrey people began to be at diſcord among themſelues. For *Titus* departed from Giſcala vnto Cæſarea, & *Veſpaſian* went from Cæſarea to Iamnia & Azotus, and took them both: & leauing there garriſons, he returned to Cæſarea, bringing with him a huge company of them who had yeelded vnto him. All cities were at ciuill wars among themſelues; ſo that when the Romans did not war vpon them, one part of the Iewes in euery city fought againſt the other, and there was a great diſſention between thoſe that deſir'd peace, & the ſeditious people: and at firſt, this diſcord began only in priuate houſes; but in the end, euery one ioyning with them that were of their mind, they now began in companies to rebell openly. Thus euery place was troubled with ciuill diſcord: and euery where raſh young men, who deſired wars, preuailed againſt graue & wiſe old men, who foreſeeing the calamity like to enſue, deſired peace. At firſt, the inhabitants one by one rob'd and ſpoiled what they could; but at laſt, in whole troups they ioyned together, and robbed openly, & waſted all the countrey about: and they in their robberies ſhewed ſuch crueltie, that the harme and iniury they did vnto their owne countrimen, was altogether equall to the miſeries which befell them by meanes of the Romans; and they, who by theſe miſcreants were ſpoiled, wiſhed rather to haue falne into the Romans hands. But they who kept the citie, either becauſe they were loth to weary themſelues, or elſe for that they hated the citizens or people, did nothing or very little ſuccour them that fell into theſe theeues hands. At laſt the theeues aſſembled themſelues together from all places, and ioyning cõpanies, they brake into Ieruſalem. This citie had no gouernor, and according to the cuſtome of that countrie, receiued all that came thither that were their countrimen; and ſo much more willingly at that time, becauſe they thought that they that came thither, came of good will to help them: which only was afterward the cauſe that the city was deſtroid; ſetting aſide the ciuill diſſenſiõ. For a great multitude of people vnapt to fight being there, cõſum'd the victuals that would haue ſuffized for the fighting men: & beſide the wars, they brought vpon it famine & ciuill diſſẽſion. Then other theeues came out of the fields thereabout, and ioyning thẽſelues with thoſe that were within the city, omitted no kind of villany: for not cõtent to rob & ſpoile, they alſo attempted

The courage of Iohn and thoſe that fled with him, ſtirs vp the Iewes to make war againſt the Romanes.

Inteſtine diſcord in Iury.

The Iewes turne their weapons againſt themſelues.

The theeues trooping together in Ieruſalem, ſpoil the countrey.

A ted to commit murders, not onely priuily, or in the night vpon meane men; but euen in the day time they publikely set vpon the chiefest of the nobilitie. For first of all they tooke *Antipas*, who was borne of the blood royall, a man so eminent amongst them, that the publike treasure was committed to his charge and custody, and put him in prison: and after him they tooke *Sepha* a worthy man, and sonne to *Raguel* and *Læuia*, both of them of the Kings housholde, and after them all that seemed to beare any sway, or were in authority amongst the people. Great feare fell vpon the Inhabitants, and euery one prouided to saue himselfe, as though the citie were euen now surprized by the enemies. But these people were not content thus to haue imprisoned those potentates, neither did they thinke it safetie for themselues any longer to detaine such men aliue: B for many came dayly vnto them to visit them, and vnto their houses, who were able to reuenge their iniuries: and moreouer they feared that the peoole would make a head against them, being moued with their iniquitie. Wherefore they determined to kill them: and to effect their purpose, they sent one *Iohn* a cruell murderer, who was the son of *Dorcas*: he accompanied with ten more all hauing swords went vnto the prison, and slew as many as they found there. To excuse this cruell fact of theirs, they alledged this, to wit, that all they who were slaine in prison, had conference with the Romans concerning the betraying of the Citie into their hands, and that for this cause they had slaine them, being traytors to their Countrey: they also boasted that this fact of theirs had preserued the Citie, and that therefore they had well deserued of it. The people was brought vnto such slauery and terror, that the chusing of the high Priest was in their hands to C elect whom they pleased: so much was their insolence increased. Thus they not respecting the families, out of which it was onely lawfull to chuse the high Priest, they now elected strangers and base persons to that sacred dignitie, and such as would be partakers of their villanies and impieties: for they who not deseruing it, attained to such dignitie, were as it were bound vnto their will in all things, by whom they were so exalted. They also deuised many lies, to make those that were in authoritie one at variance with another, thereby as it were to hold them occupied, who were able to resist their enterprizes, till that being now satisfied with the blood of the Citizens, they began to commit impietie against God himselfe, and with prophane and vnpure feet to enter into the Sanctuary. Then the people was incited against them by *Ananus* his meanes, who was one of the Priests, and the most ancient and wisest of them all, who perhaps had saued D the Citie, had he escaped the hands of these miscreants. But they vsed the Temple as a Castle and defence for themselues against the people, and made the Sanctuary a place for them to exercise tyrannie in. And that which increased the sorrow of the Citizens, was, that amidst these calamities, their religion was also contumeliously abused: for these theeues, to try of what strength and courage the people were, and their owne forces, did elect by lot a high Priest contrary to their law: which as we haue already said, requireth that the high Priest shall be chosen by succession. This deed of theirs they coloured with an ancient custome, alledging that in time past the high Priest was chosen by lot. But indeed this their fact was an abrogation of the most firme custome that was amongst the people, and was onely a deuice to get all gouernment into their hands by establishing Magistrates at their pleasure.

E Then calling one of the holy tribes named *Eniachin*, they cast lots, and it so fell out that the lot fell vpon one, wherby their iniquity was discouered. This man whose lot it was to be high Priest was named *Phanes*, who was the sonne of *Samuel*, a man not onely vnworthy of that dignitie, but who had beene so rudely brought vp, that he neuer knew what the high Priest meant: this *Phanes* was borne in a village called Aphthasis. Him, against his will they fetcht out of the field, and as it had beene in a stage-play they graced him with another mans person, and presently gaue him instructions how he should behaue himselfe, putting vpon him the sacred attire of the high Priest, as though that so great impietie had beene but a sport. The rest of the Priests, beholding a far off the holy lawes to be scorned, scarcely contained themselues from teares, & euen groaned for sorrow, that their sacred dignities were so abused. The people could no longer endure this F their tyranny, but now euery one addrest himselfe to depose these tyrants. And those that were most earnest herein, were *Gorion Iosephs* sonne, and *Simeon* the sonne of *Gamaliel*, who went about the City to euery one in priuate, and then in a publike assembly exhorted the people to be reuenged vpon those tyrants, who tooke from them their libertie; and to addresse themselues to purge the holy Temple from such vile and vncleane persons. Likewise the best disposed amongst the Priests, to wit, *Iesus* the sonne of *Gamala*, and *Ananus* the sonne of *Ananus*, often in publike Sermons reprehended the people, and vpbrayded them with their slouth, in that they made no more haste to destroy those Zelous people (for so those wretches termed themselues, as

The yeere of the world, 4032. after Christs birth, 70.

Rapines and spoyles committed by day time.

The nobilitie of the Citie are taken and slaine by the theeues.

The theeues at their pleasure make a high Priest.

A high Priest chosen by the contrary to the ancient custome.

Phanes a countrey clowne made a high Priest.

The best Citizens exhort the people to reuenge.

The yeere of the world, 4032. after Christs birth, 70.

though they had beene deuout followers of goodneſſe, and not impious malefactors. The people being all aſſembled together, euery man grieued to ſee the holy place ſo kept for a denne of theeues, and of their robberies and murders which they committed; yet did they not goe about to reuenge, thinking themſelues too weake to deale with theſe Zelous, as indeed they were. Then *Ananus* ſtood vp amongſt the middeſt of them: and hauing often turned his eyes to the Temple, and beholden it till the teares ran downe his cheekes, Oh ſaid he, how farre better were it for me to dye, then to liue, to ſee the Houſe of God thus filled with impietie, and the Sanctuary, wherein none ſhould come but the high Prieſt, prophaned with the wicked feet of impious perſons, being cloathed in Prieſts apparell, and beare the name of the moſt authoritie amongſt all names? and doe I yet liue, and doe I ſaue my ſelfe, and to bee gray-headed, abſtaine from dying a glorious death? Nay, rather I alone will goe againſt theſe murderers, and as though I were in a wilderneſſe where there were no man beſide my ſelfe, I alone will goe and offer my ſoule for Gods ſake. For what doth it auaile mee to liue amongſt a people, that hath no feeling of their owne calamitie, & which ſeeketh not to redreſſe their owne preſent miſeries? for you being robbed and ſpoyled beare all patiently, and being beaten you hold your peace, and there is none amongſt you that dare openly mourne for them that are moſt cruelly murdered. O tyrannous gouernment! But why ſhould I exclaime againſt the tyrants? Did not you your ſelues make them great, and nouriſh their power and authoritie by your patience? Did not you, by deſpiſing thoſe who before were in authoritie being but a few, make all theſe, who are many in number, tyrants ouer your ſelues? haue not you keeping your ſelues quiet, they being armed, turned their ſwords vpon your owne heads? and as then it behooued you to reſiſt their enterprizes, when firſt they iniured your kindred; you by ſuffering, haue made them theeues, becauſe at firſt you made no account, when they deſtroyed houſes and whole families. And this was the cauſe, that at laſt the rulers and potentates themſelues were ſet vpon, and none would ſuccour them when they were drawne thorow the middeſt of the Citie, and theſe murderers butchered them in priſon whom you thus betrayed. I will not recount what men they were, and of what birth: but I ſay they being neither accuſed nor condemned, hauing no man to heare them, they were moſt cruelly murdered, as we haue ſeene any: for they were before our faces led to bee ſlaine, as the fatteſt amongſt the whole herd of beaſts, all we beholding this: and yet no man opening his mouth nor lifting vp his hand. And will you alſo endure? will you ſuffer the holy Sanctuarie to be prophaned before your eyes? and will you, hauing ſo emboldened theſe miſcreants as ye ſee now, your ſelues ſtand in feare of them? aſſure your ſelues, they would, if they could deuiſe how, commit greater impietie then this is. They keepe againſt you the ſtrongeſt place in the whole Citie; called a Temple, but now indeed it is a fortreſſe or Caſtle of defence. What doe yee now thinke, ſuch a tyrannie being eſtabliſhed ouer you, and your enemies being euen vpon you; what do you deliberate to doe? Doe you expect the Romans to come and helpe you, to ſaue the Temple and ſacred myſteries? Our citie is now at that ſtay, and we haue ſo behaued our ſelues, that our verie enemies pitie vs. O yee wretches! will you not ariſe, and as the verie brute beaſts doe, will you not reuenge your ſelues vpon them that haue thus wounded you? Will not euerie one of you call to minde the maſſacre of his friends, and what calamitie he himſelfe hath ſuffered, and ſo encourage your ſelues to be reuenged? For ought I can ſee, you haue all loſt that ſacred and ſweet and naturall deſire of libertie, and now we imbrace bondage, as though we had learned to be bondmen euen from our anceſtors. But they endured many and hard warres to liue in libertie, and yeelded neither to the power of the Ægyptians, nor Medes, becauſe they would not bee at their command. What need is it to recount vnto you the warres of your predeceſſors? To what end doe we enterprize this war againſt the Romans (be it commodious for vs, or to our diſaduantage) if not to obtaine our libertie? And we, who cannot indure to be ſubiect vnto the Lords of the whole world, abide our owne nation to tyrannize ouer vs. Some may account it aduerſe fortune to be once ouercome by ſtrangers: but to be ſlaues vnto the baſeſt of our owne nation, it argueth that we haue no ſparke of generoſitie in vs, and that we beare baſe and ſeruile minds. And ſeeing I haue made mention of the Romanes, I will not ſticke to declare vnto you that which now commeth to my minde, to wit, that if we be taken by them (which God forbid) yet ſhall we ſuffer no greater miſerie at their hands, then now we doe vnder theſe baſe tyrants. And how can you abſtaine from teares, beholding this Temple, enriched by the gift of the Romanes, robbed and ſpoyled by them of our owne nation, this being our mother Citie? and to ſee thoſe men murdered, whom the Romanes (although they had conquered vs) would not haue touched? The Romanes neuer durſt preſume to paſſe beyond the limits of prophane places, nor euer violated

The Zelous the moſt wretched occaſion of theſe violences.

Ananus ſharp inuectiue againſt the Zelous.

Ananus twitteth the Iewes with their feare.

The crueltie of the theeues.

The Temple the ſtrongeſt fortreſſe of the Citie.

Warres are intended for libertie.

The compariſon of the Romans & Iewes and their properties.

A lated they our ſacred lawes and cuſtomes, but alwaies reuerenced the Sanctuary, beholding it onely afarre off: yet now ſome borne and brought vp amongſt vs who are called Iewes, tremble not to walke in the Sanctuary, hauing their hands bathed in the blood of their countrymen and brethren. Who will now feare forraine warres, ſeeing theſe ciuill broyles are ſuch? Much better were it for vs to fall into our enemies hand: yea, if you will call euery thing by ſuch a name as it deſerueth, we ſhall finde that the Romanes haue not violated our lawes, but haue been the confirmers thereof; and they within our walles are our enemies. True it is, that thoſe that haue thus tyrannized ouer vs, deſerue death, and that no puniſhment can be deuiſed great enough for their offence: and all of you were ſo perſwaded before I ſpake of it, and you were incited a-
B gainſt them by that which you haue endured at their hands: but yet you feare the multitude of them and their courage; and moreouer that they are in a higher place then you: yet as all this came by your negligence and ſuffering, ſo by your delaying they will grow ſtronger. For their number is dayly increaſed, and euery wicked perſon flyeth vnto his like; and they are ſo much the more emboldened, for that as yet no man did once offer to reſiſt their enterprizes: and bee ſure that if they haue time, they will make vſe of the higher place, and that to your domage. But (beleeue mee) if you would but once offer to goe againſt them, their very conſciences would abate their hautie minds, and the remembrance of their miſdeeds would put them ſo farre out of tune, that they will not make any benefit of the higher place. Perhaps God in his vengeance will turne their owne darts againſt them for their impietie, and conſume them there-
C with. Let vs but onely ſhew our ſelues, and we ſhall diſmay them; yet it is an honour for vs, if need be, to ſacrifice our liues for the defence of the holy Temple. My ſelfe will aſſiſt you with hand and aduice, and you ſhall ſee that you ſhall neither want counſell, nor that I will ſpare my owne body to defend you from their treacheries.

The yeere of the world, 4032. after Chriſts birth, 70.

An anſwer to their contrary opinion, who obiect the number and boldneſſe of the enemy.

The Epilogue of Ananus Oration to the people.

Ananus thus exhorted the people againſt the Zelous, yet he knew well that it was great difficulty to ouercome them, being luſtie young men, many in number, of great courage, and the more deſperate for the remorſe of cõſcience of the horrible crimes, & execrable deeds which they had committed, for they deſpaird of all hope of pardon for their miſdeeds. Yet *Ananus* thought it altogether intolerable, that the commonwealth ſhould be ſo ouerruled. After this exhortation the people cryed out, that they were ready to goe againſt the theeues, and to doe as they were reque-
D ſted. Whileſt that *Ananus* ſelected out the moſt able men for warre, and ſet them in order, the Zelous came and iſſued out vpon him, and (hauing intelligence of all his intents and proceedings by certaine ſpies which they had appointed vpon purpoſe) being inraged ſalyed out, and in companies, ſometime all at once, other times in ambuſhes; ſparing none that they met with. *Ananus* quickly gathered together the people, who were more in number then the theeues: yet were they not ſo well armed as they; but what they wanted in armes, their courage did ſupply. For the Citizens were armed with fury, ſtronger then armour; & they which were gone out of the temple, with a more deſperate boldnes, then all the multitude how great ſo euer it was. For the Citizens thought it no abiding for them in the Citie, except they could driue away the Zelous: and the Zelous thought that they could not eſcape torments and death it ſelfe, except that they were vi-
E ctors. So at laſt they ioyned battell, each vnder their Captaines and Leaders, and firſt of all both parties caſt ſtones one againſt another: and if any part fled, then the conquerors purſued them with drawne ſwords, and many were wounded and ſlaine on both parts. Thoſe townesmen that were wounded, were by their friends carried into their houſes; but the Zelous that were hurt, went into the Temple, and polluted the ſacred pauements with their blood: ſo that their religion was prophaned by their blood. Alwaies the theeues in making excurſions got the vpper hand. Hereat the Citizens being angry, ſeeing their number euery day increaſed, reproued the cowards: ſo that if any of their company offered to flye from the Zelous, they made him ſtand and reſiſt whether he would or no, not permitting him to paſſe away: And thus they bent all their forces againſt their enemies. At laſt, the theeues not able to make any longer reſiſtance, by little and
F little retired themſelues into the Temple, and *Ananus* with his company entred the Temple by force with them, and brake the ranke of his enemies. Then they in the vtter Temple were in great feare and fled into the inner Temple; and ſhut the gates with all ſpeed. *Ananus* would not offer violence to the ſacred gates, & beſide that the enemies caſt darts from aloft: for he thought it a great offence againſt God, although he might haue got the victory, to introduce the people not being purified. Wherefore he elected ſixe thouſand of the chiefe of all his men well armed, and appointed them to keepe the porches, and others to ſucceed in their places while they tooke reſt. And many of the better ſort of the Citizens being by the chiefe of the Citie placed to keepe

Ananus diſpoſeth his ſouldiers againſt the Zelous.

The fight of the Citizens and Zelous in the Temple.

watch there, hired other poore folke to watch in their ſteads. But *Iohn*, who as before we haue told, fled from Giſcala, wrought the ruine of all theſe. This man being full of deceit, and aboue all meaſure deſirous of rule, long ago intended to ouerthrow the Cõmon-wealth. This man from that time counterfeited himſelfe to be againſt the theeues, and ſo day and night accompanied *Ananus* and the reſt, both in their conſultations, and when they went to viſit the watch; and hee diſcloſed all their ſecrets vnto the Zelous: and there was nothing decreed by the people, but he gaue the theeues intelligence thereof before it was put in practice; yet he ſeemed to be verie dutifull vnto *Ananus*, and the reſt of the nobilitie, hereby hoping to conceale his treacherie. But it fell out contrary to his expectation; for this his too much reuerence cauſed him to be ſuſpected, becauſe they noted him to play the paraſite: and for that vncalled he daily intruded himſelf into their conſultations, he was miſdoubted to bewray their ſecrets. For *Ananus* perceiued that the enemies knew all their ſecrets, and *Iohns* deeds did carrie ſuſpicion of treaſon, yet could they not eaſily remoue him, his craft was ſuch: beſides this, he was boulſtered out by many noble men who were emploid in theſe affaires. Wherefore they thought it good to requeſt of him an oath of friendſhip; which he denyed not, but added moreouer that he would be true vnto the people, and neither diſcloſe any deed or ſecret counſell of theirs vnto the enemies, and that he with heart and hand would truly endeuour to ſuppreſſe the Rebels. So *Ananus* did not more miſtruſt him, becauſe of his oath, and admitted him afterward to all their counſels, nothing ſuſpecting him. Nay, they now truſted him ſo far, that they ſent him for an Embaſſador vnto the Zelous, to perſwade them to peace: for they were verie carefull leſt the Temple through their deeds ſhould be defiled and prophaned, or that any of the Iewes ſhould there be ſlaine. But he, as though he had ſworne vnto the Zelous and not vnto the Citizens, entred boldly amongſt them: and ſtanding in the midſt of them, he recounted vnto them that he had often for their ſakes vndergone great danger, in ſuffering none of the townesmens ſecrets to be concealed from them, but declared vnto them all that euer *Ananus* and his confederates determined againſt them; and that euen now he was like together with them to fall into extreme danger, except it pleaſed God as it were miraculouſly to aſſiſt them. For, ſaid he, now *Ananus* without delay will ſend vnto *Veſpaſian*, and he will ſend his army in all haſte and take the Citie: and that he had appointed the next day following for purification to purifie the people, that ſo vnder pretence of pietie he might let them into the Citie, or elſe they might enter in by force: and that hee could not ſee how either they were able to endure a long ſiege, or to encounter with ſo huge an armie: adding moreouer, that it was Gods prouidence that he ſhould be ſent vnto them to make a peace, when *Ananus* purpoſed ſo ſoone as they were vnarmed to ſet vpon them. Wherefore if they had any care of themſelues, they ſhould either intreat the watchmen that beſieged them to be good vnto them, or elſe get ſome ſuccour from ſome place without the Temple. For (ſaid he) he that amongſt you hopeth for pardon if you be ouercome, doth not remember what hath paſt, and what he hath done; but let them perſwade themſelues, they that haue beene iniured, will not forget and forgiue ſo ſoone, as he that iniured them is ſorrie for his fact. Nay, many times the repentance of malefactors maketh them more hated then before, and the wrath of men that are iniured, is increaſed by authoritie, and licence to doe what they pleaſe. And they might bee ſure that the friends and kinsfolks of them that were ſlain, would alwaies lay waite to requite the iniuries; and that all the people were incenſed againſt them for breaking the lawes: ſo that although ſome few would take pitie vpon them, yet the greater companie being moſt in number would preuaile. With theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches *Iohn* terrified the Zelous, yet durſt he not openly tell them what he meant by forraine helpe, notwithſtanding he meant the Idumæans. And that he might more enflame the theeues, he went vnto the chiefeſt of them, and ſecretly told them that *Ananus* was cruelly bent againſt them, and breathed out many threatnings againſt them in particular.

The yeer of the world, 4032. after Chriſts birth, 70.

Iohn full of deceit, and a betrayer of the Citizens.

Iohn ſweareth to be faithfull to the people.

Iohn contrary to his oath reuealeth their ſecrets to the Zelous.

Iohn ſtirreth vp the Zelous againſt the Citizens.

CHAP. VI.

How the Idumæans came vnto Ieruſalem, and what they did there.

Eleazar one of the Zelous cauſeth the Idumæans to be ſent for.

AMongſt the Zelous there were two principall, *Eleazar* the ſonne of *Simon*, who aboue all the reſt was thought moſt fit to giue counſell, and to execute that which was conſulted vpon: and *Zacharias* the ſonne of *Amphicalus*, who both deſcended from the line of the Prieſts. Theſe two, vnderſtanding, that beſide the generall threatnings their deaths were eſpecially vowed, and that the faction of *Ananus* to get him into authoritie, had ſent to call the Romans (for this, *Iohn* had fained) deliberated with themſelues what to doe, hauing ſo ſhort time

A time to prouide. For they ſuppoſed that preſently the people would aſſault them, and they bethought themſelues that now it was too late to ſeek for forraine help: for they might endure all calamity, before they could giue notice hereof vnto any that would helpe them. Yet at laſt they determined to call the Idumæans to aide them, and ſo they wrote a briefe epiſtle vnto them, letting them vnderſtand how *Ananus*, hauing ſeduced the people, meant to betray the mother Citie of their nation vnto the Romans; and that they fighting for their liberty, were by him beſieged in the Temple: that the time wherein they expected ſafety was very ſhort: and that if they did not preſently ſend ſuccour, they were like to fall into *Ananus* and their enemies hands, and the Citie to bee brought in ſubiection vnder the Romans: and alſo committed many

B things to bee ſpoken by word of mouth vnto the Rulers of Idumæa. For which purpoſe were choſen two principall men eloquent and apt to perſwade; and that, which was in this caſe required, ſwift of foote: it was certaine that the Idumæans would preſently aide them, it being a clowniſh rude nation, and prone to ſedition and alteration, much reioycing therein; and by flatterie eaſily entreated to warres, making as much haſte to them, as if they went to ſome feſtiuall ſolemnitie: ſo that there onely was required two ſpeedie meſſengers. Which two were ready and quicke men for ſuch an exploite, and were both called by the name of *Ananias*. Theſe preſently came vnto the Gouernours of Idumæa: and they reading the Epiſtle, and hearing that which the meſſengers were to ſay vnto them, like mad men aſſembled all the people together in poſte haſte; and proclaimed warres; ſo the people in an inſtant gathered themſelues together,

C and were all armed to fight for the libertie of their mother City: and twenty thouſand being aſſembled together vnder the gouernment of foure captaines, came with all ſpeed to Ieruſalem: the names of them were theſe, *Iohn* and *Iames*, ſons of *Soſa*, and *Simon* the ſon of *Cathla*, and *Phineas* the ſon of *Cloſoth*. *Ananus* and his watchmen knew not of the going of thoſe two meſſengers, nor of the watches in the citie, but they vnderſtood of the Idumæans comming, and ſo ſhut the gates and placed watchmen vpon the wals: yet they thought it not good to go out and fight with them, but firſt with peaceable words to perſwade them to concord and peace. Wherefore *Ieſus* the eldeſt of the Prieſts next after *Ananus*, ſtood in a tower oppoſite againſt them, and ſpake in this manner:

Though many and diuers tumults and troubles haue moleſted this Citie, yet did I neuer ſo

D much admire any of them, as to come with ſuch fury and readines to help theſe wicked people, againſt all expectation: for (ſaid he) you are come againſt vs to help moſt vile perſons: and that ſo raſhly, as it behooued not you to haue done, if your Metropolitan City had requeſted your help againſt barbarous people. If I ſhould perceiue your maners like vnto theirs that haue requeſted your help, I would then think you had ſome reaſon to come, for nothing cauſeth firmer friendſhip then agreemẽt or ſympathy in maners. But they if they were narrowly ſought into, haue euery one deſerued a thouſand deaths. For they are the baſeſt and very outcaſt of all the countrie people; who hauing ſpent their patrimonies ryotouſly, and played the theeues in all places and cities about them, now at laſt haue got into this holy Citie, moſt religious of all cities, and haue profaned the holy place by their impietie: they tremble not to be drunke euen in the holy Temple,

E and there they conſume in banquetting the ſpoyles they haue gotten from them, whom they haue maſſacred. And you come to helpe theſe men with as great an army & prouiſion, as though that this your mother citie had by publike conſent requeſted your helpe againſt forraine enemies. Is not this the iniury of fortune, that your whole nation hath conſpired and bent all their forces againſt vs to help theſe miſcreants? Till now I knew not what moued you ſo quickly and ſo ſuddenly to arme your ſelues to aſſiſt theeues againſt your natiue countreymen. What? Haue you bin informed of the Romans comming, & of the betraying of the city? For euen now I heard ſome of you mutter, that you came to deliuer your mother citie. Is it not a wonder to ſee this deuice and inuention of theſe malefactors? But they could deuiſe no other way to incite other againſt vs (who euen naturally deſire liberty, & are ready for the ſame to ſpend our deareſt blood

F in conflict with the enemy) but to faine vs to be deſtroyers of libertie: But it behooueth you to conſider who are theſe calumniators, and againſt whom theſe calumniations are deuiſed; and then to gather the verity of the matter, not from forged tales, fained at mens pleaſures, but from the thing it ſelfe. What ſhould mooue vs now to yeeld vnto the Romanes, hauing indured as yet nothing to conſtraine vs thereunto? when if we had liked to liue vnder their obedience, neither needed we at firſt to haue rebelled; and beſide that, if wee had repented our ſelues, wee might haue againe ſubmitted our ſelues, and obtained their fauour before this time that all the country round about vs is deſtroyed. Nay, if now we would yeeld, it is not eaſie for vs: for the ſpoyle of

The yeer of the world, 4032. after Chriſts birth, 70.

The Zealous require helpe from the Idumæans.

The nature and manners of the Idumæans.

Twenty thouſand Idumæans come to Ieruſalem.

Ieſus oration and exhortation to the Idumæans.

The diſproofe of the Zealous fiction, who intended the ouerthrow of the city, and obiected the betraying thereof.

The yeer of the world, 4032. after Christs birth, 70.

Galilee, which they hauing already conquered, hath made them proud, and that we in humbling our selues vnto them, being neere vnto vs, should incur an infamy worse then death it selfe. True it is, I thinke peace better then wars; yet being once prouoked to wars, and the fight being begun, I had rather dye a glorious death then to liue in captiuity. Doe they enforme you that wee haue secretly sent the chiefe of our city to the Romans, or that by common consent of all the people we haue done it? If they say that we did it secretly; let them then tell what friends of ours were sent, or what seruants of ours were ministers to effect this treason. Did they take any messenger of ours, and finde letters about him? How can that be hid from all our citizens, with whom we doe euery houre conuerse? And is it possible that a few, shut vp in the Temple, who could not come out into the city, should know our secrets, all the whole city knowing nothing? or do they now first know it when they are like to be punished for their impiety? neuer suspecting any of vs to be traytors, so long as they were in no feare. If they say that it was done by common consent of all the people, why then all men were there when the speech was made vnto the people, to exhort them thereunto, and request their good wils, and so the newes thereof would quickly haue come vnto your eares: Or what need had we to send Embassadorus, if we had beene now already certaine to come to composition with the Romanes? Let them tell you who was appointed for that Embassage. These are but deuices and excuses of them, who feare to haue a death according to their deserts, and a shift to escape punishment.

Peace is better then wars.

Iesus exhorteth the Idumæans, that since they are come, they should oppose themselues against the Zealous.

If fate had so decreed that our city should be betrayed vnto the enemy, assure your selues that they, who doe thus accuse vs, would haue betrayed it themselues; who haue committed already all sort of impieties, treason only excepted. It is your part, seeing you are come hither in armes, first (as reason and iustice requireth) to assist your mother City against them who tyrannize ouer vs, and violate our lawes: who treading downe our lawes, make all that iustice, which they can effect with their sword. And first of all they tooke Noble men and cast them in prison, drawing them from amidst the publike assembly; and neuer being accused nor condemned, nothing respecting their entreaties, put them to death. If it please you to come in peaceable and not hostile manner into our city, your selues shall plainely behold euident tokens of this that I speake vnto you: to wit, houses ruinated and made desolate by their robberies, the wiues and families of them that are slaine, in mourning apparell, and howling and crying in euery part of the city: For there is no one amongst vs that hath not tasted the persecution of these wretched men, who are gone so far, that not content to make this city their refuge (which is the chiefe, and a spectacle to all others for sanctity) after they had robbed and spoiled all the countrey and villages, and cities hereabout, now lastly they haue made the sacred Temple a refuge and place to carry all their spoiles, which they haue impiously gotten in this city, vnto. This Temple they do make their bulwarke to issue out, and to retire vnto; and from thence they make incursions vpon the Citizens: and this is the place where they practise all their villanies against vs. And this sacred place, which all the world, euen the most barbarous and sauage people thereof doe reuerence, is now defiled by the horrible robberies which one borne amongst vs committed. And now being in desperation, they reioyce to see nation against nation, and city against city, and people, against people, and our owne countreymen to turne themselues against their owne bowels: when contrariwise, (as I haue already said) it had bin your parts and duties to ioyne with vs, and helpe vs to exterminate these malefactors; and be reuenged of them for this lie, in that they presumed to call you to help them, whom they had iust reason to feare as reuengers of their impieties: yet if you make account of these mens praiers, vouchsafe (laying your weapons aside) to come into our city like friends, and bee your selues Iudges betweene vs and them whom you came to helpe. And consider what fauour we shew them, who permit them to plead their owne causes before you, they being guilty of so hainous crimes, and hauing put to death persons of such account, neuer accused nor permitted to speake for themselues: yet this commoditie we will grant them for your sake. But if you continue in your anger against vs, and refuse this offer to bee our Iudges: then let vs entreat you that leauing both parts, you would neither imbrue your hands in our blood, nor lend your aide vnto these miscreants against your mother city. And if you suspect any of vs to be confederates with the Romans, you may keepe all passages; and then seeke to defend your Metropolis, when you haue proofe of any such matter as is alledged against vs; and punish the authors of that treason, when you haue conuicted them. The enemies cannot preuent you being already planted so neere the City. If you like of none of these, maruell not that wee shut our gates against you, cõming in armed and hostile maner. *Iesus* spake thus vnto them. But the Idumæans being angrie, were not moued hereby, and so much the more, for that entrance into the city was denied them,

Iesus requireth the Idumæans to iudge the differences betweene the Zealous and them.

The end of Iesus oration to the Idumæans.

and

A and their Generals were exceeding wroth, thinking it ſlauery to lay downe their armes, eſpecially at the command of another.

The yeare of the world, 4032. after chriſts birth, 70.

Then one of the Captaines named *Simon*, the ſonne of *Cathla*, hauing with much adoo gotten his ſouldiers to be ſilent, he ſtood in a place where the Prieſts might heare him, and ſaid, That he now did not wonder that thoſe who maintained libertie, were enclozed and beſieged in the Temple, ſeeing that they of the City now ſhut their gates againſt his followers, the citie being common and free for all men; and that perhaps they were readie to open the City gates for to receiue the Romanes. And he ſpake vnto the Idumæans from a tower, and commanded them to caſt downe their armes, which they took only for the libertie of the citie, when they durſt not

Simons anſwer to Ieſus oration.

B truſt their owne nation to keep the ſame; yet would haue them Iudges of the diſcord: and that accuſing others for killing ſome not conuicted, they themſelues would condemne all the whole nation of ignominy; and that they had now ſhut the Citie gates againſt their owne countrimen, which was common for all ſtrangers to come vnto for religion ſake. Did we make haſte towards you, to fight againſt our own nation, which came only to preſerue your liberty? But this is as true, as that they whom you thus beſiege haue wronged you, and as the accuſation you forge againſt them. And you keeping in hold thoſe that are the defenders of the Common-wealth, doe then ſhut the Citie gates againſt men of your owne blood: laſtly, you impoſe vpon vs contumelious commands, and ſay that they do tyrannize ouer you, ouer whom indeed you do. Who can any longer endure this your mockery, that perceiueth how vnpoſſible your allegations are? For who

The Idumæans are diſpleaſed, becauſe the City gates were lockt againſt them.

The reproches the Idumæans obiect againſt the High Prieſt and Citizens.

C can iuſtly accuſe thoſe that ye keep ſhut vp in the Temple, becauſe that they preſumed to puniſh traytors whom you grace with the title of noble & innocent, becauſe they were your cõfederats? Onely in this they are blame-worthy, that they did not begin with you, but left aliue ſuch members of that conſpiracy. Except alſo you will ſay, that the Idumæans ſhut you out of your City, you your ſelues not permitting vs to come & offer ſacrifices. But though they were too mercifull, yet wee Idumæans will conſerue the houſe of God, and will fight for the common good of our countrey, and will be reuenged both of the enemies that are without the City, and the traytors within. And here will we remaine before the City, till either the Romans come and deliuer you, or till you change your minds and bethinke your ſelues what a Iewell it is to haue libertie.

D

CHAP. VII.

Of the maſſacre of the Iewes by the Idumæans.

ALL the whole multitude agreed with a loud crie vnto theſe ſpeeches of *Simon*. And *Ieſus* departed ſorrowfull, ſeeing that the Idumæans would agree to no reaſon, and that thereby their City ſhould ſuffer double warres. For the Idumæans wrath was not yet aſſwaged, who tooke the matter in great diſdaine that they were not permitted to enter into the City, and alſo for that they thought the Zelous very ſtrong, and they themſelues were aſhamed that they could not come to helpe them, ſo that many repented that they were come thither. Yet would they not for ſhame returne, nothing being done by them: and ſo raſhly placing their Ta-

The Idumæans pitch their Tabernacles neere the walles.

E bernacles neere vnto the Citie walles, they determined to ſtay there. But that night there fell a moſt huge tempeſt: for there was a great ſtormy winde and an exceeding great raine mixt with fearfull thunder and horrible lightning, and the Earthquake with ſtrange noyſes: whereupon all men thought that this motion of the earth, did ſignifie the death of mankinde, and portend ſome great matter. The Idumæans and Towneſ-men were both of one minde: for they thought that God was angry with them for bearing armes againſt their Metropolis, and perſwaded themſelues that they could not eſcape death if they continued in their purpoſe. *Ananus* and his followers perſwaded themſelues that they had now ouercome them without warre, and that God had fought for them againſt the Idumæans. But they were falſe prophets, and what they iudged to befall their enemies, that fell vpon themſelues. In the meane while the Idumæans

A huge ſtorm.

F lay as cloſe together as they could, and couered their heads with their ſhields, ſo that by this meanes the rain did them not ſo much harme. The Zealous were penſiue for the Idumæans more than for themſelues, & deuiſed which way they might ſuccour them. Then the boldeſt amongſt them aduiſed the reſt, by force to oppreſſe the watchmen, and ſo to goe into the Citie, and open the gates to the Idumæans that came to helpe them, for it was eaſie to ſurprize the watchmen, by reaſon that many of them were vnarmed, and vnfit for warre, and the Citizens could not eaſily bee aſſembled together, for euery man becauſe of the tempeſt kept his houſe. And ſuppoſe that there were danger, yet were it better to endure all miſchiefes that might enſue, then to per-

The Zealous conſult to breake open the gates, to aſſaile the watch, and let in the Idumæans.

mit

The yeere of the world, 4032. after Christs birth, 70.

mit such an army shamefully to perish, who came at their request to helpe them. But the wiser sort disswaded the rest from this, seeing both a stronger watch placed to keep them in, and the City wals diligently guarded because of the Idumæans: and moreouer, perswading themselues that *Ananus* ceased not, but went vp and downe, first from one watch, and then to another; yet that night he did not so, not for slothfulnesse, but because that the destinies had so decreed that thereby both he and the Watch-men should perish. For about mid-night the storme increasing, the Watch-men fell into a sound sleepe. G

The watchmen are oppressed with sleepe.

Then the Zelous determined to file the barres and bolts of the gates in sunder; to effect this, they tooke the instruments which were consecrated to the Temple, and this attempt was much furthered by the huge wind and thunder, which made such a noise that they could not be heard: so issuing out of the Temple, they went priuily to the walles, and opened that gate neere vnto which the Idumæans lay; and suspecting that *Ananus* would make some resistance, they first of all drew their swords, and then together with the Idumæans came in: and if at that time they had assaulted the City, they had without any let or hinderance destroyed all the people therein: so great was their rage at that time. But first of all they hastned to assist their fellowes, whom they left besieged, and requested the Idumæans not to leaue them in danger, for whose succour they were come, nor permit them to incurre greater damage: for hauing first surprized the watchmen, it would be more easie for them to assault the City: which if they did not, but first set vpon the Citizens, they would presently assemble together, and oppose themselues against them, and not permit them to ascend vp into the Temple. The Idumæans consented vnto this, and so they passed thorow the City into the Temple. And the Zelous remaining in the Temple, carefully expected their comming; at whose arriuall they tooke courage, and ioyning with the Idumæans, came out of the inner Temple, and set vpon the watch: and some being slaine who were fast asleep, the rest were awaked by the cries of others, and so betook themselues to their armes, to defend themselues, being yet amazed. And at first, thinking that they were onely the Zelous that gaue the assault, hoped onely by their multitude to suppresse them; but seeing others without the Temple also assailing them, they perceiued the Idumæans were broken in: so the greater part of them being dismaid, laid downe their weapons and cried; and onely a few of them, young men well armed, and of good courage, encountred with the Idumæans, and for a good space defended their idle fellowes: others went and aduertized the Inhabitants what was done, yet none durst come to helpe them, because they now knew that the Idumæans were got in, but euery one lamented their hard fortune: and the women made great lamentation, when any of the watchmen fell into danger. The Zelous also answered their cries with the like, and then the tempest and thunder made all more dreadfull. The Idumæans spared none, because that they were naturally cruell and fierce to shead blood: and angrie that they were so beaten with the tempest, they vsed them most cruelly, by whose meanes they were shut out of the Citie, sparing neither those who requested fauour, nor them who made resistance, for they slew many euen as they were entreating them to remember that they were of their owne blood, and requesting them to spare them for reuerence of their Temple. There was no way to flye, nor any hope of escape: being driuen vp in a narrow roome, they hurt themselues more then the enemies did, by crowding and treading vpon one another, for there was no place to flye, nor their enemies ceased not to kill them. Being in this desperate estate; not knowing how to doe, they cast themselues headlong downe into the Citie, and so died a more miserable death (in my mind) then they that died by the enemies sword. The next day there was found slaine eight thousand and fiue hundreth, and al the vtter Temple flowed with blood. Yet this massacre sufficed not the Idumæans rage, but turning themselues against the City, they robbed and spoyled all houses, and killed all they met, making no account of the death of the rest of the multitude. They made diligent search for the Priests, and many laid violent hands vpon them, and killed them: and standing vpon their dead corpses, sometime they vpbraided *Ananus* with the peoples fauour towards him, sometime *Iesus* with the words he spake vpon the wall vnto them, and were so impious, as that they cast away their dead bodies vnburied, notwithstanding that the Iewes in this point are so religious, that after sunne-set they take downe the dead bodies of malefactors, who by sentence haue bin adiudged vnto the crosse, and burie them. H I K L M

The Idumæans by the meanes of the Zealous enter by night.

The Idumæans ioyne themselues with the Zelous in the Temple.

The immanity of the Idumæans and Zelous against the Citizens of Ierusalem.

Ananus and Iesus the high Priests executed.

Ananus death the first cause of the destruction of the Citie.

The praise of Ananus the high Priest.

I thinke I doe not greatly misse the marke, if I affirme *Ananus* his death to haue beene the destruction of the Citie, and from that time forth the walles of Ierusalem to haue beene ouerthrowne, and the Common-wealth of the Iewes to haue perished in that day when they beheld their Priest and Gouernour slaine, euen in the middest of the Citie. He was a man that led a laudable

A dable and moſt iuſt life: and being in great dignitie, honour, and reputation; yet would hee not exalt himſelfe aboue any one, were he neuer ſo baſe. He was a man who thirſted after liberty, and bare the rule and gouernment of the Common-wealth. He continually preferred the publike commodity before his owne priuate gaine, being alwaies deſirous of peace; for he foreſaw that the Romans could not be withſtood; and that, if the Iewes did not quickly accord with them, their ruine was at hand: briefly I ſay, that had *Ananus* liued, they had yeelded with him vnto the Romans. For he was an eloquent Orator and could perſwade admirably: whereby he had now gained vnto his ſide thoſe that hindred him, and cauſed the wars; whom if they had had for their Captaine againſt the Romanes, it had not beene ſo eaſie for the Romanes to haue conquered B them. With him was ioyned *Ieſus* inferiour to *Ananus*, yet excelling all the reſt. So that I thinke Almighty God hauing decreed the totall ruine of the City, being now violated and filled with iniquity, and meaning by fire as it were to purifie the holy Temple which was now defiled and prophaned, he firſt tooke away the defenders thereof, and thoſe that loued them moſt dearely. So they who a little before were clothed in ſacred apparell, and reuerenced of all thoſe that from the furtheſt parts of the world came to Ieruſalem, now lay murthered and naked in the open ſtreets, left as it were a prey to be torne in pieces with dogges or wilde beaſts, who earſt were the authors of piety and religion. I thinke that Vertue it ſelfe wept to ſee wickedneſſe ſo preuaile.

The yeere of the world, 4032. after chriſts birth, 70.

C

THE FIFT BOOKE OF THE WARRES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

D

The Contents of the Chapters of the fift Booke.

1 *Of another maſſacre, and of the returne of the Idumæans, and the crueltie of the Zelous.*
2 *Of the ciuill diſcord amongſt the Iewes.*
3 *Of the yeelding of Gadara, and the maſſacre there.*
4 *How certaine townes were taken, and the deſcription of Iericho.*
5 *Of the lake called Aſphaltites.*
6 *How Geraſa was deſtroyed, and the death of* Nero, *and of* Galba *and* Otho.
E 7 *Of* Simon *of Geraſa, Prince of a new conſpiracie.*
8 *Of* Galba, Otho, Vitellius *and* Veſpaſian.
9 *Of* Simons *actes againſt the Zelous.*
10 *How* Veſpaſian *was choſen Emperour.*
11 *The deſcription of Egypt and Pharus.*
12 *How* Veſpaſian *redeemed* Ioſeph *from captiuity.*
13 *Of* Vitellius *his death and manners.*
14 *How* Titus *was ſent againſt the Iewes by his father.*

F

CHAP.

The yeere of the world, 4032. after Christs birth, 70.

Chap. I.

Of another massacre, and of the returne of the Idumæans, and the cruelty of the Zelous.

The cruelty of the Idumæans & the Zelous.

SVch was the end of *Ananus* and *Iesus*. After whose death the Idumæans and the Zelous massacred the people, as though they had beene a flocke of pernicious beasts, and euery one was slaine whereſoeuer hee was found: and taking the nobilitie and younger sort of men, they kept them bound in prison, hoping that by deferring their deaths, some of them would become partakers with them. Yet none was thereby mooued, but euery one desired to dye, rather then impiously to conspire against their owne countrey: yet were they most cruelly whipped before they were put to death, their whole bodie being all as it were one sore place by whipping and stripes: and so when they could not indure these torments any longer, then were they killed. And whoso was taken on the day time, was in the night carried to prison, and those that died in prison and torments, they then cast their dead bodies out, that they might haue place to imprison others in their roome. And the people were so terrified, that none durst weepe openly for his friend, nor bury the dead body of his kinsman; yea those that were in prison durst not openly weepe, but secretly; looking about them, lest any of their enemies should espie them. For whosoeuer mourned for any that was afflicted, was presently himselfe vsed in the same maner as he had bin for whom he lamented; and sometime some in the night scraped vp a little earth with their hands, and therewithall couered the dead body of their friend; and some bolder then the rest, did the like in the day time. And in this generall slaughter were twelue thousand young noble men slaine by this meanes: and thus being hated for these massacres, they mocked and flouted the Magistrates, and made no account of their iudgements. So that when they determined to put one *Zacharie* the sonne of *Baruch* to death, a noble man and one of the chiefe of the city (for they perceiued that he was an enemie to their wickednesse, and loued the vertuous, and one that was rich, by whose death they hoped not onely to haue the spoile of his goods, but also to be rid of such a one who might be able to resist their bad purposes) they called seuentie of the best amongst the common people together as it were in iudgment, yet they hauing no authoritie; and before them they accused *Zacharie* that hee had betrayed the Common-wealth vnto the Romans, and that for that intent he had sent vnto *Vespasian*: but neither shewed any euidence nor proofe thereof, but onely they affirmed it to be so; and therefore would haue credit giuen vnto their words. When *Zacharie* perceiued that vnder pretence of being called vnto iudgement, he was deceitfully brought into prison; and hauing no hope of life, yet he spared not to speake liberally his minde: but began to scorne the rage and pretence of his enemies, and purged himselfe of the crimes whereof he was accused; and conuerting his speech against his accusers, he laid open all their iniquities, and much lamented the miseries and troubles of the Citie.

12000. of the nobility executed.

Zacharie condemned to death by the Zelous.

In the meane while the Zelous gnashed their teeth, and could scarcely containe themselues from drawing their swords, and were desirous that their pretended accusation and iudgement might be ended. He also requested them, who by these miscreants were appointed his Iudges, to remember iustice, notwithstanding those dangerous times. The seuentie Iudges all pronounced that he was to be absolued and freed as vnguiltie; and rather chose to die, then to cause his death who was innocent. This sentence being pronounced, the Zelous began to shoute and cry with a loud voice, and they all were angry at the Iudges, who did not vnderstand to what end that counterfeit authoritie was giuen them. Then two of the boldest amongst them set vpon *Zacharie*, and killed him in the midst of the Temple, and mocked him, saying; Thou hast now our sentence and absolution, farre more certaine then the other was, and presently they cast him downe from the Temple into the valley vnderneath: and then contumeliously with the hilts of their swords they did beate the Iudges out of the Temple; yet they did not kill them, to the end that being dispersed thorow the whole city, they might tell the people as messengers from them, of their miserable captiuitie. The Idumæans were now sorrowfull for their comming: for they misliked these proceedings: who being assembled together, one of the Zelous secretly told them all that their faction had done from their beginning; and that the Idumæans had taken armes, because they were enformed, how that the Metropolitan citie was by the Priests betraied vnto the Romans; but as they might perceiue, there was no proofe nor signe of any such matter: and that in

Seuenty Iudges absolue and acquite Zacharie.

Zachary slain in the midst of the Temple.

One of the Zelous discouereth their cruelty and barbarous dealing to the Idumæans.

A indeed the Zelous who pretended themſelues conſeruers of the citie, were meere enemies; and exerciſed tyranny ouer the citizens euen from their beginning. And though they had aſſociated themſelues with ſuch wicked perſons, and made themſelues partakers of ſuch and ſo many murthers, yet thought now to ceaſe from ſuch wickednes, & not aſſiſt men ſo impious to deſtroy their country lawes & religion. For although they took it in bad part that the city gates were ſhut vpon them; yet now they were ſufficiently reuenged of thoſe that were the cauſe thereof. Now was *Ananus* himſelf ſlain, and almoſt all the people in one night: wherof many of them ere long would repent, and that they might now themſelues perceiue the cruelty of them, who requeſted their aid, to be more then barbarous: ſo that they bluſht not to commit their villanies openly in B the ſight of them who had ſaued their liues; and their miſdemeanour and impiety would be imputed vnto the Idumæans, becauſe they neither hindered their miſchieuous practices, nor forſooke their ſociety. And that therfore it was their parts (ſeeing that it was now euident that the report of treaſon was only calumniation, and that no aſſault by the Romans was to be feared; likewiſe that an inuincible force was eſtabliſhed againſt the citie) for to depart home, and by forſaking the ſocietie of the impious acquite themſelues of their impietie, as being by them deceiued, and ſo againſt their wils made partakers therof. The Idumæans were hereby perſwaded, and firſt of all they looſed them that were in priſon, in number 2000. of the vulgar, and preſently leauing the citie, they went vnto *Simon*; of whom we will ſpeake hereafter, and ſo they departed home.

The yeere of the world, 4032. after Chriſts birth, 70.

The Idumæans depart out of Ieruſalem.

Their departure was againſt the expectation of both parts: for the people, not knowing that C the Idumæans were penitent for that they had done, reioyced as now deliuered from their enemies: and the Zelous grew more inſolent and proud, as though they neuer had needed helpe, but now were deliuered from them, in reuerence of whom they abſtained from villany. So now they vſed no delay to effect their impietie: for they ſpent not much time in taking aduice; but whatſoeuer ſeemed beſt vnto them, preſently without any delay they put it in practice. But chiefly they murthered thoſe men that were ſtrong and valiant: for they enuied the nobilitie for their vertue: And they thought it a principall point firſt to be effected, nor to leaue any one man of account aliue. Wherefore they ſlew amongſt the reſt *Gorion* a noble man of great birth and dignitie, one who loued the people, and was verie bountifull and a louer of libertie: ſo that there was none amongſt the Iewes like him, who for deſire of libertie and his other vertues was put to D death. But neither could *Niger Peraita* eſcape their hands, a man who in warres againſt the Romans had ſhewed himſelfe valiant: who althongh he often cried out and ſhewed the ſcars of his wounds receiued in defence of his countrey; yet they ceaſed not for all this moſt ſhamefully to dragge him thorow the Citie: and being led out of the Citie, deſpairing of life, he entreated that he might be buried. But the barbarous people denying his requeſt ſlew him. Who at his death beſought God that the Romans might come and reuenge it vpon them, and that plague and famine, and ciuill diſcord might light vpon their Citie. Whoſe praiers God heard, ſending all vpon them which he did iuſtly require, and firſt of all they were plagued with ciuill wars among themſelues. *Niger* being thus ſlaine, they were freed from the feare that they had of him, how that he would reſiſt their wickedneſſe. There was no part of the common people, who were not E by ſome forged tale or other put to death. For ſome were ſlaine, for that long ſince they had borne armes againſt their owne citizens; and they who were innocent in all points were put to death, for ſome occaſion deuiſed in the time of peace: and they who did not conuerſe with them were murthered, as ſuch that contemned them: and they that freely and friendly conuerſed with them were ſlaine, as men that ſought to betray them: and the greateſt offenders, and the leaſt offenders were all puniſhed alike, to wit, with death: for no man eſcaped, except he was either poor or of very baſe condition.

Gorions death and Niger Peraita.

Nigers praiers tooke effect, as the end teſtifieth.

CHAP. II.

F

The ciuill diſcord amongſt the Iewes.

IN the meane while the Romanes addreſſed all their courage againſt the Citie of Ieruſalem; and ſeeing them at great variance among themſelues, thought this to bee for their great aduantage. Vpon this they incited *Veſpaſian* their Generall, affirming that it was Gods prouidence (who fought for them) that the Iewes ſhould be at ciuill wars among themſelues, and that therefore he ſhould not ouerſlip ſo good an opportunity: for the Iewes would quickly be friends again one with another, either by the wearines of ciuill war, or elſe repenting them-

The ſouldiers incite Veſpaſian to reſort to Ieruſalem.

The yeere of the world, 4032. after Christs birth, 70.

Vespasian expecteth victory by the ciuil dissension of his enemies.

themselues of that which they had done. To whom *Vespasian* answered, that they were ignorant what was to be done, being rather desirous as it were in a Theater to shew their forces & strength, then with him to consider what was profitable and expedient. For (said he) if we presently assault them, our comming will make concord amongst our enemies, and so we shall bring vpon our selues their forces yet firme and strong: but by expecting a little while, they should haue lesse adoo to conquer them, their chiefest forces being destroied by their own ciuill wars; And that God was more their friend then they were aware of, who without their labour and pain deliuered the Iewes into their hands, and will giue vs the victorie without endangering of our army: And that therefore it was rather their parts to bee as it were beholders of that tragedie, then to fight against men desirous of death, and troubled with the greatest euill that possible could be, to wit, domesticall sedition, and ciuill wars. And if any thinke that the victorie is not famous being gotten without fight, let him know and consider the vncertaine euents of wars: and that it is better, if it be possible, to get a victory without bloodshed, then therewith to hazzard the victorie. For they who by counsell and aduice doe any worthy act, deserue no lesse praise then they, who by force of armes atchiene a victory. Moreouer, in the meane time that the enemies one destroyed another, his souldiers might take rest, and so be stronger and better able to fight when need should require. Beside that, it seemed not that there was so much haste required to get the victory: for the Iewes neither prepared armes or engines of war, nor leuied any forces, nor sought for aide, and so by delay no domage could ensue: but that they would plague one another more by ciuill wars, then his army could by taking them and their citie. And therefore whether they considered it best to abstaine from assaulting them (who fought with one another) for security sake, or else for vaine glory, though the honour of the victory diminished thereby: yet he held it not meet to fight against them, who were at ciuill wars amongst themselues; for so it would be iustly said, the victory was not to be imputed to vs, but to their discord.

Many citizens to fly the Zealous, resorted to Vespasian.

The Captaines all consented, and thought this aduice of *Vespasians* best: And presently it appeared how profitable his counsell was. For euery day many fled vnto him to escape the hands of the Zealous: yet it was hard and dangerous to flye, because all the waies were guarded with watchmen. And if any man vpon any occasion whatsoeuer were taken vpon the way, he was presently killed, as one who intended to haue fled vnto the Romans: yet he that fee'd the watchmen with money, escaped away safely; and he that did not, was counted as a traitor: so that onely rich men could escape, and the poore were left to the slaughter. The multitude of dead bodies that lay on heapes together was innumerable, and many of them who had fled vnto the Romans, returned againe into the city, chusing rather to die there: for the hope they had to be buried in their natiue soile, made death there seeme more tolerable. But they became so cruell, that they neither permitted them who were slaine within, nor them without the city, to be buried. But like men that had now determined together, with their countrey lawes, to abolish the law of nature, yea and by their impietie to pollute the sacred diuinity with iniustice, let the dead bodies rot aboue the ground: and whosoeuer attempted to bury any one of them that were slaine, whether hee were friend or kinsman, were presently put to death, and left vnburied, as men forsaking their city, and flying to the enemie. To be breefe, nothing so much increased their calamitie as mercie: for the wicked people were herewith, as it were prouoked to wrath, whose displeasure and cruelty was extended from the liuing vnto the dead, and from the dead vnto the liuing. And such feare fell vpon the whole Citie, that those that were left aliue, deemed them happy, that being dead, were at rest, and free from those miseries: and they that were in prison, in respect of the torments they endured, thought themselues vnhappier then they who lay vnburied. All humane iustice was by them peruerted, and they scorned and mocked at all diuine and holy things, and proudly derided the oracles of the Prophets, esteeming them as fables and iests. But hauing now contemned all lawes established by their forefathers for the punishment of vice, and increasing of vertue, at last they found that true which by them was foretold, concerning the destruction of themselues and their countrey. For there was an old prophecy, that when sedition raigned amongst them, and their owne hands had first violated the Temple of God and holy things; that then their city should be destroyed by war, and their holy places should be burned with fire, according to the vse and custome of war. And the Zealous giuing credit vnto this prophecy, made themselues the ministers of this action.

The Zealous tyrãnize both ouer the liuing and the dead.

CHAP.

Chap. III.

How Gadara was yeelded: and of the maſſacre there.

The yeere of the world, 4032. after Chriſts birth, 70.

BVt *Iohn*, who long agoe deſired to bee in chiefe authority, as tyrant ouer all the reſt, thought it not ſufficient to be in as great reputation as his fellowes; wherefore by little and little ioyning vnto himſelfe the moſt impious of all the Zealous, he diuided himſelfe from their vnion and fellowſhip: So that now euery one perceiued (in that he alwaies neglected what others commanded, and imperiouſly commanded what himſelfe thought good) that he affected principality; and many ioyned to him for feare, ſome for fauour (for he had a ſmooth tongue, able to perſwade them vnto what he would) many alſo followed him; thinking it better that all the impiety before committed were laid to one mans charge in particular, then vnto all men in generall. Moreouer; being a valiant man of his hands, and one able to giue politike counſell, he wanted not followers, notwithſtanding that many of the contrary faction left him, enuying that he, who before was their equall, ſhould now be their Lord and commander. Feare alſo terrified them from liuing vnder the gouernment of one man; for they thought that if hee once preuailed, he could not eaſily be ouercome: and againe, if he were depoſed, that he would picke quarrels againſt them in the end, becauſe that they reſiſted him in the beginning. So euery man determined rather to ſuffer all miſery in war, then to ſubmit himſelfe, and periſh like a ſlaue. Thus the ſedition was diuided, and *Iohn* was chiefe of the faction againſt the Zealous: ſo betweene them they appointed garriſons in euery place; and if by chance they combated together, they did little or nothing hurt one another, but their chiefe contention was who ſhould beare moſt ſway amongſt the people: and they did ſtriue on both parts who ſhould haue the greateſt part of the ſpoile. Thus the City at one time was vexed with three intolerable miſchiefes and euils, to wit, warre, tyranny, and ſedition: and yet warre ſeemed a leſſe euill then the reſt vnto the communalty. In briefe; many leauing their natiue ſoile, fled vnto ſtrangers for ſuccour, and found among the Romans ſafety, who with their owne nation liued in continuall danger. There was alſo then begun the fourth euill, which wrought the ruine of the whole nation. Not farre from the City there was a Caſtle called Maſſada, builded by the ancient Kings of Ieruſalem, very ſtrong to lay their treaſure in, and their munition for warre, and to retire themſelues thereunto in time of need, for the ſafety of their perſons. This Caſtle was taken and kept by that ſort of theeues that were called Sicarij, who for feare durſt rob no more. Theſe theeues ſeeing the Roman army now idle, and the theeues in Ieruſalem at ciuill wars and ſedition among themſelues, they tooke courage, and againe fell to their villanies. And ſo on that day which is the feaſt of vnleauened bread (which the Iewes doe keepe holy, in memory of their deliuerance out of the Egyptian captiuity) deceiuing the watchmen, they ſeized vpon a Fort, called Engaddi: and before the townes-men could arme and vnite themſelues together, they were by theſe perſons driuen out of the town, who alſo killed them that could not flie, to wit, women and children, to the number of more then ſeuen hundreth; and ſo ſacking the houſes, and taking the fruits that were now ripe, they carried all vnto Maſſada: and ſo they waſted all the villages and whole countrey round about them, many wicked perſons daily flocking vnto them and ioyning with them: and by their example other theeues that a while had been quiet, now robbed againe, and ſpoyled in euery part of Iudæa. And as in a body, if the principall member thereof be ſicke, all other parts of it are afflicted: ſo Ieruſalem being filled with tumults and diſcord, thoſe that were without the city found licence to rob and ſpoile: and all they that had their towns deſtroied where they were wont to inhabite, went into the wilderneſſe. Then they aſſembling and vniting themſelues together, not ſo many as an army, yet more then a company of theeues, they brake into the townes and Temples; and as in war it commeth to paſſe, they purpoſed to aſſault them, by whom they had ſuffered ſuch iniury: but they were preuented; for the theeues vnderſtanding of their comming, fled with the ſpoile they had gotten. And there was no part of Iudæa that did not periſh together with Ieruſalem their mother city. Thoſe that fled vnto the Romans, certified *Veſpaſian* hereof: for although the ſeditious perſons did keep and obſerue all paſſages, and kill them that offered to flie, yet many ſecretly ſtole away from them, and beſought *Veſpaſian* both to helpe the oppreſſed city, and to take compaſſion vpon the reliques of their nation: affirming that many had been butchered for wiſhing well to the Romanes, and many being yet aliue, were yet in great danger. And *Veſpaſian* moued to compaſſionate their calamities,

Iohns pride and ambition.

The greater part of the contrary faction fall from Iohn.

The tempeſt of three miſeries aſſailed Ieruſalem at once.

Of thoſe deſperate rebels that kept the Caſtle of Maſſada.

Slaughter & deſolation thorow Iury.

A ſimilitude.

The fugitiues beſeech Veſpaſiã to aſſiſt the Citie, and reſerue the reſt of the people.

The yeere of the world, 4032. after Christs birth, 70.

came with his army neerer Ieruſalem,as though he would haue beſieged it:but indeed his intent G
was to deliuer it from the ſiege, hoping in the meane time to conquer that part of the countrey
that was yet vntoucht, and ſo to leaue nothing to hinder him when he ſhould begin the ſiege.
Wherefore comming vnto Gadara, the ſtrongeſt place and mother City of all the countrey be-
yond the riuer, he entred into it the fourth day of March: for the chiefeſt of the city,vnknowne
vnto the ſeditious people , had ſent Embaſſadors vnto him,partly deſiring peace,partly to ſaue
their goods and liues,and promiſed him to yeeld the towne into his hands: for there were many
rich men dwelling in Gadara:and their enemies knew not of their Embaſſage,till they ſaw *Veſpa-*
ſian at the City gates.And ſo deſpairing that they were able to keep the City,by reaſon they had
in the towne many enemies,more in number and ſtronger then themſelues;and moreouer,ſeeing H
Veſpaſian euen now almoſt at the city: and thinking it a ſhame to flie and not be reuenged of their
enemies; they tooke *Doleſus* (who was both a noble man and chiefe of the city,and alſo the au-
thor of that Embaſſage) and killed him, and for anger beating him after he was dead, they fled
out of the city. Now the Romans army approaching neere vnto the city, the people of Gadara
went forth and receiued *Veſpaſian* ioyfully,who alſo confirmed a league betwixt them and him,
and left them a company of horſe and footmen to defend them againſt the incurſions of the fu-
gitiues their enemies : for they themſelues before the Romans requeſted it, deſtroyed the citie
wals, that ſo they might ſhew themſelues to deſire peace, in that deſtroying their wals , if after
they deſired to rebell they could not.

The Gadarenſians entertain Veſpaſian with ioy and acclamations.

Veſpaſian then ſent *Placidus* with fiue hundreth horſmen, and three thouſand footmen to pur- I
ſue thoſe, that were fled out of Gadara, and he with the reſt of his army returned to Cæſarea.
But the fugitiues perceiuing themſelues to be purſued by *Placidus*, before hee could ouertake
them,got into a towne called Bethenabris : and finding there many young men, partly for that
they were willing, partly by force they compelled them to arme themſelues, and ſo rathly they
came againſt *Placidus*. *Placidus* and his army ſeemed a little to giue backe, to the intent to draw
them further from the wall:and then hauing compaſſed them about in a fit place,they wounded
them afarre off with darts and arrowes. Then the Iewes ſeeking to flie, were preuented by the
horſemen: and they who offered to fight, were by the Roman footmen all put to the ſword, ne-
uer ſhewing any ſigne of valour. For the Iewes aſſaulting the Romanes,being all inuironed and
quite couered with their ſhields as with a wall,and not being able to break into their battell,they K
were ſlain by the Romans darts:but their darts could do the Romans no harme,and ſo like fierce
and ſauage beaſts they wilfully ran vpon their enemies ſwords,and ſo were ſlain,ſome hauing all
their face cut with ſwords, ſome killed by the horſmen. For *Placidus* was carefull to intercept
their paſſage vnto the towne,and to hinder their recourſe vnto it, and brought thoſe back againe
that fled towards it,vſing his darts,and killing thoſe that were next him;and thoſe who fled afar
off for feare,he cauſed to returne; till at laſt the ſtrongeſt amongſt them brake away, and got vn-
to the towne wals: And thoſe that were within the citie knew not what to doe, for they would
not ſhut the fugitiues of Gadara out of the citie, becauſe they deſired to let their owne citizens
in;and againe they perceiued that if they let them in, they thereby ſhould worke the ouerthrow
of the citie,as it fell out indeed they did. For the gates being ſet open for them to come in, the L
Roman horſemen almoſt brake into the towne with them, yet the gates were ſhut before they
could get in. Then *Placidus* with all his ſouldiers aſſaulted the towne, and fighting a ſore fight
which continued euen vntill the Euening,at laſt he got the wals,and the town,and ſlew the wea-
ker ſort: for the ſtronger fled: ſo the ſouldiers ſacked the houſes, and then fired the towne. They
who eſcaped thence,incited the whole country to fly with them, reporting their calamities with
the moſt,and affirming that all the Roman army was at hand:and ſo they put all the inhabitants
there in great feare; and hauing aſſembled a great multitude, they fled vnto Iericho, which place
they put their confidence in,for that it was ſtrong and populous. *Placidus* hauing horſemen, and
being incouraged with his former victorie, purſued them vnto Iordan , and whomſoeuer he o-
uertooke he ſlew, and at the riuer he fought with all the multitude there gathered together; and M
ſtaying,becauſe that the riuer being waxed deeper by aboundance of raine, that had lately falne,
they could not paſſe ouer it.

Placidus conflict with the fugitiues.

Placidus taketh & burnes Bethenabris.

Placidus victory ouer the fugitiues.

Wherefore neceſſity forced them to fight,becauſe they could not flie: and placing themſelues
along the banks of the riuer,they there receiued the horſemen, and warded their darts; yet ma-
ny for feare fell into the riuer; ſo the Romanes ſlew there thirteene thouſand, and the reſt not
able to reſiſt, caſt themſelues into the riuer; which were an infinite number: alſo the Romanes
tooke two thouſand and two hundreth men aliue, and a huge booty of Sheepe, Aſſes, Camels,

and

A and oxen. This maſſacre though it was no greater then the former, yet it ſeemed to the Iewes farre greater, becauſe that many all ouer the country flying were killed, and Iordan was ſo filled with dead carkeiſes, that none could paſſe ouer it: and alſo the lake Aſphaltites was full of dead bodies, brought thither out of diuers riuers. *Placidus* hauing ſo good ſucceſſe, went into the townes and villages adioyning, and tooke Abila, Iulias, Beſemoth, and all the townes euen vnto the lake Aſphaltites, and placed in them garriſons of them that fled vnto him: and afterward preparing ſhips and furniſhing them with ſouldiers, he purſued them that were fled by water, and ouercame them: and ſo all the countrey beyond Iordan yeelded vnto the Romans, and euen vnto Machæron all places were by them conquered.

The yeere of the world, 4032. after Chriſts birth, 70.

Placidus maketh vſe of his good fortune againſt the Iewes.

B

CHAP. IIII.

How certaine townes were taken, and the deſcription of Iericho.

AT this time came newes of the troubles in Gallia, and how that *Vindex* together with the nobility of that countrey had reuolted from *Nero*, whereof we haue made mention in another place. This newes cauſed *Veſpaſian* to be more earneſt to end the warres of the Iewes: for euen then he foreſaw the ciuill wars that enſued, and the danger of the whole Empire: and he thought that if he could before the beginning of thoſe troubles end the wars in C the Eaſt part of the world, that then Italy was not in ſo much danger. But winter hindring him, he in the meane time placed garriſons in all townes and villages about the whole countrey, and placed Decurions in euery city, and repaired many places which he had before deſtroyed. And firſt of all he with his whole army that was at Cæſarea, went to Antipatris; and there hauing ſettled the eſtate of that city, after his abode there two dayes, the third day he departed, ſpoiling and burning all the country: as alſo all the countrey about Thamnia the Toparchy, and ſo went into Lydda and Iamnia. But ſeeing that thoſe two places ſubmitted themſelues vnto him, leauing there ſuch inhabitants as he thought good, he went thence vnto Ammaus, and placing himſelfe in the way to their Metropolitane City, he there entrenched his army, and then leauing the fift legion there, he with the reſt went into the Toparchy of Bethlepton, firing it and all pla- D ces thereabout; as alſo the borders of Idumæa: but he reſerued there certaine Caſtles in fit places, and fortified them. And hauing taken two townes in the midſt of Idumæa, to wit, Begabri and Caphartopha, he ſlew there aboue ten thouſand men, and tooke almoſt a thouſand, and driuing out the reſt of the inhabitants, he left a great part of his army there, who made incurſions and waſted all the high places thereabout: and he with the reſt returned to Iamnia; and from thence by Samaria and Neapolis, called by the inhabitants Mabortha, the ſecond day of Iune he came into Corea: and pitching his tents there, the next day he came to Iericho, where one of his Captaines named *Traian*, met him with the ſouldiers he brought from beyond Iordan, which place he had conquered. But the multitude, before the Romans came, fled from Iericho into the high countrey ouer againſt Ieruſalem, and many that ſtaied behind were there ſlain. So he found E the city deſolate, being ſituate in a Plaine vnder a great mountaine that is barren, which is of a huge length: for it reacheth on the Northſide vnto the borders of Scythopolis, and on the South vnto the borders of Sodom and the lake of Aſphaltites. It is all rockie and not inhabited, becauſe it beareth no fruit. Ouer againſt this neere Iordan is ſituate a huge mountaine, beginning on the North ſide at Iulias, and reaching vnto Bacra on the South, which is the limits of Petra a city of Arabia. In this place is that that is called the mountaine of Iron, reaching vnto the countrey of the Moabites.

Troubles in France.

Veſpaſian viſiteth all Iudæa

Veſpaſian commeth to Iericho.

The country betweene theſe two mountaines is called the great field, reaching from the village Gennabara vnto the lake Aſphaltites, being in length two hundreth and thirty furlongs, and in breadth a hundreth and twenty, and in the midſt it is diuided by the riuer Iordan. There are F alſo two lakes of contrary natures, Aſphaltites and Tiberias; for one of them is ſalt and barren, but that of Tiberias ſweet and fertill. This Plaine in ſummer time is burned with the heate of the ſun, and the aire is infected in all places therabouts, ſaue only about thoſe which adioyne to Iordan: and this is the cauſe that the Palme trees that grow about the riuer ſide do flouriſh moſt, and are more fertill then the reſt. Neere vnto Iericho there is a large great fountaine, which plentifully watereth the fields thereabout, and runneth with a great ſtream out of the ground neer vnto the old city: which *Ioſue* the ſonne of *Nun* Generall of the Hebrewes tooke by war, the firſt of all that he tooke in the land of Canaan. It is reported that in the beginning, the waters of this

The great field.

Two lakes, Aſphaltites & the Tiberian lake.

A large fountaine neere Iericho.

The yeere of the world, 4032. after Christs birth, 70.

fountain did destroy all fruits of the earth,and also made women be deliuered before their time, G
and to infect all places with diseases,and the plague; and afterward by *Helizæus* the successour of *Helias* was made sweet and fertill: Who,being once courteously entertained by the inhabitants of Iericho, did so reward them and all the countrey for that their kindnesse: and going vnto the fountaine he cast a pitcher full of salt into the water; and hard by lifting vp his hands to heauen, and tempering with the fountain water certain sweet waters, he prayed God to qualifie the rage thereof,to make it flow with more sweet streames: and besought God to giue a better aire vnto the fountain, which both might cause plenty of fruits, and also of children vnto the inhabitants: and that the water might haue the vertue to make women fertill, so long as they persist in piety.

A miracle wrought by Helizæus.

After these prayers, with his hands he altred the fountaine according to the knowledge he had: H
and from that time,this fountaine which before was the cause of famine and sterility, was now the cause of plenty and fertility. And so it watereth the ground, that where a little of it commeth,it doth more good then all the other waters which lie long vpon it:and so they that water their grounds but a little with it, receiue much fruits; and they that water their grounds with it much, do not receiue them in that measure: yet it watereth a greater compasse of ground then other fountaines: and in length it runneth thorow a Plaine seuenty furlongs long, and twenty broad. There are most pleasant and goodly Orchards,and many sorts of Palme trees growing by brooks sides, which are diuers in the taste of their fruits; the fattest whereof being pressed, doe yeeld a iuyce like hony, nothing inferiour to other hony: yet there is great store of hony in that country,and the iuyce of balme,which is more precious then all fruits growing. There grow al- I
so Cypres trees and Myrobalans: so that one may iustly call that part of the earth diuine, where what fruit soeuer is most deare and precious, is in most aboundance. Also in al other fruits it surpasseth all countries in the world: for it multiplieth and increaseth all things sooner there. The cause hereof I iudge to be the pleasant waters and warme nourishing aire, which as it were inuiteth all things to spring vp,and then encreaseth them:and the moisture causeth all things to take firme root; and also defendeth them from drought in summer time, when that country is vexed with such intolerable heats, that all things are as it were scorched, so that nothing then will grow;yet if they be watered with water drawne before Sun rise,by the blowing of a milde and temperate wind they are refreshed,and it receiues a contrary nature: in winter time it is as it were lukewarme and temperate to them that goe into it. The ayre of that place is so temperate,that K
when it snoweth in other parts of Iudæa, and is extreme cold, the inhabitants in this place doe only weare a linnen garment. This countrey is distant from Ierusalem a hundreth and fifty furlongs,and threescore from Iordan, and all the ground betwixt it and Ierusalem is desart and stony,and so likewise betweene it and Iordan and Asphaltites, though it be lower ground then the other. Thus we haue sufficiently declared the fertility of Iericho.

Fruitfull and pleasant gardens about Iericho.

The cause why the ground about Iericho is fruitfull.

The ayre temperate and warme.

Chap. V.

The description of the lake Asphaltites.

L

It is worth the labour to describe the lake Asphaltites, which is salt and sterile; yet whatsoeuer is cast into it how weighty soeuer it bee, it swimmeth aboue the water: so that one, though he would vpon purpose, cannot scarcely sinke vnto the bottome. *Vespasian* comming thither to see it, caused some to be taken who could not swimme, and their hands to bee bound behind them, and cast into the midst thereof, and all of them did swim aloft, being as it were borne vp by the power of some spirit. Moreouer it is admirable, how this lake thrice in euery day changeth colour, and shineth diuersly, according as the beames of the Sun do sundry waies fall vpon it. And in many places it casteth vp pieces of blacke bitumen, in greatnesse and shape lik a bull without a head,and these float aboue the water. They that get their liuing vpon this water, finding this bitumen that is thus gathered together, draw it to their boats, and it is M
so tough and clammy, that hauing filled their boates herewith, it is not easie for them to get them away, but their boat is as it were fastned: so it hangeth vpon the rest of that masse of bituminous matter, till it be separated from it by the termes or vrine of a woman. This bituminous matter is good for to close the rifts of shippes,and also to cure many diseases. This lake is fiue hundreth and eighty furlongs long, being extended vnto Zoar which is in Arabia, and it is a hundreth and fifty furlongs broad. Neere vnto this lake is the land of Sodom and Gomorrah, sometime both fertill and rich: now all burnt,being(as it is reported) for the impietie of the inha-

An admirable property of the Asphaltite lake.

The land of Sodom is neer vnto the lake Asphaltites.

A inhabitants consumed with lightning and thunder. To be short, one may here behold as it were the signe and reliques of that fire, that by Gods appointment destroyed the place: for one may yet see as it were the fashion and tokens of fiue cities, and trees and fruits springing vp in the ashes: which fruit to the eye seemeth like vnto other fruits; but if you handle them, they fall into ashes and smoake. And so the report of the land of Sodom is knowne to be true to them that behold it.

The yeere of the world, 4032. after Christs birth, 70.

Tertul. Apolog. ca. 39.

CHAP. VI.

How Gerasa was destroyed: of NEROES *death, and of* GALBA *and* OTHO.

B VESPASIAN desirous to besiege Ierusalem on euery side, builded Castles at Iericho and Adida, and left there both the souldiers that came to assist him, and also Romans with them. And he sent *L. Annius* to Gerasa, giuing him many footmen, and part of his horsmen; who at the first assault tooke the City, and slew 1000. young men, who thought to haue fled, and led whole families captiue, giuing the souldiers the spoile of their goods: and so firing their houses, he went to other places adioyning. They who were able fled, and the weaker sort who could not flye were slaine; and whatsoeuer came in their way, they consumed it with fire. Thus all places both mountaines and plaines being wasted and oppressed with warres, the inhaC bitants liuing at Ierusalem had not whither to goe, when they desired to flie from the Zealous by whom they were kept in. And they who were against the Romanes, were kept in themselues, the City being on euery side inclozed and compassed with the army.

L. Annius taketh Gerasa.

After that *Vespasian* was returned vnto Cæsarea, and with all his army purposing to goe to Ierusalem, newes was brought him that *Nero* was slaine, hauing reigned thirteene yeers and eight daies. Touching whom I will not recount how he did dishonour the Empire, committing the whole sway of all the Common-wealth vnto two most wicked men, to wit, *Nymphidius* and *Tigillinus*, and of least worth amongst all the Libertines: and how he being taken by the treachery of these two men, was forsaken of all his Senators; and so fled only with foure trusty Libertines into the suburbs, and there killed himselfe: and how that long time after, they that deposed him D were punished for that offence: and how the wars ended in Gallia; and that *Galba* being created Emperour, returned to Rome out of Spaine: and how he was accused by the souldiers, and by them killed in the market place, as one of base condition: and how *Otho* was declared Emperor, and led his souldiers against *Vitellius* his army: also *Vitellius* his broyles and his fight before the Capitoll: and how *Antonius Primus*, and *Mutianus* slew *Vitellius*, and so appeased the Germane troupes and ciuill warres: Of all these I haue refused to speake, because I hope that both the Greeks and Romans haue written these things at large, yet I haue briefly recapitulated all to continue my History.

Vespasiã hath tidings of Neroes death.

Galba.

Otho. Vitellius.

After *Vespasian* heard these newes of *Nero*, he deferred the siege of Ierusalem, expecting who should be created Emperour after him. And when he was certified that *Galba* raigned, he deterE mined to doe nothing; but lye quiet till such time as he should write vnto him his minde, whether he would haue him proceed in those warres against the Iewes. And he sent vnto him his sonne *Titus* both to salute him, and also to know his pleasure concerning the Iewes. Likewise King *Agrippa* went with *Titus* for the same cause vnto *Galba*. But as they were passing by Achaia with long ships in winter time, as the custome is, newes was brought that *Galba* was slain, hauing raigned seuen moneths and seuen daies. After whom succeeded *Otho*, who gouerned the Empire three moneths. *Agrippa* not terrified with this alteration, still kept on his iourney to Rome. But *Titus* (as God would haue it) returned from Achaia vnto Syria, and so to Cæsarea vnto his father. They both were as it were in suspence what would ensue, and who should be Emperour, the Empire being so full of troubles: and so they neglected the wars against the Iewes, fearing their F owne countrey, and therefore thinking it an vnfit time to assault strangers.

Vespasian deferreth his siege at Ierusalem.

Galba is slain, and Otho gouerneth.

Chap. VII.

Of Simon *of Gerasa, author of a new conspiracie.*

The yeere of the world, 4033. after Christs Natiuitie, 71.

For all this the war at Ierusalem was increased. For there was one *Simon* the son of *Giora* borne in Gerasa, young in yeeres, and inferiour to *Iohn*, who now already had gotten the dominion ouer the city; yet was he in strength and boldnesse more excellent then *Iohn*. This *Simon* being for this cause also driuen out of the country of Acrabatena, where he was Gouernor by the meanes of *Ananus* the High Priest, he came to the theeues that seized vpon Massada. This *Simon*, at his first comming, was so suspected by the theeues, that they onely permitted him and the women that came with him, to dwell in the lower part of the castle, and they themselues kept the higher part: yet afterwards his maners & behauiour were such, that they put confidence in him: for he was their Captaine alwaies when they went to spoile and rob any part of the country about Massada. So he feared not to perswade them to attempt greater matters: for being desirous of rule, after he heard that *Ananus* was dead, he departed into the high places of the countrey, and with the voice of a cryer promised and proclaimed, that all bondslaues that would follow him, should haue their liberty, and all other should be richly rewarded; and so he gathered together all the wicked and desperate people in the country. And hauing now a large army, he robbed and spoyled all the townes and villages thereabout; and his number daily encreasing, he also now presumed to come into the plaine countries: so that now cities stood in awe of him, and many Potentates now feared him for his strength and prosperous successe. And his army did not only consist in theeues and slaues, but now many people of the countrey came vnto him, reuerencing him as their Prince and King. So they made excursions into the Toparchie of Acrabatena, and into the greater Idumæa. For he had fortified a towne called Nain walled about, which he vsed for his defence like a Castle. And in the valley called Pharan he made many caues, and found many already made, and in these caues he kept his treasure, and the booties he got: also all fruits of the earth that he robbed and stole, there he laid vp in store; as also munition for diuers companies. And now no man doubted, but that being thus furnished with men and munition, he would go to Ierusalem. The Zelous fearing this, and desirous to preuent him whom they euery day did see encrease his number, and to grow more potent against them; they armed many of their company, and went out to meet him. *Simon* was not daunted at this, but boldly incountred them, and gaue them so sharp a battell, that he slew many of them in fight; and forced the rest to retire themselues into the towne: yet hauing men sufficient, he would not besiege the towne; but first of all he purposed to subdue Idumæa, and so accompanied with 20000. armed men, he hasted towards the borders thereof.

Simon of Gerasa resorteth to the theeues

Simon assembleth all robbers in the mountainous places.

The fight betweene Simon & the Zelous.

The Princes of Idumæa vnderstanding this, presently assembled fiue and twenty thousand armed men: and leauing at home sufficient garrisons to defend their country against the incursion of the Sicarij, which held the fortresse of Massada, they accõpanied with this train, went out and expected *Simons* comming into the borders of their country, where hauing met him they ioyned battell, and fought a whole day, yet neither party got the victory. Then *Simon* returned to Nain, and the Idumæans home. Not long after *Simon* with a greater army then before, assaulted the borders of their countrey, and pitching his tents in a village called Thecue, he sent one of his companions named *Eleazar*, to them that kept the Castle Herodium not far from that place, to sollicit them to yeeld it vnto him. The garrison there presently receiued him into the castle, not knowing the cause of his comming. But so soone as he began to perswade them to treason, they all pursued him with their drawn swords: and he not hauing any place to flie vnto, cast himselfe from off the castle wal into the valley vnderneath, and so presently he died. The Idumæans somthing fearing *Simons* forces, before they would offer him battell, thought it best to espy what number of men he had: to effect which businesse, one *Iacob* a ruler amongst them offred himselfe, meaning indeed to betray his country to *Simon*. So departing from Olurus where the Idumæans forces were assembled, he went vnto *Simon*, & first of al promised him to betray his country vnto him, receiuing of him an oath, that for reward of this deed he should alwaies be next in dignity vnto *Simon* himselfe, and so hee presently promised to helpe to subdue all Idumæa. For this cause he was welcome to *Simon* and feasted liberally, and had great promises if hee performed that which he offered: and then returned vnto the Idumæans; and fained that *Simons* army was farre greater then indeed it was. And so at last terrifying the Gouernors of his country, and the people, he by little and little perswaded them to receiue *Simon*, and without any more fight yeeld vnto

Eleazar Simons fellow, casteth himselfe headlong into the trench, and presently dieth.

Iames of Idumæa the betrayer of his countrey.

A vnto him the whole ſoueraignty ouer them. *Iacob*, ſtudying to bring this his purpoſe to paſſe, priuily ſent meſſengers to *Simon*, willing him to come with his forces, and promiſing him to ſubdue the Idumæans for him, which alſo he did. For when *Simons* army drew neere, he firſt of all got vpon his horſe, and together with his aſſociates that were partakers of his treaſon, he fled to the enemy. Then feare fell on the Idumæans, and euery one without any more adoe departed home. Thus *Simon* againſt his owne expectation entred Idumæa without blood-ſhed: and firſt of all aſſaulting a little village called Chebron, vpon a ſudden he tooke it, and in it an exceeding great bootie, a great quantitie of corne, and many fruits, all which he carryed away. The inhabitants report, that this Chebron is not onely more ancient then all Cities of that Land, but alſo B then Memphis in Ægypt: for they affirme it to haue beene built 2000. and 300. yeeres ſince. They alſo ſay, that this was the place where *Abraham* the father of the Iewes dwelt, after hee forſooke Meſopotamia, and that his poſteritie departed from hence to Ægypt. And of this there are yet monuments in the Citie, richly wrought in fine Marble. Sixe furlongs from the towne there is an exceeding great Turpentine tree, which they affirme to haue endured euer ſince the creation of the world vntill this day.

The yeere of the world, 4033. after Chriſts birth, 71.

Simon beyond all expectation enters Idumæa without blood-ſhed.

Hebron an ancient Citie where Abrahams houſe was.

A Turpentine tree, that hath continued ſince the creation of the world.

Simon hauing obtained this place, from hence he inuaded all Idumæa, and not onely robbed and ſpoiled all townes and cities thereof, but alſo he waſted and deſtroyed many territories: for beſides his army, there followed him 40000; ſo that he could not find victuals ſufficient for ſuch a multitude. Moreouer, beſides this calamitie that he brought vpon Idumæa, he exerciſed great C cruelty and outrage vpon the countrey, and ſo cauſed a greater ſpoile therein. And like as after locuſts the trees and woods where they haue bin are left without leaues: ſo whereſoeuer *Simon* had bin, all the countrey from whence he came he left deſolate. And either by fire, or ouerthrowing it by ruinating places where he came, or elſe by treading vpon it with the feet of his armie, or by deuouring ſuch as they found, they left nothing ſtanding nor growing, either in field or towne: and onely by paſſing thorow fertile places, hee made the fields harder then barraine ground; and left no ſigne in places which he had deſtroyed, that euer they had beene tilled.

Simon ſpoyled all Idumæa.

Heereat the Zelous were againe mooued, yet durſt they not fight with him in open field: but placing ambuſhes in the way he was to paſſe, they tooke *Simons* wife, and many of her ſeruants, and ſo came againe into the Citie, reioycing as though they had taken *Simon* himſelfe. For they D perſwaded themſelues, that *Simon* would preſently, laying armes apart, come in humble wiſe and intreat them to reſtore vnto him his wife. But *Simon* was not mooued with compaſſion for the loſſe of his wife, but with fury: and comming to the walles of Ieruſalem, like a cruell beaſt that had beene wounded, and could not come to them that hurt him, he kild and ſlew all he met. And taking them that went out of the Citie to gather herbs and wood, he cauſed them to be whipped to death, whether they were young or old: and this crueltie ſeemed onely wanting in him, that he did not eate the fleſh of the dead bodies. Alſo he tooke many and cut off their hands, and ſo ſent them into the City, thereby to terrifie his enemies, and to recall the people from the Zelous: and bad them tell the Citizens, that except they preſently reſtored his wife vnto him, he ſwore by God who gouerned all, that he would breake downe their walles, and vſe all that he found in E the Citie after that faſhion, and that he would ſpare no age, nor reſpect the innocent more then the guilty. Theſe his threats did not onely terrifie the people, but alſo the Zelous, inſomuch that they ſent him his wife againe; and ſo his anger being ſomething aſſwaged, he ceaſed a while from daily ſlaughter.

The Zelous take Simons wife.

Simons immanitie and crueltie.

The Zelous ſend back Simons wife.

CHAP. VIII.

of GALBA, OTHO, VITELLIVS *and* VESPASIAN.

F NOT onely in Iudæa, but alſo in Italy at this time were ciuill warres: for *Galba* was ſlaine in the midſt of the market, after whom *Otho* was created Emperour, and fought againſt *Vitellius*, who affected the Empire, whom the Germane legions had elected: So the battell being fought neere vnto Bebrias, a towne in Gallia Ciſalpina, the firſt day *Otho* got the victory againſt *Valens* and *Cæcinna*, the Generals of *Vitellius* his army. But the day following they ouercame *Otho*: and ſo many being ſlaine on both parts, and newes being brought that *Vitellius* his army had gotten the victory, *Otho* being at Brixels ſlew himſelfe, when he had ruled the Empire three moneths & two daies. Then *Othoes* ſouldiers came vnto *Vitellius* his Captaines, and ioyned with them, and ſo *Vitellius* came to Rome with his army. In the meane time *Veſpaſian* the fift day of Iune departed from Cæſarea, and went vnto thoſe parts of Iudæa which were yet vnconquered:

Sedition thorow the whole Romane Empire.

Veſpaſian once more inuades Iudæa.

The yeere of the world, 4033. after Christs birth, 71.

conquered: and first of all he went into the high countries, and subdued the two Toparchies of Acrabatena and Gophnitis, and after them two townes called Bethel and Ephrem, and placed garrisons in them, and so went to Ierusalem, killing many that he found in the way, and he tooke many captiues. And one of his Captaines called *Cerealis*, with a part of horse and footmen, wasted all the higher Idumæa, and in the way as he went, he tooke Caphetra a Castle, and burnt it, and besieged another called Capharis, enclozed with a strong wall: for the which cause he deemed that he should haue made long abode there: but contrary to his expectation, the inhabitants opened the gates vnto him, and came and yeelded themselues, beseeching him to bee good vnto them. When he had ouercome them, *Cerealis* went vnto Hebron an ancient City, and set it on fire: this Hebron as I haue already said, was situated vpon the mountaines, so farre from Ierusalem: and breaking into it by force, he slew all them that he found there, and fired the Citie. And hauing subdued all places, saue onely three Castles, to wit, Herodium, Massada, and Macheron, which were kept by the theeues, now onely Ierusalem remained to be conquered.

Caphatis submits to Cerealis.

Cerealis burneth the ancient citie of Hebron.

CHAP. IX.

Of SIMONS *acts against the Zelous.*

WHen *Simon* had receiued againe his wife from the Zelous, he went into Idumæa, to rob and spoile that which he had left: and chasing the inhabitants vp and down, at last he forced them to flie vnto Ierusalem, & he himself followed them thither; and besieging the wals, he killed all the workmen he took, that returned out of the fields from their labor. Thus *Simon* without the city, was more terrible to the people then the Romans; & the Zelous within the city crueller then them both, being incouraged & incited thereto by the counsell of the Galileans. For they had put *Iohn* in authority: and *Iohn* in reward therof permitted all things to be done which they requested. There was no end of robbing & spoiling rich mens houses, and of slaughtring both of men and women; and now to iniure any person was a pastime. And hauing with blood-shed obtained their prey in security, & without all feare after they had gotten what they liked, they now began to lust after women: yea, they became themselues effeminate through luxuriousnesse, dressing their haire, and clothing themselues in womens apparell; and they anointed themselues with sweet oyntments, that their beautie might be pleasing, and alluring; their eyes wanton-like, they now did not onely imitate the attire of women, but also their impudency, and became so shameless, that they now thirsted after vnnaturall pleasures, as though they had kept a stewes, and so profaned the whole citie with their execrable impurities. Yet though they did effeminate their faces, their hands were prone to blood-shed; and although they liued in ignominious manner, as people giuen ouer to pleasure, yet could they quickly become warriers, and vnder the habits of women drawing their swords, they did kil whomsoeuer they met. Whosoeuer escaped *Iohns* hands, *Simon* crueller, murdered; and whosoeuer escaped the tyranny within the citie, was slaine by the tyrant without. So now there was no way to flye vnto the Romans. Furthermore, the army of *Iohn* began to be diuided, for all the Idumæans separated themselues from the other people, and there began a mutiny against the tyrant, partly enuying his puissance, partly hating his crueltie. And so assaulting him, they slew many of the Zelous, and compelled the rest to flie into the Kings house, builded by *Grapta*, father of *Izata*, King of Adiabena. The Idumæans also brake in thither with them, and draue them from thence into the Temple, and so seized vpon *Iohns* treasure: for *Iohn* liued in that palace, and thither carryed all his spoyles. Then those Zelous that were dispersed in the citie, came vnto them that were in the Temple, and *Iohn* purposed to send them against the townesmen, and the Idumæans. But they feared not so much their forces, although they knew them to be the better warriors, as they did feare that now being desperate, they would steale out of the Temple in the night, and so slay them, and fire the citie. Wherfore assembling themselues, they deliberated with the Priests how to auoid their assaults: but it pleased God to turn their own counsell to be their destruction, & that they should prouide a remedy of safety, far worse then death it selfe. For to depose *Iohn*, they deuised to introduce *Simon*, & as it were to intreat yet another to tyrannize ouer thē. So this counsell was thought best: and *Matthias* the Priest was sent vnto *Simon* (whom before they stood in great feare of) now to request him to come into the citie. With them also came such as had fled from Ierusalē, for feare of the Zelous, intreating him in like maner, because they desired to returne to their wiues and families. So he entred into the citie proudly, promising them to be their Lord, and all the people cryed with loud voyces as he came into the citie, that he was their preseruer, and giuer of life and

The Zelous fill the whole citie with iniquitie.

The way of flight was quite cut off. The discord betweene the Zelous & the Idumæans.

The flight of the Zelous with the Idumæans into the Temple.

Simon enters the citie with a great army.

A and libertie. Being now within the Citie, presently he deliberated with them about him, to establish his dominion, thinking as well them that called him into the Citie, as those against whom he was called, his enemies. Then *Iohn* and the Zelous with him, finding no way to come out of the Temple, and hauing lost all that he had in the Citie (for *Simon* and his followers at his entrance tooke all that belonged vnto him) began now to despaire of his safetie. And *Simon*, being assisted by the Citizens, assaulted the Temple, and the Zelous placing themselues vpon the porches, and in towers of defence, made resistance, and hurt many of *Simons* followers. For the Zelous were vpon the higher ground on the right hand, and so had the vantage against *Simon*. And although by reason of the place wherein they were, they preuailed against *Simon*; yet they buil-

B ded foure high towers, that from thence they might shoot darts and arrowes against *Simons* army. One of these towers they built vpon the East side of the Temple; another on the North; the third vpon a place opposite to the lower part of the towne; and the fourth tower they built vpon the top of the place called Pastophorium, where one of the Priests doe vse to stand before the Sunne set, and at breake of day, to signifie vnto the people with the sound of the trumpet the beginning of the Sabbath, declaring thereby vnto them, sometime holy-daies, and afterward that they might goe about their businesse. In these towers they placed all kinde of Engins to cast stones, and men with slings. Then *Simon*, perceiuing many of his souldiers languish, was more remisse in his businesse: yet when his number increased, he came neerer: for afarre off ma-

C ny of his men were slaine with the shot of those Engins.

The yeere of the world, 4033. after Christs birth, 71.

Simon assaults the Temple, wherein the Zealous kept.

The office of the Priests, to signifie the beginning of the seuenth day by the sound of a Trumpet.

CHAP. X.

How VESPASIAN *was elected Emperour.*

AT this time the Romans were in great danger: for *Vitellius* was now arriued out of Germany with his army, bringing beside them an infinit multitude with him; so that his army was so great, that the place appointed for souldiers could not containe it: insomuch that his army occupied all the whole citie, and euery house was fild with armed men. And they beholding the Romans wealth greater then euer they saw any, and admiring their abundance of gold and siluer, not able to containe themselues, they began to robbe and kill whomsoeuer that

D fought to withstand them. And this was the estate of the affaires in Italy. *Vespasian* hauing wasted all about Ierusalem, returned vnto Cæsarea, and there he vnderstood of the troubles at Rome, and *Vitellius* was Emperour. Heereat, though he knew as well to obey as to be obeyed, yet was he mooued to indignation, and disdained to call him Lord, who had as it were inuaded and vsurped the Empire, being destitute of a Ruler. And much grieued hereat, he could not conceale his griefe, nor follow warres against strangers, his owne countrey being so endangered. But the distance betweene him and Rome did as much represse him, as anger incited him to seeke reuenge: for he considered that fortune might cause many alterations before he could get to Rome, especially it being winter: and so he sought to bridle his wrath which daily increased. But his Cap-

E taines with the souldiers did now openly consult of a change, and with indignation did exclaime against the souldiers at Rome, who liued in pleasure, and neuer heard so much as the report of warre; and that notwithstanding this, it was lawfull for them to create whom they pleased Emperour, and vnder hope of gaine, they disposed of the Common-wealth at their owne pleasure: where they on the contrary side, hauing ouerpast so many labours and dangers, still continuing in armes till now, waxed old and gray-headed, and did suffer authoritie due vnto themselues, to be executed by others; when notwithstanding they had amongst them one who deserued the Empire, more then any one; and what recompence could they euer after make him? or what occasion could they finde hereafter to shew themselues gratefull to him for the benefits by him receiued, if they did now omit this occasion?

Vitellius encamps his army in Rome.

Vespasian knew both how to gouerne, and how to obey.

The Captaines consult with the souldiers openly of a change.

And they thought that *Vespasian* was so much more worthy of the Empire then *Vitellius*, by how much they, who created *Vitellius* Emperor, were in very many respects much inferiour vn-

F to them. For (said they) we haue endured no lesse toyle then those that came out of Germanie: neither are we lesse valiant then they, who bring a tyrant with them out of Germany. And that no body would resist *Vespasian*: for the Senate and the people of Rome would not rather endure *Vitellius* his vnsatiable lust, then *Vespasians* chastitie and temperance; nor a cruell Tyrant, rather then a good and courteous Emperor; nor the son should by them be elected Emperor, before the father. For true valor in an Emperor is a great defence of peace. Therfore if the Empire were due to aged experience, they had *Vespasian*; if to valiant youth, they had amongst them *Titus*: and that they might reap cõmodity by both their ages: And that they would not only assist him with the forces

Vespasians shamefastnes and modestie.

The yeere of the world, 4033. after Christs birth, 71.

forces of the Empire hauing there three legions, beſide the help of the kings; but alſo all the Eaſt part of Europe was out of *Vitellius* his danger. Moreouer, they had in Italy ſome that would aſſiſt *Veſpaſian*, to wit, his brother & his ſon, whereof the one (they hoped) would get many young men to follow him, and the other was now made Prefect of the City, which was no ſmall ſtep to attaine vnto the Empire. Laſtly, it might ſo fall out, that the Senate would declare him Emperor, whom now the ſouldiers, being as it were their conſeruer, had neglected.

The cauſes that mooued the people to elect Veſpaſian Emperour

This was firſt talked amongſt the companies of the ſouldiers: at laſt, exhorting one another thereto, they came & ſaluted *Veſpaſian* by the name of Emperor, and requeſting him now to preſerue the Empire, being in great danger to be loſt. Albeit *Veſpaſian* had alwaies been carefull for the good of the Common-wealth, yet he refuſed to be Emperour: deeming himſelfe indeed to haue deſerued it; yet he rather did chuſe to liue a priuate life, wherein was ſecurity, then in the height of fortune and honour with perpetuall danger. The captaines were more earneſt becauſe he refuſed it; and the ſouldiers flocked about him with drawne ſwords, threatning his death, except he would conſent to liue as he deſerued: yet long time ſtriuing to auert this their determination, being loth to be Emperour; at laſt, ſeeing he could not auoid it, he accepted their offer.

The ſouldiers elect Veſpaſian Emperour.

CHAP. XI.

The deſcription of Egypt.

MVtianus and the reſt of the Captaines that had incited him to the Empire, together with the whole army, cryed aloud, willing *Veſpaſian* to lead them againſt their common enemy. But *Veſpaſian* thought it beſt, firſt to ſettle the eſtate of Alexandria, knowing that Ægypt for the ſupply of corne was the greateſt and beſt part of the Empire: which if he once were ſure of, he hoped that although *Vitellius* were ſtronger then hee, yet hee could bring him vnder perforce, becauſe the people would not endure that for his ſake the Citie ſhould be famiſht: which would haue come to paſſe, except they had ſupply of corne out of Ægypt.

Moreouer, he deſired to ioyne to himſelfe thoſe two legions that were at Alexandria. He alſo thought that that countrey might be a defence and refuge for him, if any aduerſe fortune ſhould betide him: for the countrey is not eaſily to be entred by an army, and the Sea-coaſts haue no hauens nor harbours to receiue ſhips. On the Weſt it bordereth vpon the dry and barren part of Lybia; on the South, vpon the frontiers which ſeparate Syene from Æthiopia, and the ſtreames of Nilus not nauigable; on the Eaſt it bordereth vpon the red Sea, which extends it ſelfe euen vnto the Citie Copton; on the North it is defended with Syria, and the Ægyptian Sea, wherein there is no hauen. Thus Ægypt is ſtrong on euery ſide, and reacheth in length 2000. furlongs from Peluſium to Syene: and from Plinthine to Peluſium they ſayle 3000. and 600. furlongs. And Nilus is nauigable euen vnto the towne Elephantine.

The bounds of Ægypt.

The length and breadth of Ægypt.

Further, by reaſon of the downfals of Nilus, alſo the hauen at Alexandria is dangerous to come vnto in time of peace: for the entrance into it is very ſtraight; and beſide that, the way goes not directly on, but is made crooked by great ſtony rockes, and the left ſide is compaſſed artificially, but on the right ſide is the Ile Pharus, hauing a tower vpon it exceeding great: ſo that the light in it is ſeene of the Mariners 300. furlongs off, that long before they come neere it, they may prouide to bring their ſhips in with ſafetie.

A moſt high tower in the Iland Pharos, giuing light to thoſe that ſayle 300. ſtounds off.

This Ile is incloſed with moſt huge wals made by art; againſt which the Sea beating, and ſo returning backe againe, maketh the entrance into the hauen more dangerous. Yet this hauen within is very ſafe, and 30. furlongs long: ſo that whatſoeuer that countrey wants, it is brought them into that hauen, and whatſoeuer aboundeth amongſt them which other nations need, is carryed from thence all ouer the whole world. So that *Veſpaſian* did not vnaduiſedly ſeeke to eſtabliſh the eſtate of Alexandria, and diſpoſe thereof for his owne profit, being to begin his Empire. Wherefore preſently he ſent letters to *Tiberius Alexander*, who was Gouernour of Alexandria and Ægypt, and told him of the ſouldiers reſolution: and how that he, ſeeing he could not auoid it, but that he was forced to take vpon him the Empire, now requeſted him to helpe him in what he could. *Alexander*, receiuing *Veſpaſians* letters, agreed willingly thereto, and preſently cauſed his army and the people alſo to ſweare vnto *Veſpaſian*: which both of them did willingly, vnderſtanding *Veſpaſians* vertue by reaſon that he gouerned ſo neere them. And ſo he hauing now leaue, prepared all things to furniſh himſelfe like an Emperour, and to be receiued like a Prince.

Tiberius Alexander gouernes Alexandria and Ægypt.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

How VESPASIAN *deliuered* IOSEPH *out of captiuitie.*

The yeere of the world, 4033. after Christs birth, 71.

IT is incredible how quickly this newes was carried into all parts of the world, to wit, that *Vespasian* was declared Emperor in the East; and now all cities reioyced and made triumphs, and offered sacrifices for his fortunate successe. Moreouer, the legions in Mœsia and Panonia, who not long before were reuolted from *Vitellius* by reason of his crueltie, did now willingly sweare obedience to *Vespasian*. *Vespasian* returned by Berytum to Cæsarea: where many Embassadors came vnto him, bringing him Crownes, and applauding and reioycing at his good fortune, who came out of Syria, and all other places thereabout. There was also present *Mutianus*, gouernor of those parts, who brought tidings how ioyfully all the people receiued him for their Emperor, and how that they had all sworne obedience vnto him. So all things falling out prosperously on *Vespasians* side, and fortune for the most part inclining as hee desired, hee began to think with himselfe that it was Gods prouidence that he was made Emperor, and that a iust destiny had brought him to that estate. And so he cald to minde all tokens and signes (as there had hapned many, which did foretell that he should be Emperor) and among the rest, he remembred that which *Ioseph* had told him; who, *Nero* being yet aliue, presumed to call him Emperor, and so he admired the man whom as yet he kept in hold. And calling *Mutianus* and the rest of his friends together, first of all he told them how valiant *Ioseph* had bin, and what ado he had to win Iotapata, onely because of him; and then his prophecies, which at that time hee esteemed onely fables, fained vpon feare; yet now time and euent had proued them true. Affirming it an vndecent thing, that he, who had bin the foreteller of his exaltation, and had bin a messenger to him from God, should still continue in bonds like a captiue, and he left in aduersitie. So calling for *Ioseph*, he commanded him to be let loose. This fact of his made the Captaines vnder him, hope for great reward at his hands, seeing he had bin so kinde to a stranger. *Titus* being there present, said; It is meet, O father, that as you acquit *Ioseph* from captiuitie, so you also take away the shame of that which he hath already endured. For if we doe not onely vntie his chaines, but also breake them in sunder, he shall be as though he had neuer beene in bondage: for this is the manner vsed for redresse, when any one being guiltlesse is committed to bonds. *Vespasian* hereto agreed: and so one came with an axe, and hewed his chaines in pieces. Thus was *Ioseph* rewarded for his prophecy, and so hereafter he was esteemed worthy to be beleeued.

Vespasian by Common voyce is created Emperor, and crowned.

Vespasian cõsules with his Captaines about Iosephs libertie.

Ioseph discharged out of bonds and rewarded.

CHAP. XIII.

of VITELLIVS *his death and manners.*

WHEN *Vespasian* had answered the Embassadors, & iustly disposed of all the Rulers of his army according to euery ones merit, he now came to Antiochia, and there did deliberate whither to go first, and it seemed best to him to go to Rome, rather then to Alexandria: for he knew that Alexandria was quiet and firme, but Rome was troubled by *Vitellius*. Wherfore he sent *Mutianus* into Italy, with many footmen and horsemen: who fearing to goe by Sea, went thorow Cappadocia and Phrygia, for it was winter time. Now *Antonius Primus*, who was Gouernor of Mœsia, brought from thence the third legion remaining there, and came to war against *Vitellius*. *Vitellius* sent *Cæcinna* to meet him with a great army: who departing from Rome, presently met with *Antonius* at Cremona, a towne of Gallia, situate vpon the confines of Italy; and there beholding the discipline and multitude of the enemies, durst not fight with them: and thinking it very dangerous to flee, he plotted treason, and so calling vnto him the Centurions and Tribunes vnder his gouernment, he perswaded them to goe and ioyne with *Antonius*, debasing *Vitellius* his power, and extolling *Vespasians*: affirming the first to haue onely the bare name of the Emperor; and the last to haue also all vertues meet for an Emperor. Moreouer, that so it would be better for them to doe that of their owne accord, which otherwise they should be compelled to; and seeing themselues already ouercome in number, so also now willingly preuent all danger. For *Vespasian* was able without their assistance to subdue all the rest: but *Vitellius* was not able with their helpe to keepe that he had: speaking much to this effect, he perswaded them to all that which he would haue done. And so with his whole army ioyned with *Antonius*.

Vespasian bethinks himself to returne to Rome.

Cæcinna perswades the souldiers to forsake Vitellius, & honour Vespasian.

The same night, the souldiers repenting themselues of that they had done, and also fearing that

The yeer of the world, 4033. after christs birth, 71.

that *Vitellius* ſhould get the vpper hand who ſent them againſt *Antonius*, drew their ſwords, and would haue ſlaine *Cæcinna*; And had done it, had not the Tribunes come and entreated them to the contrary: wherefore they did not kill him, but kept him bound, meaning to ſend him to *Vitelliss* as a traitor. *Primus Antonius* hearing this, came with his army and aſſaulted them who were reuolted from him, and they a while reſiſted; yet at laſt, forced to retire, they fled to Cremona. And *Primus*, accompanied with horſemen, preuented their courſes, and ſo ſlew moſt of them before the city; and afterward ſetting vpon the reſt, gaue his ſouldiers the ſpoile of it, wherein many Merchants of other conntries, and many townſ-men were ſlain, and all *Vitellius* army, 30000. and 200. men: and *Antonius* loſt in that battell 4000. and 500. of thoſe whom he brought with him out of Mœſia. And deliuering *Cæcinna* from priſon, hee ſent him to beare newes hereof to *Veſpaſian*: who comming vnto him, was praiſed for his fact, and greatly honoured aboue his expectation, in reward of his Treaſon.

Cæcinna is apprehended for Treaſon.

Veſpaſian honors Cæcinna with vnexpected honours, and is acquited of Treaſon.

Sabinus, who was at Rome, hearing that *Antonius* was at hand, greatly reioyced, and tooke courage: and gathering together the companies of the watchmen in the night time, he tooke the Capitoll, and in the morning many of the nobles came and ioyned with him: and *Domitianus* his brothers ſonne, who was a great cauſe and helpe to obtaine the victory. *Vitellius* little eſteemed *Primus*; but he was angry againſt *Sabinus* and thoſe that had reuolted with him: and as it were naturally thirſting after the blood of the nobilitie, hee ſet all the army he brought out of Germanie with him, to aſſault the Capitoll, where many valiant deeds were ſhewed on both parts: and at laſt, the Germanes, being moſt in number, got the Capitoll hill. And *Domitian* with many braue noble men, as it were by Gods prouidence, eſcaped ſafe, the reſt of the multitude were there ſlaine. And *Sabinus* was carryed to *Vitellius*, and there by his commandement put to death: the ſouldiers, taking away all the gifts and treaſure in the Temple, ſet it on fire. The day after came *Antonius*, and *Vitellius* his ſouldiers met him: and fighting in three ſeuerall places of the Citie, they were all ſlaine. Then *Vitellius* came drunke out of his palace, and being full gorged with delicate meat, he was drawne thorow the midſt of the people, and after many contumelies ſlaine, hauing raigned eight moneths, and fiue daies: who if hee had liued longer, I thinke verily the Empire had not beene ſufficient to haue maintained his gluttony. There were ſlaine aboue 50000. of other people. And this was done the third day of October. The day after, *Mutianus* with his army came and entred Rome, and repreſſed the ſouldiers of *Antonius*, who ſtill ſought about in euery place for *Vitellius* ſouldiers & many other of his fauorites, & ſlew whom they thought good, not examining any matter by reaſon of their fury: and bringing out *Domitian*, he declared to the people that he was to gouerne the Citie till his father came. The people being deliuered from feare, proclaimed *Veſpaſian* Emperor, and made feaſts and triumphs both vnder one, for his eſtabliſhing in the Empire, and for ioy that *Vitellius* was depoſed.

Sabinus takes the Capitoll, and leaues Vitellius.

Vitellius ſlaine.

The people of Rome proclaime Veſpaſian Emperour.

CHAP. XIIII.

How TITVS *was ſent by his father againſt the Iewes.*

WHen *Veſpaſian* came vnto Alexandria, newes were brought vnto him what was done at Rome. And Embaſſadors came vnto him from all parts of the world to congratulate him. And although next after Rome this citie was the greateſt in the world, yet was it ſcarcely able to receiue the people that came thither vnto him. *Veſpaſian* now being eſtabliſhed Emperor of all the world, and the Common-wealth of the Romans being contrary to his expectation freed from troubles, he now began to think vpon the reliques of Iudæa. And ſo he himſelfe, winter being ended, prepared to goe to Rome, and in the meane time he haſted to diſpoſe of all things at Alexandria. Moreouer, he ſent his ſon *Titus* with certaine choſen men to deſtroy Ieruſalem. Who departed from Alexandria to Nicopolis by land, which is diſtant from it 20. furlongs, and there he did ſhip his men, and ſo ſayld along the riuer Nilus by Medenſia to Thumin, and there landing his men, he came to the city cald Tanis. And the ſecond place he reſted in was the city Heraclea, & the third Peluſium: and there reſting, and refreſhing his ſouldiers two dayes ſpace, the third day he paſt the borders of Peluſium, and hauing gone one daies iourney thorow the wilderneſſe, he pitcht his tents at the Temple of *Iupiter Caſſian*, and the next day at Oſtracine, where there is no water, but all that the inhabitants doe vſe, they bring from other places. After that, he reſted at Rhinocolura, and from thence in 4. daies he came to Raphia, where begin the borders of Syria, and the fift day he lodged at Gaza, and from thence to Aſcalon, & ſo to Iamnia and Ioppe, from whence he went to Cæſarea, purpoſing to gather the reſt of the ſouldiers there.

Titus repaires to Ieruſalem.

Titus comes to Cæſarea, and gathers his forces there.

THE

THE SIXTH BOOKE OF THE WARRES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the sixth Booke.

1 *Of three seditions in Ierusalem.*
2 *How* Titus *went vnto Ierusalem to see their strength, and how he was in danger.*
3 *How the Iewes did issue out vpon the Romanes pitching their Tents.*
4 *Of the fight within the Citie vpon the feast of vnleauened bread.*
5 *Of the deceit the Iewes vsed against the Romane souldiers.*
6 *The description of Ierusalem.*
7 *The Iewes refuse to yeeld, and assault the Romanes.*
8 *Of the fall of the tower: and how two of the walles were wonne.*
9 *How* Castor *the Iew did flout the Romanes.*
10 *How the Romanes did twice get the second wall.*
11 *Of the mounts raised against the third wall, and a long Oration of* Ioseph, *perswading the Iewes to yeeld, and of the famine within the Citie.*
12 *Of the Iewes that were crucified, and how the towers were burnt.*
13 *How the Romanes in three dayes space built a wall about Ierusalem.*
14 *Of the famine in Ierusalem: and how they built another tower or mount.*
15 *Of the massacre of the Iewes, both within and without the Citie.*
16 *Of the sacriledge about the Temple: and the dead bodies that were cast out of the Citie: and of the famine.*

CHAP. I.

Of the three sorts of sedition in Ierusalem.

TITVS being thus come out of Ægypt by the desart into Syria, he departed from thence vnto Cæsarea: for there he purposed to set his army in order. And whilest yet he was with his father *Vespasian* at Alexandria, disposing of the Empire that God had giuen him, it happened that the sedition at Ierusalem was diuided into three parts, whereof one fought against another: and one may say, it was a good turne that they were so equally diuided. Wee haue already sufficiently declared who were the Authors and beginners of the faction of the Zelous, whose tyranny ouer the Citie was the ruine thereof: and one may well call this a sedition raised out of a sedition; which, like a cruell and sauage beast in penury and want of others, turned his crueltie against his owne bowels. So *Eleazar* the sonne of *Simon*, who was the first that in the Temple diuided the Zelous from the people, faining himselfe to be displeased with that which *Iohn* euery day did; yet in truth, for that he enuyed that a more tyrant of later time then himselfe should be his ruler, desirous to obtaine the principalitie, and make himselfe mightie, he reuolted from the rest: and with him *Iudas* the sonne of *Chelcias*, and *Simon* the sonne of *Ezron*, two of the most potent amongst them. Besides them, was also *Ezechias* the sonne of *Chobarus* a Nobleman, and all these had many of the Zelous following them:

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Christs birth, 72.

A threefold sedition in Ierusalem.

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Christs birth, 72.

them: and getting in possession the inner part of the Temple, they set a guard in the entrance and in the sacred gates, trusting in their abundance of all necessaries: for there was great store of sacred prouision, and they thought it no impietie to vse it; yet fearing their small number, they permitted many of the company that were killed, to remaine in the places where they were slaine. *Iohn* was superiour in multitude and number, but inferiour by the inequalitie of the place: and hauing his enemies aboue his head, he could not without danger make incursions; and yet for anger he would not cease to persecute his enemy: notwithstanding that thereby his part had more harme then those of *Eleazars* side, yet he still assaulted them though to his owne cost: thus many assaults were continually made, and many darts cast, and all the Temple was profaned with murders. And *Simon* the sonne of *Giora* (whom the people being in despaire, incited to be their Leader, in hope that he would haue assisted them, hauing in his hands both the higher part of the Citie, and the greater part of the lower) did now more boldly then before assault *Iohn* and his followers, because they were assailed by those aboue them: yet he being as it were beneath *Iohn* and his adhærents, he sustained as much losse at their hands, as *Iohn* himselfe did at theirs aboue him. So *Iohn* had double warres: and *Eleazar* harmed him because of the higher place wherein he was, so likewise did he domage *Simon* for the like cause; and easily without any labour repulsed all his assaults, which he made being on the lower ground, and terrified by Engines those that cast darts at him from the top of the Temple: for he vsed all Engines to cast darts and stones, and killed many not only of his enemies, but also of them that were offering sacrifices. For although that they were carryed headlong vnto all vice, yet they permitted those that would, to offer sacrifice, watching and diligently guarding them of their nation. For the strangers that came thither for deuotion, were not mistrusted: yet afterward that they had entreated these wicked people to permit them to sacrifice, they when they had done were a prey for them, and consumed by this sedition. For darts and other shot with force of the Engines came into the Temple and Altar, and slew the Priest at the Altar. And many who came from the vttermost parts of the world vnto that holy place, were slaine euen as they offered sacrifice, and so imbrued the Altar with their blood, which all the Greekes and barbarous people did reuerence: and strangers and the Priests being now profaned, were forced to be amongst the dead bodies, and the place about the Altar stood full of blood of men that were slaine. O miserable Citie! What didst thou suffer at the Romanes hands, to be compared vnto this, although they entred with fire to purge thee from iniquitie? For now thou wast no longer the House of God, neither couldest thou endure being made a Sepulchre of thine inhabitants, and hauing by thy ciuill warres made the holy Temple a graue of dead bodies. Yet mayest thou once againe come into better estate, if first thou appease Gods wrath that hath made thee desolate. But I must not giue place vnto sorrow, and write a lamentation of my miserable countrey, seeing I haue vndertaken to write a History of all things that past there. Wherefore I will recount the residue of the impietie of these seditious.

The fight betweene Iohn and Eleazar.

Simon and Iohn skirmish in the Temple.

Great slaughter in the Temple.

The seditious people beeing diuided into three companies; *Eleazar* and his followers, who had the keeping of the holy first fruits, and all the sacred oblations, came against *Iohn*, when they were drunke. And they who followed *Iohn* spoyling the people, assaulted *Simon*, and the Citie did succour *Simon*. Wherefore when *Iohn* was assaulted on both sides, hee turned some of his souldiers against *Simon*, and the rest against *Eleazar*: and against *Simon* hee vsed darts cast from the porches of the Temple: and against *Eleazar* hee vsed Engines for shot. And alwayes so often as they aboue his head ceased (as they often did beeing either weary or drunken) hee freely assaulted *Simon* and his men. Also as farre as hee draue them into the Citie, so farre did hee fire all, and burne houses full of corne and other necessaries: and that which hee left vnburned, *Simon* at his returne (when *Iohn* was gone into the Temple) set on fire: as if vpon purpose, to the great aduantage of the Romane, they had consumed all that was prouided against the siege; so did they destroy their owne forces and strength. To be short, all was consumed with fire about the Temple, and the Citie was made a plaine ground to fight in, and all the corne was burnt that might haue sufficed the Citie many yeeres; and so they were taken by famine, which they could not haue felt, had they themselues not caused it. The Citizens were in euery place a prey vnto those that were seditious on one side, and to them that besieged the Citie on the other side, and like a great body torne in pieces betweene these two. The old men and women astonished with these calamities, prayed for the good successe of the Romanes, and desired some forraine warre to deliuer them from their ciuill disagreement.

Iohn assaulted on both sides.

They of Ierusalem had wilfully burnt all their corne.

A wretched calamitie in Ierusalem.

And

A And forthwith great feare and terror fell vpon them all: beſides, it was no time as now to take counſell to change their minds, nor hope of agreement or of flight to them that deſired it. For all places were kept, and the rebels within, whomſoeuer they perceiued to wiſh peaceably to the Romans, or offer to flie vnto them, they preſently killed them as their common enemies. And all theſe wicked perſons agreed in this, to wit, to put the iuſt men to death, who beſt deſerued to liue. Day and night nothing could be heard ſaue onely the noiſe of them that fought one againſt another; yet the lamentable cries of them that liued in perpetuall feare was far more miſerable, who euery day had new cauſes and occaſions of ſorrow giuen them; yet durſt they not publikely lament, for feare; and ſo not daring to ſhew their griefe, they ſecretly ſorrowed, and now no man B obſerued any reuerence to them that were aliue amongſt them, nor tooke any care to bury the dead. The cauſe of both which was, that euery man deſpaired of himſelfe. For whoſoeuer were not ioyned with the ſeditious, grew to be careleſſe of all things, as making account preſently to dye a thouſand deaths. But the ſeditious gathering the dead bodies vpon heapes, continued their fighting, and troad vpon them; and as it were encouraging themſelues by the dead vnder their feet, they became more cruell, ſtill deuiſing one pernicious practice or other, and preſently executing whatſoeuer they deuiſed without any commiſeration, omitting no way to murther, and leauing no tyranny vnattempted: ſo that *Iohn* abuſed the holy things of the Temple to make Engines of warre. For before-time when the Prieſts and people had determined to vnderprop the Temple and build it twentie cubites higher, King *Agrippa* with great coſt and charges C brought them very goodly timber ſufficient for their purpoſe from mount Libanus. And this worke being preuented by warres, *Iohn* tooke them, and ſeeing them fit for his purpoſe, he erected a tower to fight againſt thoſe that aſſaulted him from off the Temple; which he built along the wall ouer againſt the Chapter houſe, that ſtandeth on the Weſt ſide of the Temple: for he could build it in no other place, by reaſon that all other places were filled with ſtaires. And hauing thus impiouſly prouided Engines, he hoped hereby to deſtroy his enemies. But God ſhewed his labour to be in vaine, and before he could preuaile againſt them, he brought the Romanes againſt the Citie.

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Chriſts birth, 72.

Lamentation & mourning in Ieruſalem.

The crueltie of the ſeditious in Ieruſalem.

Iohn made vſe of the wood that was kept for holy vſes to make engines of.

For after that *Titus* had now gathered together part of his army, and by writing appointed the reſt to meet him at Ieruſalem, he departed from Cæſarea, hauing three legions that lately D vnder the conduct of his father *Veſpaſian* had waſted all Iudæa, and the twelfth legion that ſometime vnder *Ceſtius* were ouercome, and put to flight by the Iewes: who though they were otherwiſe valiant enough; yet they deſired to fight againſt the Iewes to reuenge themſelues for that diſgrace. *Titus* commanded the fift legion to meet him at Ieruſalem, and goe by Emmaus, and that the tenth legion ſhould march by Iericho: the reſt hee tooke with himſelfe accompanied with the Kings forces that came to helpe him, hauing now more helpe then before, and many alſo out of Syria. *Titus* alſo brought men with him to ſupply the number that was wanting, being ſent by *Veſpaſian* with *Mutianus* into Italy: for he brought 2000. choſen men from the legions at Alexandria, and 3000. followed him from Euphrates, together with *Tiberius Alexander* his chiefeſt friend, and one next him in moſt authoritie, who before was Gouernour of Ægypt, E and as then thought a fit man worthy to be Gouernour of the army; for that hee was the firſt that did entertaine the Emperour beeing new elected, who faithfully ioyned with *Veſpaſian*, though yet he knew not what ſucceſſe he ſhould haue: and he was preſent with him in all his affaires as his chiefeſt Counſeller, renowmed both for his wiſedome and experience.

The order of Titus army.

CHAP. II.

How TITVS *went to Ieruſalem to ſee their ſtrength, and how he was in great danger.*

F TITVS being now to go into the country of the enemy, cauſed all thoſe that came to helpe him, to march in the foremoſt place: after whom followed they that were to mend the wayes, and to pitch the tents: and after them they which carried the baggage of the Rulers and Gouernors of his army, and with them, the armed ſouldiers. Next after theſe came *Titus* himſelfe accompanied with choſen men, and with him many that bare his colours: next, the horſemen going immediately before the Engines. And the Prefects and Tribunes with certaine choſen men, and their companies followed. After them the Eagle with many other Enſignes: and the trumpets went before them. And after them followed the army marching ſixe in a rank: then the multitude of ſeruants that followed euery legion did driue their baggage before them: laſtly,

Titus commeth to Iudæa.

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Christs birth, 72.

came the hirelings and those that were appointed to guard them. Marching in such comely and warlike manner, as the Romans are wont, he came by Samaria into Gophna, which place was already conquered by his father, and then also was vnder the custody of the Romane garrisons. And staying there one night, he departed from thence the next day: and after a dayes iourney he pitched his tents in a place, which in the Iewes language is called Acanthonaulona, that is, the valley of thornes, neere vnto a village named Gabath Saul, which signifieth the valley of Saul, which is almost 30. furlongs from Ierusalem. From thence accompanied with 600. chosen horsemen, he went to Ierusalem, to view how strong it was, and of what courage the Iewes were, to see if peraduenture at sight of him they would yeeld without any further warre, for feare. For *Titus* vnderstood (and it was true) that the people desired peace, but they were oppressed by the seditious, and so durst not attempt any thing, being not able to encounter or resist the Rebels. *Titus* riding along the high way that went straight to the walles, saw no man all the way: but turning aside towards the tower Psephinos with his horsemen, an infinite number presently issued out by the towers of women, at a gate opposite to *Helens* tombe; and brake his ranke of horsemen into two parts, and opposed themselues, hindring those horsemen that were yet in the high way, to come and ioyne with the rest that had crost the way, and so did single out *Titus* accompanied only with a few men. So he could goe no further for the ditch of the towne wall on one side, and for the garden pales on the other side: and there was no hope for him to returne vnto his souldiers, the enemies being betweene him and home. And many of his souldiers not knowing their Generall to be in any danger, but supposing him to haue beene amongst them still, fled away. *Titus* seeing that hee had onely his owne valour to trust vnto, turned his horse against his enemies, and with a loud voyce exhorted his followers to doe the like, and so hee brake violently into the midst of them, hasting to get vnto his company. It was euident at that time that God giueth the victory, and hath a particular care of Kings & Princes and Emperors. For notwithstanding that an infinite number of darts and arrowes were shot at *Titus*, and he had no armour at all (for as we haue already said, he came to espy, and not to fight) yet had hee not one wound but all past him; as though purposely euery one had striuen to haue mist him. But *Titus* with his sword made way, and cut many vpon the face that opposed themselues against him, and so they falling downe, he with his horse past ouer them. The Iewes seeing *Titus* his valour, cried and exhorted one another to set vpon him; but whithersoeuer he turned, the Iewes fled, and would not abide by it: likewise those souldiers that were in the like danger with him, came of either side him and behinde him. For no man had any hope to saue his life, but onely by making themselues way with *Titus*, before they were so enclozed & oppressed. So, of two of the most valiant amongst them one was slain, & his horse likewise: the other was slaine, and his horse taken by the Iewes. And *Titus* with the rest of his followers came safe into the campe. And the Iewes getting the first victory, rashly tooke courage, and that encouragement being of moment, made them very confident a long time after.

Titus repaires to Ierusalem to sound the dispositions of the people.

Titus in danger.

Titus fighteth valiantly with his enemies.

Titus putteth his enemies to flight, and returnes in safetie to his campe.

CHAP. III.

How the Iewes did issue out vpon the Romanes pitching their tents.

SO soone as the legion that was to passe by Ammaus, was ioyned to the rest of the armie that night, *Cæsar* presently the next morning remooued, and came to Scopos, where hee might perfectly view the Citie and the Temple on the North part, where the ground adioyning vnto the Citie is very low, and is properly called Scopos, being distant seuen furlongs from the Citie: and there *Titus* commanded two legions to encampe themselues, and the fift legion to retire three furlongs off, to the intent that the souldiers who were wearyed with trauelling all night, might entrench themselues without feare or danger. No sooner had they begun their worke, but presently the tenth legion came, who were to passe by Iericho, which *Vespasian* had already subdued, and had placed there a garrison. This legion was commanded to encamp sixe furlongs from Ierusalem, neere mount Oliuet, which is opposite to the East part of the Citie, and is enclozed with a deepe valley called Cedron. This great and huge army so suddenly arriuing, presently stayed the warres within the Citie: and these three sects of seditious people beholding with admiration the Romans campe, became friends, and made agreement amongst themselues. They began also to question one with another, what fury caused them to suffer themselues to be enclozed with three wals, to their preiudice and losse of their liues: and seeing such preparation of wars towards, that they should be as it were beholders of that which was done

Titus campe was 7. stades off the citie.

The seditious agree among themselues.

A done, keeping themſelues quiet; and not prouiding to reſiſt the aſſaults of their enemies: and ſome cryed, We are only valiant againſt our ſelues; and we by our ſedition maſſacring one another, ſhall betray our Citie into the Romanes hands.

The yeere of the world, 4014 after Chriſts birth, 72.

Thus they being aſſembled together, exhorted one another: and preſently arming themſelues, they iſſued out of the Citie, and aſſaulted the tenth legion, and with a huge cry ſet vpon the Romans that were entrenching themſelues in the valley. The Romans being euery one appointed to do ſome buſineſſe for the furtherance of that worke, & for that cauſe the moſt of them hauing laid down their weapons (for they thought the Iewes durſt not haue made any excurſions, & although they would, that yet they were hindred being at variance among themſelues) they were B troubled aboue meaſure, and preſently leauing the worke, ſome fled; many arming themſelues to fight, were ſlain before they were prepared to reſiſt. The multitude of the Iews was daily increaſed, becauſe that at the firſt they got the vpper hand, & notwithſtanding their number was ſmall, yet did they thinke themſelues many: and ſo did the Romans thinke them to be, becauſe of their good fortune. The Romans who were alwaies wont to obſerue military diſcipline and order, at that time by their ſudden aſſaulting, were ſo troubled, that they obſerued no order, and ſo fled: yet whenſoeuer they turned againe vpon them that followed them, they eaſily wounded the Iewes, partly, becauſe that they were ſo earneſt, that they did not greatly ſeeke to defend themſelues, and alſo they did eaſily ſtay the Iewes from purſuing them. Yet the number of them that purſued them ſtill increaſing, they were alſo more troubled, and ſo at laſt forced to forſake the C field, and leaue their tents: and the whole legion had bin in greater danger, had not *Titus* hauing preſent newes hereof ſpeedily came and ſuccoured them, and vpbraiding their cowardlineſſe recalled them from flight; who with them, and the choſen men he brought, encountring the Iewes on one ſide, he ſlew many of them, and wounded diuers, and put the reſt to flight, and forced them into the valley. The Iewes being now in the lower ground, and hauing endured much at the Romans hands, ſince fortune frowned vpon them, turned againe, and hauing the valley betweene them, they fought with the Romans. And thus the fight continued till the midſt of the day.

The Citizens aſſaile the Romanes.

The Iewes driue the Romanes from their campe.

A little after midday *Titus* guarding the reſt with thoſe that he brought to ſuccour them, and placing others, to preuent the excurſions of the Iewes, hee commanded the reſt to entrench themſelues in the top of the mountaine. The Iewes thought the Romanes had fled, and their D ſentinell vpon their wals, making a ſigne vnto them by ſhaking his garment vp and down, a great multitude of them ran ſo violently vpon the Romans, as though they had beene ſauage beaſts, ſo that none of their enemies were able to withſtand them; but as though they had beene ſtricken with ſome Engine, ſo all of them were diuerſly ſcattered and forced to flye into the mountaine. But *Titus* in the midſt of the ſide of the mountaine remained alone, hauing but a few with him; notwithſtanding his friends, who for the loue they bare to their Emperour, ſtayed with him, and abode the danger, did earneſtly perſwade him to flye from the Iewes, who deſperately ranne vpon their owne deaths, and not to endanger himſelfe for them, who ought rather to abide it then he: And that he ſhould think vpon his own eſtate, who was not a ſouldier, but General of thē all, and Lord of the whole world, and that he ſhould not abide when all others fled ſo faſt, & in E ſuch danger. But he made as though he heard them not, and oppoſed himſelfe againſt them that offered to aſſault him, ſtriking them vpon the faces, and killing them that made reſiſtance, and he purſued them downe the hill, and ſo forced them to retire. The Iewes amazed at his valour, did not yet flye into the Citie, but auoyded him on both ſides, and fled into the valley: then againe purſuing them that fled from them; yet *Titus* croſſing them as they went, hindered their purſuit. In the meane time thoſe that were encamping themſelues aboue, ſeeing them beneath put to flight, were diſcomfited, and all fled, thinking that they were not able to reſiſt the Iewes, and imagining that *Titus* was likewiſe fled: for had they thought that he had ſtaied by it, they neuer would haue forſaken their quarters; yet being now terrified they knew not wherefore, ſome fled one way, and ſome another without any order, till ſome ſeeing the Emperor in the midſt of F the battell, and fearing the miſchance that might betide him, they with loud cries ſignified it vnto the whole legion. Then the Romans turning againe for ſhame, and accuſing themſelues guilty of a great offence in forſaking their Emperour amidſt ſuch danger, came with all the violence they could vſe againſt the Iewes, and driuing them down the mountaine, forced them to retire; yet the Iewes fought flying, and ſeeing the Romans to haue the vpper hand of them, becauſe they were vpon the higher ground, they departed into the valley. *Titus* aſſaulted them that were oppoſite againſt him, and ſo commanded the reſt to go and finiſh their trenches. And hee with thoſe that before were with him to defend the workmen, did now alſo keep the Iewes from moleſting

The fight of the Iewes with the Romanes.

The Romans are diſperſed by the Iewes, and driuen to the mountaine.

Titus valour againſt the Iewes.

Feare & trouble among the Romanes.

The Iewes fight in their retreat, & are driuen vnto the valley.

lesting them. So if I may speake without flattery or enuy, *Cæsar* himselfe did twice preserue the whole legion from destruction, and gaue the souldiers opportunitie to entrench themselues. G

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Christs birth, 72.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the fight within the Citie vpon the feast of vnleauened bread.

John entreth and seizeth the inward Temple and all the furniture thereof, putteth the Zelous to flight, and raiseth a mighty sedition.

DVring the intermission of the forraine warres, they fell to their former sedition againe, which caused ciuill warres among them. And against the feast of vnleauened bread, which is the 14. day of Aprill (for vpon this day the Iewes say that they were deliuered out of the bondage of Ægypt) *Eleazar* and his companions opened the gates, to the intent that all that would, might come in to adore and doe their deuotion. But *Iohn* vsed this festiuall day as a meanes to effect his deceit; and caused many of his company that were vnknowne, to enter in among the people with weapons vnder their garments, giuing them charge when they were within, to get possession of the Temple: and so soone as they were within, they cast off their garments, and shewed themselues to bee in armour. Presently a great tumult arose within the Temple: for all the people that were not of the sedition, thought themselues betrayed: and the Zelous thought this treason only practised to preiudice them: and so leauing the gate which before they kept, and leaping downe from the towers, they neuer offering to fight, fled into the vaults about the Temple. And the people flocking about the Altar, and others who were driuen into the Temple, were killed with clubs and swords, and so troden vpon. And many were slaine vpon priuate hatred, vnder pretence to be partakers with the enemies. And whosoeuer beforetime had offended any of those Traitors, hee was put to death, as though he had beene one of the Zelous. But they who had cruelly raged against the innocent, let the wicked haue leisure to escape out of those caues, whereby they had no harme: and hauing gotten the inner part of the Temple, and all belonging thereunto, they did now more confidently then before fight against *Simon*: and thus the sedition that was before diuided into three parts, was now brought only into two. *Titus* being desirous to bring his army neerer the Citie, sent a certaine number of horsemen and foot, which he thought sufficient to hinder all excursions of the Iewes from Scopos, and another company he sent to plaine all the grounds betwixt him and Ierusalem: who cutting downe all hedges and pales, and fences, and wood (though they were fruit trees) filled the vallies and made it all plaine ground: and hewing downe all stones that standing vp made the ground vnequall, they plained all that ground from Scopos euen vnto *Herods* monument, which adioyned to the lake of Serpents called sometime Bethora. H I K

A threefold sedition diuided into two parts.

Whatsoeuer about Ierusalem is hollow or troubled with vallies, is filled vp.

CHAP. V.

Of the deceit the Iewes vsed against the Romane souldiers.

ABout this time the Iewes deuised this stratagem against the Romans. The most courageous among the seditious people went out vnto the places called the womens towers, and counterfeited themselues to be driuen thither by them within the citie that desired peace; and for that they feared the Romans, they were come thither to hide themselues one behind another: others standing on the wals, and counterfeiting themselues to be the Citizens, with loud cryes desired peace, and a league of friendship; promising to set the citie gates open, and inuiting the Romans to enter: and crying thus, they also cast stones against their countrymen before spoken of, as though they did driue them from the gates; and they made as though they would by force breake thorow the people, and come to the gates, partly by force, partly by entreating the people to permit them. And making many offers to go vnto the Romans, they turned againe like men troubled in minde, and studying what to doe. The Romane souldiers did not perceiue their subtill meaning; who seeing the seditious ready to fall into their hands, that so they might punish them, and seeing the people (as they thought) ready to open the gates vnto them, would in poste haste haue gone vnto the citie. But *Titus* suspected some deceit coloured with this kind inuiting him to enter, because he did not see any reason for it. For the day before, hauing by *Ioseph* offered them peace, hee vnderstood that their mindes were farre from any peaceable cogitations: wherefore now he commanded the souldiers to keepe their quarters and not to remoue; yet some of them, appointed to worke in the trenches, taking their weapons, ran vnto the gates, and the Iewes who seemed to be driuen out of the citie at first fled; at last when they came vnto the gates L M

The alacritie of the souldiers among the Romanes, contrary to Titus ordinance.

gates of the towers, they inclozed the Romanes round about, and aſſaulted them vpon their backs: and they that were vpon the wals did caſt all kinde of darts and ſtones vpon them: ſo that they ſlew many, and wounded very many; for it was not eaſie to eſcape from the wals, others being behind them, and offring them violence. Moreouer, they were aſhamed that their Captaines had ſo offended, and in feare for their offence committed, both which cauſed them ſtill to perſeuere in it. And after a long conflict receiuing many wounds, and giuing as many, at laſt they put them to flight that enclozed them, and ſo the Iewes departed, and followed them to *Herods* monument, purſuing them with darts. And then the Iewes returned reioycing in their good fortune; and deriding the Romans for being ſo deceiued, lifting vp their ſhields and bucklers, ſhouting and reioycing.

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Chriſts Natiuitie, 72.

The victory of the Iewes.

The Roman ſouldiers were receiued of their Captaines with threatnings, and of *Cæſar* with this ſpeech: The Iewes led only with deſperation, do all things with aduice and counſell, deuiſing deceits; and fortune fauoureth their practices becauſe they are ordered, and truſty to one another. And now the Romans, whom for their obedience and diſcipline fortune was wont to fauour, doe contrariwiſe offend herein, and for their raſh and vnaduiſed fighting are ouercome: and which is worſt of all, in *Cæſars* preſence offring to fight without their Captaines. Truly the military law and diſcipline will be grieued hereat, and my father very ſorrowfull to heare of this. For he who from his infancy vnto old age, hath been trained vp in armes, yet did he neuer offend in this ſort; and what ſhall we ſay to our law that puniſheth the leaſt offences againſt them committed with death, when our whole army doth diſobey their Emperours command? But (quoth hee) they who ſo arrogantly haue diſobeied our command, ſhall preſently vnderſtand, that among the Romans, victory againſt the Generals command is an infamy. *Titus*, hauing thus ſpoken in anger to the Captaines, euidently declared to them what and how he purpoſed to puniſh them. And they preſently deſpaired, as though by and by they were iuſtly condemned to die. But all the other legions flocking about *Titus*, beſought him to pardon their fellow ſouldiers, and to remit the offence of the raſhneſſe of ſome few, for the obedience ſake of the reſt: affirming that their future valour ſhould be a ſufficient recompence for this their offence. *Cæſar* was now pacified, partly thinking what was moſt profitable, partly for the intreaty of the reſt: for he purpoſed to puniſh one man only, and to rebuke the reſt, and ſignifie to them his diſpleaſure, and ſo he was reconciled to his ſouldiers, ſtraightly charging them to be wiſer hereafter: and after, he deuiſed now to be reuenged on the Iewes for this deceit. When all the ground betweene the wals of Ieruſalem and his army was in 4. daies made plaine, *Titus* being deſirous ſafely to conduct the baggage and the reſt of the multitude in ſafety, he placed the ſtrongeſt of all his ſouldiers euery one in his ranke ſeuen by ſeuen, and cauſed them to march from the North part of the City vnto the Weſt, all along without the City wals, placing the footmen in the forefront, and in the laſt place the horſemen three in a ranke, and betweene them both the Archers. So the Iewes not able now to make any excurſions, *Titus* ſouldiers being thus diſpoſed of, the baggage of the three legions and the multitude paſſed along without any danger. And *Titus* himſelfe being now within two furlongs of the City wals, pitched his tent againſt that corner of the wall that is called Pſephinos, where the compaſſe of the wall from the North bends into the Weſt: the other part of the army entrenched themſelues againſt that part of the wall that is called Hippicos, diſtant in like manner two furlongs from the City. But the tenth legion remained ſtill in mount Oliuet where it was before.

Cæſars ſharp oration to his ſouldiers.

The Roman ſouldiers beſeech Titus for their fellowes in armes.

How and in what places Titus beſieged Ieruſalem.

CHAP. VII.

The deſcription of Ieruſalem.

THe Citie was compaſſed with a threefold wall on euery ſide, ſaue onely on that part where it was inclozed with vallies inacceſſible: for on that ſide it had onely one wall. It was built vpon two little hils, one of them being oppoſite vnto another, and ſeparated one from another with a vally, which was wonderfully repleniſhed with houſes. One of theſe hils whereon ſtandeth the vpper part of the City, is far higher and ſteeper then the other, inſomuch that becauſe of the ſtrength of it, King *Dauid* in times paſt called it a Caſtle. (This *Dauid* was the father of King *Salomon*, who firſt builded the Temple in that place) but wee at this day call it the high market place. The other hill cald Acra, is the place where the lower part of the City ſtands. Oppoſite againſt this hill, there was alſo another lower then this Acra was, which was firſt diuided from it with a large vally, but afterward at ſuch time as the Aſmoneans raigned,

The treble wall of Ieruſalem.

The Caſtle of Dauid.

Acra ſuſtaines the lower part of the City.

raigned, they did fill vp this vally, to the intent they might ioyne the city vnto the Temple, and cut downe the top of Acra, and ſo made it lower, that it might not hide the Temple. The vally, by which we haue ſaid the two higher hils are ſeparated one from another, is called Tyropœon, and reacheth vnto Siloa (which is a fountaine abounding with ſweet water.) Without the city were two hils compaſſed with deepe vallies: and being enclozed with high rocks, they were on euery ſide inacceſſible. The moſt ancient of the three wals, by reaſon of the vallie about it, and the hill whereupon it ſtood, could not eaſily be taken: and beſide the opportunity of the place, it was very ſtrongly built, at the coſt and charges of *Dauid*, *Salomon*, and other Kings. This wall, beginning at the tower called Hippicos, reacheth to that called Xyſtus, and afterward being ioyned vnto the Palace, it endeth in the Weſt porch of the Temple: on the other ſide towards the Weſt it begins at the ſame tower; and paſſing by the place that is called Betiſo, it deſcends vnto the gate of the Eſſeans, and ſo into the South, and from thence againe it bendeth into the Eaſt, where alſo is *Salomons* pond, and reacheth vnto the place called Ophlan, where it is ioyned vnto the Eaſt porch of the Temple. The ſecond wal beginneth at the gate that is called Genath, which is a gate of the former wall, and it onely compaſſeth the North part of the city, and reacheth to Antonia, a Caſtle ſo called. The third wall beginneth at the tower Hippicos, from whence it goeth into the North part, and from thence it commeth vnto the tower Pſephina, ouer againſt the Sepulchre of *Helena* that was Queene of Adiabena, and mother of King *Izates*: and paſſing along by the Kings caues, it turneth towards the tower neere the monument of *Fullo*, and in the vallie called Cedron it ioyneth with the old wall. *Agrippa* compaſſed that part of the City that he built, with this wall, it being before all open without defence. For the city grew ſo populous, that by little and little they were forced to inhabit ſome part without the wals: and this wall reacheth a great way, being ioyned vnto the hill next the city on the North ſide of the Temple. There was alſo a fourth hill inhabited, named Bezetha, ſituate againſt Antonia, but ſeparated from it with very deep ditches, which were made of purpoſe, leſt that the foundation of Antonia being ioyned vnto it, it might be eaſier to come vnto, and ſeeme lower: for the deepeneſſe of the ditch maketh the tower ſeeme much higher then otherwiſe it would. This place being added vnto the City, is called in that countrey language Bezetha, which ſignifieth the new City. And the inhabitants deſiring that part to be fortified, *Agrippa*, father to this *Agrippa* that finiſht the wall, did begin that wall aforementioned: and fearing leſt *Claudius Cæſar*, hearing how ſumptuous a wall he built, ſhould miſtruſt that he purpoſed to reuolt, he onely laid the foundation of it, and ſo left it vnfiniſhed.

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Chriſts Natiuitie, 72.

The fountain of Siloa.

The older wal

The ſecond wall.

The third wal.

Bezetha the fourth hill.

Agrippas coſt in building the wall.

G

H

I

K

For the city could neuer haue been taken by force, if he had finiſht that wall as he began it, it being built with ſtones 20. cubits long, and 10. cubits broad, which could neither eaſily bee vndermined, nor battered with engines: and this wall was built ten cubits high, and no doubt had been raiſed higher, had not his liberality who began this building been hindered. Yet againe by the Iewes induſtry the ſame wall was raiſed 20. cubits high, the battlements hereof were two cubits high, and the tower 3. cubits, and in all it was 24. cubits high, as before. Vpon the wall were three towers 20. cubits broad, and 20. cubits high, built foure-ſquare very ſtrongly, and was builded of as firme a foundation as the wall it ſelfe, which for the building and faire ſtone was not inferiour to the Temple aboue. Within this ſtrong tower, which reached twenty cubits high, were roomes for men to dwell in, and ciſternes to receiue raine-water, and large turning ſtaires to goe into euery place there: and this third wall had fourſcore and ten of theſe towers, and betweene euery tower were two hundred cubites ſpace. The middle wall had fourteene towers, and the old wall had threeſcore, and the compaſſe of the whole city was three and thirty furlongs. And although the third wall was admirable, yet the tower of Pſephina, which was built vpon a corner of the wall, betweene the North and the Weſt part of the city, had a certaine excellency of more wonder, againſt which part *Titus* had encamped himſelfe: for it was ſeuenty cubits high, ſo that from thence vpon a cleere Sun-ſhine day, one might diſcouer Arabia, and ſee the vttermoſt parts of all the dominions of the Hebrewes vnto the ſea, and it had eight corners. Iuſt oppoſite to this was the tower Hippicos, and neere vnto it were other two, that King *Herod* builded vpon the old wall, which in bigneſſe, beauty and ſtrength, did ſurpaſſe all others in the whole world.

L

M

The third wal had 90. towers

Pſephina was 70. cubites high.

For King *Herod*, beſides his naturall liberality and deſire to adorne this City, did alſo for his owne pleaſure ſo beautifie this building, that it might excell all other, and dedicated them to three moſt renowned perſonages, whoſe names they alſo did bear, to wit, to his brother, his friend and to his wife, ſhe being (as is aforeſaid) put to death for iealouſie; the other two being ſlaine in warres

Herod called three towers by the names of three his moſt deareſt friends.

A warres, after they had fought valiantly. The tower Hippicos cald by the name of his friend, had foure corners, and euery one of them were fiue and and twenty cubits broad, and as many in length, and thirty cubits in height, being in no place hollow: and aboue the high places and ſtone-worke, there was a well to receiue raine-water, twenty cubits deepe: and aloft of it were houſes with double roofes twenty fiue cubits high, and diuided into many roomes: and aboue them were battlements two cubits high, and turrets three cubits high: ſo that the whole height was accounted to be fourſcore and fiue cubits. The ſecond tower that by his brothers name he called Phaſaelus, was in breadth and length forty cubits, and ſo many cubits high, in figure of a ſquare pillar, all which height was ſolid, and not hollow within: and aboue this a porch tenne B cubits high, decked with turrets and pinnacles. Ouer the midſt of this porch he built another tower diſtinguiſhed into goodly roomes and ſumptuous baths, that it ſhould not want any thing neceſſary for a Prince: on the top it was beautified with turrets and pinnacles, ſo that all his height was almoſt fourſcore and ten cubits: And it reſembled the tower Pharus at Alexandria, wherein continuall light is kept to guide the ſeamen that ſaile thither, ſauing that it had a greater compaſſe then it. And in this houſe now at this time did *Simon* lodge, who tyrannized ouer the people. The third tower was, according to the Queenes name, called *Mariamme*, the wife of *Herod*, twenty cubits high, all ſolid, and other twenty cubits broad, hauing more magnificent and beautifull houſes and lodgings then the reſt. For the King ſo thought it meet, that the tower called by his wiues name, ſhould be more beautifull then they who onely bare the names of o- C ther men, like as they were ſtronger then this that bare the name of a woman. This tower was in all 55. cubits high.

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Chriſts birth, 72.

Hippicos 85. cubits high.

Phaſaelus 90. cubits high.

Mariamme a goodly tower 55. cubits high

Notwithſtanding theſe three towers were of ſuch height, yet by reaſon of their ſituation they ſeemed far higher: for the old wall whereupon they were built was placed vpon high ground, and the top of the hill whereupon they ſtood was aboue thirty cubits high, whereby their height was much increaſed. The greatneſſe alſo was admirable; for it was not ordinary ſtone which men might beare, but all white marble, whereof euery ſtone was twenty cubits long, and ten cubits broad, and fiue cubits thicke: and they were ſo coupled one to another, that euery ſtone by it ſelfe ſeemed a tower; and ſo cunningly conioyned by workemens hands, that euery tower ſeemed one ſtone. And theſe were placed on the North ſide of the City; and adioyning D to them within the City, was ſituate the Kings Palace, ſurpaſſing all that can be ſpoken of it: which for greatneſſe and excellent worke may be compared to all that were in the world. It was compaſſed about with a wall thirty cubits high, and adorned with goodly towers round about, euery one of like diſtance from other, beautified with dwelling houſes and lodgings for a hundreth of the Nobility. The variety of the marble it was built withall, was admirable, all ſorts being there vſed that were neuer ſo rare to be found: and the tops of theſe houſes for the length of the beames and the beauty thereof paſſed all credit; and the multitude of roomes and diuerſity of buildings, all filled and adorned with houſhold ſtuffe and furniture. And in euery roome there were many veſſels of gold and ſiluer, and many porches round about, one anſwerable vnto another, and pillars in euery one. And there were many pleaſant walkes repleniſhed with diuers E trees, and many walking places or allies, all beſet with conduits that ſpouted vp water on high, and ciſternes full of brazen images, from which ran out water: and about the water many doue-houſes full of tame pigeons. But it is impoſſible ſufficiently to declare the riches and beauty of the Kings Palace; and a griefe to thinke what goodly things, and how rich the theeues did there ſet on fire: for theſe things were not burnt by the Romans, but by the ſeditious theeues (as is before ſaid) at the beginning of this rebellion, who conſumed all with fire, euen from the Caſtle Antonia from whence the fire came, and deſtroied the Kings Palace, and the couers and tops of the three towers. The Temple was, as is before ſaid, built vpon a hard mountaine, and at the firſt, the Plaine vpon the top thereof was ſcarcely big enough to containe it and the Temple yard, the hill being very ſteep. But when King *Salomon*, who alſo built the Temple, had compaſſed F the Eaſt part thereof with a wall, he alſo placed a porch vpon the rampire, and ſo for many ages after, it lay vnfenſt on other parts: wherefore the people euery day bringing earth thither, at laſt made it plaine and large enough: and breaking down the North wall, they tooke in all that ſpace which the Temple had continually occupied euen vntill now: and the hill being now enclozed with a threefold wall, it was a worke paſſing all expectation in building. To the effecting wherof many ages were ſpent, and all the holy treaſure offred to God, euen from all parts of the world, was employed therein, as well in the buildings of the higher as of the lower part of the Temple; the foundations whereof were laid three hundreth cubits deepe, and in many places more: yet could

The Kings Palace.

The Kings Palace burnt by the theeues and Rebels.

The Temple built vpon a moſt ſtrong hill.

All the ſacred treaſures ſpent in the building of the Temple.

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Christs birth, 72.

could not all the height of the foundations be ſeene, being now buried in vallies that were filled vp to make them equall with the ſtraight ſtreets of the city. The ſtones of this building were of forty cubits: for the abundance of treaſure and liberality of the people did effect that which was ſcarcely poſſible: and that which all men thought could neuer haue come to paſſe, in time and by induſtry came to perfection. G

The porches were built of white marble ſtone ſuſtaind by pillars.

The building was anſwerable vnto theſe foundations. For all the porches were double, and euery one was ſupported by pillars, each of them being fiue and twenty cubits high, and all of one piece and of white marble: the top whereof was all of Cedar, whoſe naturall beauty for the good conioyning of this wood and poliſhing therof, did aſtoniſh all that beheld it, being adorned neither with painting nor carued works. Theſe porches were thirty cubites broad: and the compaſſe of them altogether, with the fort of Antonia, was 6. furlongs. All the ground whereon ſtood no building, was curiouſly wrought and paued with all ſorts of ſtones. The way to the 2. Temple was all enclozed with ſtones of lattice work, which were 3. cubits high, and moſt beautifully wrought along: in which place alſo were placed certaine pillars equally diſtant one from another, to ſhew the law of purification; ſome being written vpon in Latine letters, other ſome in Greek, forbidding all ſtrangers to enter into the holy place: for the ſecond Temple is called the holy place. To goe vnto the ſecond from the firſt, one muſt paſſe vp fourteene ſtaires, and it was fourſquare aloft, and enclozed with a wal by it ſelfe; whoſe outſide being forty cubits high, was all couered with ſtaires to aſcend vp vnto it; and within, it was fiue and twenty cubits high: for all the part of the inner ſide was vnſeen, becauſe it was built on the deſcent of a hil. After the fourteene ſtaires there was a Plaine made leuell with the wall of three hundreth cubites: from thence paſſed on fiue other ſtaires which lead vnto the gates, whereof on the Northſide and the South there were eight, foure on each ſide, and two on the Eaſt. For it was neceſſary that there ſhould be a peculiar place for women to exerciſe their deuotion in, which alſo was inclozed with a wall. And ſo it was neceſſary there ſhould be two doors: and againſt the firſt gate there was oppoſite vnto it one gate on the North ſide, and another on the South, both ſeparated from the reſt, whereby one entred the place allotted for women; for it was not lawfull for any to paſſe by any other gate vnto the women, neither could they go beyond their own doore, becauſe of the wall: for that place was common both to the women of that nation, and alſo to all ſtrange women that came for religion ſake. There was no gate on the Weſt part, but a wall that reacheth all along in that place. Between the gates were porches oppoſite one againſt another, reaching from the wall vnto the treaſure houſe, ſupported with great and goodly pillars, being as plain and fully as bigge as they below. The gates were couered with gold and ſiluer, as alſo the poſts and foreparts thereof were, one onely excepted that was couered with Corinthian braſſe, far ſurpaſſing in beauty the other that were couered with ſiluer and gold. In euery gate there were two doores, each one thirty cubits high, and fifteene cubites broad: and after the entrance where they were made larger, euery one had on each ſide ſeats thirty cubites long, and large like a tower, and forty cubites high, each one ſupported with two pillars twelue cubites thicke. And all other gates were of like greatneſſe; but that which was couerd with Corinthian braſſe, which was the entrance into the place allotted for the women, and opened into the Eaſt gate of the Temple, doubtleſſe was bigger then the reſt: for it was 50. cubits high (the gates whereof were forty cubits) and was more richly adorned then the reſt: for the couer of gold and ſiluer was thicker then it was in the reſt, which *Alexander Tiberius* his father had melted, to couer all the nine gates. And there were fifteene ſtaires, that went from the wall that ſeparated the women, vnto the great gate of the Temple: for theſe ſtaires were ſhorter by fiue degrees, then thoſe that went to other gates. The Temple it ſelfe was ſituated in the midſt of all, to wit, the holy Sanctuary, and had twelue ſtaires to goe vnto it. The forepart whereof was in height and breadth a hundreth cubites: and behind, it was forty cubits outright: and before, it was as it were two ſhoulders on each ſide riſing vp in height twenty cubits. The firſt gate hereof was ſeuenty cubits high, and twenty fiue wide, and had no doore: for it ſignified that heauen was ſpred all ouer, and might be ſeene in euery place: and all the foreparts were gilded with gold, and all the firſt building did appeare and might be ſeene without, and all that was within and about the gate gliſtered with gold. The inner part thereof was diuided into two rooms, whereof onely the firſt roome might be ſeene, which was in height foureſcore and ten cubites, and in length forty, and in breadth twenty. The inner gate was (as is already ſaid) all gilded with gold, and all the wall about it, and aboue it: it had a golden vine, whereon were hanging cluſters of grapes all of gold, euery cluſter being as long as a man is high. And becauſe the height was ſeeled aboue, the inner

A peculiar place deſtinated for womē for religion ſake.

Some of the gates were of gold, ſome of ſiluer, and one of Corinthian braſſe.

The ſacred Sanctuary.

H I K L M

Temple

A Temple did ſeeme to be lower then it was without,and it had golden gates 55.cubites high,and 16. cubits broad.

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Chriſts birth, 72.

It had hangings alſo of the ſame length,which was a Babylonian vail,all wrought with violet and purple ſilke and ſcarlet, admirable to behold: the permixtion of which colours had a myſticall meaning,bearing as it were the ſignification of the whole world. For the ſcarlet doth ſeem to expreſſe the fire,the ſilke ſignifieth the earth, the violet ſheweth the aire,and the purple declares the ſea,partly in their colours reſembling them,partly alſo as hauing their beginning from them: for the purple is ingendred in the ſea,and the ſilk is produced by the earth. In this tapeſtry work was curiouſly wrought, and deciphered all the ſpeculations of the heauens, onely the Celeſtiall B ſignes excepted. Being entred within,you come into a lower place of the Temple,which was 60. cubits high, and as many in length, and twenty in breadth. Againe, this place was diuided into two, whereof the firſt part contained forty cubits, hauing in it three moſt admirable things, and famous thorow out the world,to wit,a candleſtick,a table,and the altar of incenſe: vpon the candleſticke ſeuen lampes were placed,which ſignifieth the ſeuen planets (for ſo many did there come all out of one ſtemme of the candleſticke) vpon the table were ſtanding twelue loaues of bread,ſignifying the twelue celeſtiall ſignes,and reuolution of the yeere. By the altar of incenſe, out of which proceedeth 13. odours, comming partly from the ſea which is vnhabitable, and partly from the earth which is inhabited,is ſignified that all things are in the hands of God,and ſubiect to yeeld him obedience. The inner part of the Temple contained 20. cubites,which alſo C was ſeparated from the other part by a vail,and nothing was within it:and this place was the holy of holies, and no man might enter, looke into it, nor violate the ſame. On each ſide of the lower Temple, there were many lodgings and doores to paſſe into, euery one of them hauing three roofes one aboue another: and there was a gate which led vnto both ſides of the Temple, and vnto theſe roomes:but the higher part of the Temple had not the like roomes on each ſide, and therefore it was made ſo much narrower then the other,yet was it higher then it by 40. cubits, neither was it ſo gorgeous as the lower. For the whole height was 100. cubites, and the ground thereof ſixty. The vttermoſt part was ſo curious and richly wrought,that it was vnpoſſible for any one to imagine any workmanſhip that it wanted: for it was all couered with a maſſiue plate of pure gold, which ſhined far brighter then the morning ſunne, ſo that it dazled the eyes D of the beholders,as doth the ſun when it is gazed vpon. And a far off it ſeemd vnto ſtrangers that came thither,like a white mountaine: for where the Temple was not gilded with gold,there was it milk white. The top hereof was all ſet full of rods of gold, very ſharpe at the vpper end like pikes, leſt the birds ſhould come and ſit thereon, and ſo defile it: many ſtones wherewithall it was built,were 45. cubits large, fiue cubits in length, and ſixe cubits broad. Before the Temple there ſtood an Altar fifteene cubits high, being forty cubits broad,and as many long, and foure ſquare,hauing corners made like hornes. The way to this Altar was on the South ſide, where it by little and little mounted from below euen vnto the Altar. This Altar was builded without yron,and neuer yron did touch it. The Temple and the Altar were enclozed with ſtone-worke, beautifull to behold, which was a cubit high, ſeparating the people from the Prieſts. Thoſe that E were troubled with a fluxe of their ſeed, and Lepers were expulſed out of the city; and women alſo hauing their monethly courſes,and thoſe that were not vncleane,might paſſe this foreſaid limit. Likewiſe men that were not purified,were not permitted to come within the inner Temple; and thoſe that were,might not come among the Prieſts: thoſe alſo that deſcended from the line of the Prieſts, and for blindneſſe did not adminiſter their function, were notwithſtanding admitted into the place appointed for the reſt of the Prieſts that were ſound, and had a ſhare as they had; yet did they goe attired as lay-men, for onely he that did ſacrifice, might weare Prieſtly attire.

The Babylonian vaile of admirable workmanſhip. The ſignification of the vaile.

Three admirable works: The candleſtick,the table and center.

The outward court of the Temple couered with many plates of gold.

The Prieſts that came vnto the Altar and Temple had no infirmity,and they were clothed in a fine linnen garment, and abſtained from wine, and liued in abſtinence for reuerence of religion, F leſt they ſhould ſinne whilſt they offred ſacrifices. The high Prieſt alſo aſcended with the Prieſts into the Temple; yet not alwaies, but euery Seuenth day, and in the Calends of euery moneth, or on a feſtiuall celebrated according to the cuſtome of their country, or wherein all the people were preſent. And then he ſacrificed being girded with a vaile, which couered his thighes euen vnto his priuities, vnder which hee wore a linnen garment hanging downe vnto his feet, and aboue it a round violet garment all fringed at the skirts, and hanged full of golden belles, and pomegranats of gold,firſt one and then another: the bels ſignified thunder, and the pomegranats lightning. Vpon his breſt he wore a veſture of fiue colours; to wit,gold,purple,ſcarlet,ſilke and violet,

The Prieſts in the old Teſtament, abſtained from wine, and were ſober.

The High Prieſts garment.

violet, which also (as we haue said) the vails of the Temple were wrought withall. He had like- G
wise a rotchet of the same, wherin was more gold, & in shape it was like the garment he wore on
his body down to the thighes: it was also buttoned with two golden buttons, made in the forme
of Aspes, wherein was inclozed the greatest and most precious Sardonyx stones that could be
found, bearing the names of the 12. tribes of Israel engrauen in them. On the other side did hang
12. precious stones, three and three in a rank, diuided into foure rowes. In the first was the Ruby,
the Topaze and the Emeraud: in the second the Carbuncle, the Iasper and the Saphire: in the third
the Agate, the Amethyst and the Diamond: in the last the Onyx, the Beryl and Chrysolite, in e-
uery one of which one name of the twelue tribes was written. Vpon his head he wore a miter
of silke, which was crowned with Hyacinth: and aloft of it was another Crowne of gold, where- H
in was engrauen sacred letters, to wit, the 4. vowels. He did not alwaies vse this garment, but an-
other most commonly not so gorgeous: this he vsed when he entred into the Sanctuary, which
he did onely once euery yeere alone, none else going with him, vpon which day all the nation
was wont to fast. But we will hereafter speake more at large of the City and Temple, the lawes
and customes, the ordinances and obseruations; for these things cannot be briefly declared. The
Castle Antonia was situate in a corner of the two porches of the first Temple, which looked vn-
to the West and the North: and it was built vpon a rocke of stone 50. cubits high, which on eue-
ry side was inaccessible: this first was built by King *Herod*, to shew the greatnes and magnificence
of his minde. For first of all the rocke at the foot thereof was all couered with thin and slender
stones like slates, which did both adorne it, and would also easily slide downe if any one walked I
vpon them. Before the battlements of the fort there was a wall 3. cubits high, within which the
Castle Antonia was built 40. cubits high, being within all furnished and contriued like the Pa-
lace of a King, hauing all kind of houses of office, and other necessary rooms. For there were por-
ches, baths, and large hals, to place tents in: so that for all conuenient rooms and places it seemd
to be a city, and for the magnificence thereof a Kings Palace. In outward fashion it was built like
a tower, and inuironed about with 4. other towers, at euery corner one, whereof they that were
on the South and East side were 70. cubits high, the other two were onely 50. So out of these 2.
highest, one might haue a perfect view of the whole Temple. Where it ioyned to the porches of
the Temple, there was on either side of it a paire of staires for the fouldiers to come down out of
it into the Temple. For alwaies the Roman souldiers lodged there, and guarded the Temple in K
armour vpon festiuall daies, lest the people should attempt any rebellion or sedition. For the
Temple was as a Castle to keepe the towne in awe, and the Castle Antonia to ouerthrow the
Temple: there also were placed the soldiers: likewise in *Herods* Palace, which serued for a Castle
ouer the higher part of the city. The hill Bezetha was diuided from the city, as is before menti-
oned: which being the highest of all, was ioyned to part of the new city, which did obscure the
view of the Temple on the North side. And thus I haue here spoken sufficiently of the city and
the wall in this place, because we meane hereafter to describe them more at large.

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Christs birth, 72.

The precious stones in the high Priests garment.

The description of Antonia

Antonia not much vnlike a city.

CHAP. VII. L

How the Iewes refused to yeeld, and how they assaulted the Romanes.

15000. follow Simon.

THE most warlike of all the people ioyned with *Simon*, being in number ten thousand, be
side the Idumæans: and those ten thousand had 50. Captains of their owne fellowes, yet
all subiect vnto *Simon*. The Idumæans that tooke his part were fiue thousand, and had
ten Captaines, the chiefe of whom were *Iacob*, the son of *Sosas*, and *Simon*, the sonne of *Cathla*.
And *Iohn*, who kept the Temple, had sixe thousand armed men, ouer whom were twenty Cap-
taines: and then there came vnto him two thousand of the Zelous, and foure hundreth, who
before had followed *Eleazar* and *Simon*, the sonne of *Iairus*. So these warring one against ano-
ther, the people was their booty, and the multitude that were not seditious as they were, was
their prey. *Simon* kept the higher part of the City, and the greater wall euen vnto Cedron, M
and all that part of the old wall which is betweene Siloa and the Palace of *Monobazus*, who
was King of Adiabena, that lieth beyond the riuer Euphrates: hee also kept all the hill Acra
(which is the lower part of the city) vnto *Helenas* Palace, who was *Monobazus* his mother.
But *Iohn* kept all the Temple and the space about it, Ophla, and the vally Cedron: and that which
was between these two places which *Simon* and *Iohn* kept, was all consumed with fire, and made
a place to fight in. For although the Romans tents were pitched neere vnto the wals of the city,
yet did not this sedition cease; but hauing recouered some security a while at the Romans first
comming,

Simons camp against Iohn.

A comming presently they returned vnto their former wont. And diuiding themselues againe, euery man fought for his owne part, doing all that the Romans could wish to be done. For the Romanes did them no more harme then they did themselues: for after them the City suffered no new calamity, but indured farre more miserie before it was taken and destroyed by the Romans, then it did at that time. For the Romans in destroying it, did rather end their misery then bring them into it. For the seditious did take the city, and the Romans did ouercome and take the seditious, which was farre stronger then the wals: so that one may ascribe all their miseries to their owne nation, and equity and iustice vnto the Romans, as euery one shall cleerely see by that which ensued.

The yeere of the world, 4034. after christs birth, 72.

The seditious tooke the city, and the Romans ouercame & tooke the seditious.

B The City being in the estate beforesaid, *Titus* with chosen horsmen went vp and downe without it, to espy where he might most easily assault the wals. And being in doubt a long time what to doe, for that where the vally was, footmen could not possibly get vp to it: and where it was walled, they seemed to be impossible to be battered downe with engines: At last he determined to assault it on that part, where was the monument of *Iohn* the high Priest: for only in this place the first wall was lower then in other places, and it was not compast here with the second wall, for this place was not fortified, because that those parts of the new City were not much inhabited. So that from this place the wall might easily be assaulted: wherby *Titus* was perswaded that the higher city, and the Temple, and Antonia, might easily be taken. As he was thus viewing the place, one of his friends called *Nicanor*, came vnto him: who was shot in the left shoulder with an

Titus circulting the wall, seeketh which way he should attempt his battery.

C arrow, because he desired to come neere *Ioseph*, who went thither of purpose to perswade the Iewes which were vpon the wall to yeeld: for *Nicanor* was very eloquent. *Cæsar* perceiuing their minds, and that they would not abstaine from him, who perswaded them to that which was most expedient for them, was now moued, and began earnestly to besiege them: and so he permitted his soldiers to waste all the suburbes, and to gather all the rubbish, stones, wood, & other matter together, and made therewith a mount. And diuiding his army into three parts, he disposed of euery one what he should doe, and in the midst of all vpon the mounts he placed archers, and before them engines for shot, wherewithall he hindered the incursions of his enemies, lest they should annoy the work, and also did beate those off from the wall, who made any resistance from thence. And presently all trees being cut downe, the suburbes appeared naked. Whilst the

Nicanor is wounded with an arrow in the left shoulder.

D Romans, hauing gathered the wood together, were busied in their work, the Iewes were not idle: and then the people, who were troubled with murders and robberies, did hope to haue an end of their misery, the seditious people being busied against their enemies: and they now hoped that if the Romans did ouercome, they might be reuenged vpon them. *Iohn* still kept where he was, fearing *Simon*; yet were his followers very earnest to assault the Romans. But *Simon* being next vnto the siege, did not rest, but placed all along that part of the wall, men with darts, which before were taken from *Sestius* Gouernour of the Romans, and found in the Castle of Antonia. But the darts did the Iewes small pleasure, by reason that few of them knew how to vse them: onely some who were taught by certaine that fled from the Romanes, could vse them a little. Yet did they assault the Roman souldiers that were building the mounts, with arrowes and stones; and

The darts did the Iewes little good, because they were not expert in vsing them.

E also made incursions vpon them by companies, and fought with them. But the Roman workmen were defended by hurdles that were of purpose set before them: and euery legion had strange and admirable engines against the excursions of their enemies, and especially the engines that the tenth legion had to cast darts, and others that cast stones; which did not onely repulse them, by whom they were assaulted, but also those that stood vpon the wall: for euery stone was a talent weight, and were shot more then a furlong, and slew not only those that they did first strike, but also many that were striken with the rebound. But the Iews alwaies espied the stones before they came (for they were white) and so auoided them: and they were not only descried by the noyse they made in flying, but they might easily be perceiued: and by this meanes the watchmen in the towers gaue warning alwaies when these engines were shot off, and when the stones came,

F crying in their country language, *The stone commeth:* so the Iewes vpon the walles knowing what they meant, auoided the stones, and so receiued no harme. Then the Romanes deuised to blacke the stones with inke, and so they could not be seene as they flew, but at one stroke slew many. But the Iewes were not herewith so terrified, that they permitted the Romans peaceably to build the mount, but night and day they hindered them with stratagemes and valour. Now when the Romanes had finished their worke, the Carpenters measured the space betweene the mounts and the walles with a plummet fastned vnto a line, which they cast from one place vnto another: for they could not measure it otherwise, because of the darts cast from the walles; and

finding that they had Rammes long enough, they ſet them vp, and *Titus* commanded the wall to be battered in three places, to the end that the batterie might not be hindered. The noiſe that theſe rams did make, was heard round about the city; and the citizens cried mainely out, and the ſeditious perſons were alſo ſore afraid. And ſeeing themſelues all in like danger, they now determined to ioyne all together in reſiſting the Romans: and the ſeditious cryed one vnto another, ſaying, that they rather aſſiſted the enemies, then reſiſted them: and therefore exhorted one another at leaſt for that time to become friends, if not for euer, only to reſiſt the Romans. And *Simon* ſent a cryer vnto the Temple, licenſing all ſuch as would, to come vnto the wals: which alſo *Iohn* did permit, notwithſtanding he miſtruſted *Simon*: ſo they forgetting their old quarrell, ioyned all together, and reſiſted the Romans, and guarding the wals round, they caſt much fire vpon the engines of the Romans, and againſt thoſe that did rule them; and threw darts againſt them without intermiſſion: and the boldeſt amongſt them in great companies leapt downe, and deſtroyed that wherewith the engines were couered, and aſſaulted thoſe that ſtood to defend them; and ſo did the Romans much harme, by reaſon of their deſperate boldneſſe, more then by their skill.

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Chriſts birth, 72.

Titus commandeth the wall to bee battered in three places.

The ſeditious forgetting their hatred and diſcords ioyne in one.

Titus was ſtill at hand to ſuccour them that ſtood in need: and placing horſmen and Archers about the engines, he repulſed the Iewes who came to caſt fire, and repreſſed them that caſt darts, and ſhot arrowes from the towers, and ſo gaue the rams time and opportunity to beat the wals. Yet for all this the wal was not ſhaken with rams, ſaue only that the ram of the 5. legion did ſhake the corner of a tower; but yet the wall ſtood firme, and was not harmed by the ſhaking of the tower: for it was far higher then the wall, and ſo could not draw downe any part of the wall as it fell. So ſoone as they had a while ceaſed from excurſions, they perceiued that all the Romanes were buſied in one labour or other, and ſo diſperſed all ouer the camp, thinking that the Iews for feare durſt come no more. The Iews all ſecretly iſſued out of the gate by the tower Hippicos, and caſt fire vpon the works, and courageouſly made incurſion vpon the Romans euen vnto the rampire of their campe. The Romans ſeeing what danger might enſue, preſently aſſembled themſelues, both they that were neer, and thoſe that were far off. The diſcipline of the Romans ouercame the fury of the Iewes: and putting thoſe to flight that firſt met them, they aſſaulted thoſe that oppoſed themſelues againſt them afterward. So there began a grieuous battell about the engines; the Iewes ſtriuing to fire them, and the Romans fighting to hinder them: and a doubtfull cry was raiſed on both parts, and many in the forefront were ſlain on both ſides. But the Iews audacity got them the vpper hand; and their fire did ſomething touch the engines: and all had been conſumed quite with fire, had not the choſen ſoldiers that came from *Alexandria* hindred it, who for the opinion that they had of themſelues did fight ſtoutly: for they were accounted to haue been the moſt valiant of all in this battell; till ſuch time as the Emperour with certaine ſelected horſmen, came and ſet violently vpon the enemies: and he himſelfe ſlew twelue men that did reſiſt him, for whoſe deaths the reſt fearing fled, and were forced to retire themſelues into the City, and ſo ſaued the engines from being fired. It chanced that one of the Iewes was in this fight taken aliue, and *Titus* commanded that he ſhould be crucified before the wall, that perhaps the reſt being herewithall terrified might yeeld. After *Cæſar* was retired, *Iohn* the Captaine of the Idumæans talking vpon the wall with one of his friends, being ſtriken in the breſt with an arrow by an Arabian ſouldier, preſently died: which cauſed great lamentation among the Iewes, and ſorrow amongſt the ſeditious, for he was valiant of his hands, and very wiſe, and of good aduice.

The Ramme ſhaketh a corner of a tower.

Titus putteth the Iewes to flight and drieth them into the City.

Iohn Captain of the Idumæans by the ſhot of an arrow that wounds him in the breſt. dieth.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the fall of the tower: and how the two walles were taken.

THE night following, there was a great tumult amongſt the Romanes. For *Titus* the Emperour had commanded to be builded three towers, fifty cubits high apiece, each one vpon a ſeuerall mount, that from thence hee might the more eaſily beate the enemies from off the walles: but one of theſe towers in the middeſt of the night fell downe without any aſſault. And making a great noiſe with the fall, feare fell vpon the whole army; who ſuſpecting that it came to paſſe by ſome ſtratagem wrought by the Iewes, euery one ranne and armed himſelfe, and ſo there was a great tumult in the army: and for that no man could tell what the matter was, a long time, they ſtood as it were all amazed, euery one asking his fellow what had hapned. And ſeeing no enemies come, they began to feare ſome treaſon amongſt themſelues; and ſo were in a great feare they knew not wherefore, til ſuch time as *Titus* vnderſtanding the

A the matter, cauſed the truth thereof to be preſently proclaimed thorowout the campe; and ſo the tumult (although with much adoe) was appeaſed. *The yeere of the world, 4034. after Chriſts birth, 72.*

The Iewes valiantly bearing and induring all other dangers, were ſore troubled by reaſon of theſe towers which *Titus* had erected; for they were ſlaine and wounded from thence with ſmall engine ſhot, darts and arrowes; neither could they build themſelues any ſo high, nor was there any hope to deſtroy them: for neither could they be throwne downe for their waight, nor fired, becauſe they were couered with yron: and ſo they flying out of the reach of the ſhot, did not ſeeke to hinder the ram from battering their wals; which neuer ceaſing, at laſt preuailed ſomewhat. So the great ram, which the Iewes called Nicon, becauſe it ouercame all, at laſt battered
B the wall; and the Iewes being weary with fighting, for that they had watched all the night before, for ſloth, or elſe becauſe they perſwaded themſelues that the wall was ſuperfluous, they hauing two more beſide it, they all forſooke their quarters, and retired themſelues vnto the ſecond wall; and the Romans entred the firſt, that the ram called Nicon had battered. Then the Romans that had paſſed and entred the firſt wall, went and opened the gates and let in the whole army. Hauing thus gotten the wall the ſeuenth day of May, they deſtroyed the greateſt part thereof; and alſo the North ſide of the city which before *Ceſtius* had waſted.

Nicon, that is to ſay Victor, the Romans great ramme.

The Romans get the firſt wall.

Titus remooued his campe from thence, and went vnto the place called the Aſſyrians campe, and ſeized vpon all betweene that and Cedron; and being without the ſhot of an arrow from the ſecond wall, he began againe to aſſault it. Then the Iewes diuiding the wall betwixt them to
C defend each others part, they reſiſted moſt valiantly. And *Iohn* and his partakers defended all Antonia, and the North part of the Temple from *Alexanders* tombe: and *Simon* defended all from *Iohns* tombe vnto the gate by the tower Hippicos. And many times iſſuing out at the gates they fought hand to hand with the enemy, being alwaies repulſed by the diſcipline of the Romans, only for want of knowledge in warlike affaires; and ſtill in all fights vpon the wall they got the beſt: for the Romans were aſſiſted by fortune and knowledge, and the Iewes with deſperate boldneſſe which came of feare; for they are of ſtout courage in aduerſity. Moreouer, the Iewes were mooued to fight, in hope that way to ſaue their owne liues: and the Romanes to get a ſpeedy conqueſt. Neither party was weary, neither did they euer ceaſe from aſſaulting one another: all the day long the Iewes in whole companies made excurſions againſt the Romanes,
D and they omitted no kind of fight, beginning at Sunne-riſe, and continuing all night long, farre more terrible to them both then in all the day before: the Iewes feared leſt that the Romanes ſhould get the wall; and the Romanes likewiſe miſdreaded that the Iewes ſhould inuade their campe. Thus ſtill all night long being armed, early in the morning they were prepared againe to fight. The Iewes did one ſtriue with another who ſhould vndergoe the moſt danger, and ſo deſerue his Captains fauour. *Simons* followers did greatly reuerence and feare him, inſomuch as if he ſhould haue commanded any of them to haue killed himſelfe, he would preſently haue done it. The Romans were encouraged to fight, by their wont and cuſtome in getting the victory, and that they were not wont to be ouercome: againe, their frequent and daily wars and continuall exerciſes, and large dominions gaue the like courage, and eſpecially *Titus* their Generall ſtill preſent
E in all their affaires greatly ſtirred them forward: for euery one thought it a hainous crime to be a coward in the preſence of ſuch a Captaine as *Cæſar* was. *Cæſar* himſelfe beholding and looking on, who alſo was a witneſſe of their deeds that behaued themſelues valiantly, would reward euery man for his valour: beſide that, it was aduantage to be eaſily knowne vnto the Prince for a valiant man: ſo that many of them ſhewed that their alacrity was farre greater then their ſtrength. At this time *Longinus* one of the horſmen comming out of the Roman army, preaſed into the midſt of the Iewes forces, and caſting them downe that ſtood in his way, by this violence he ſlew two of the ſtrongeſt of the enemies amongſt them, ſtriking one of them ouer the face, and ſlaying the other with his owne dart he took from him: who for this deed was greatly honoured, hauing broken thorow a ſtrong army of the Iewes, that were placed before the wals,
F and caſt darts at him on either ſide. Many of the Romans by this his example were enticed to doe the like. The Iewes now regarded not what they ſuffered, but onely deuiſed which way to harme their enemy; nothing eſteeming death, ſo that they might kill ſome one of the Romanes. But *Titus* had as much care to preſerue his ſouldiers, as he had to get the victory; affirming theſe raſh aſſaults to proceed of deſperation: and that only was to be accounted for vertue, when one did warily not indanger himſelfe to atchieue any worthy action, and willed them rather to ſhew themſelues men where there was no danger.

The Iewes conflict with the Romanes.

The Iewes boldneſſe.

The cuſtome of the Romans to conquer.

Longinus breaketh into the middeſt of the Iewes Army & diſturbeth it.

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Christs birth, 72.

CHAP. IX.

How CASTOR *the Iew derided the Romanes.*

THEN *Titus* commanded the ramme to be set vp against the tower on the North part of the Citie, wherein a craftie and politike Iew accompanied with ten men had hid himselfe, all the rest being fled: this Iew was named *Castor*. These men hauing lien still a while there in their armour, at last being afraid, and the tower beginning to shake, they start vp: and *Castor* stretching forth his hand, did as it were humbly craue fauour at *Cæsars* hands, and with a lamentable voice besought him to spare him. *Titus* seeing the mans simplicity, as hee thought, and perswading himselfe that the Iewes did now repent them of their enterprize, he caused the ram to cease from battery, and the archers to hold their hands; and withall permitted *Castor* to speake his pleasure. *Castor* said, that he desired to come and make a league of peace. And *Titus* answered, that he would grant it, if so be al the rest would do so likewise; and that he would presently confirme a league of peace betweene him and the city. Five of *Castors* fellowes seemed to be willing, and to request the like; but the other five counterfaited to withstand them, crying out aloud, that they would neuer be slaues vnto the Romanes, seeing they might die in liberty. Whilest *Castor* and his fellowes were debating the matter, the battery ceased. In the meane time *Castor* priuily sent word vnto *Simon*, willing him whilest the batterie ceased, to deliberate what was expedient to be done in this necessity: for he a while would deceiue the Roman Emperour, and hold him in suspence. And in the meane time he seemed to exhort his companions that denied to embrace the kind offer of *Titus*: & they as it were angry hereat, drew their swords and strooke vpon their corslets; and they so striken seemed to fall downe, as though they had bin slain. *Titus* and his souldiers were amaz'd at this their obstinacy; for being on the lower ground, they could not well perceiue what was done: and so they wondred at their desperation, and also pitied their calamity. At this time one strook *Castor* in the buttock with a dart, and *Castor* pulling it out of his flesh, shewed it vnto the Emperor; and complained of it, as being iniured. *Titus* presently with sharp words corrected him that shot it, and forthwith would haue sent *Ioseph* to promise *Castor* pardon and peace. But *Ioseph* denied to goe, affirming that *Castor* only dissembled, and so hindred his friends that would haue gone. At last one *Aeneas*, who had fled vnto the Romans, offered himselfe to goe. *Castor* inuited him, as though he would giue him some thing in token of his true meaning. Then *Aeneas* opened the skirt of his garment, thinking *Castor* would haue cast him downe something of worth: and when he came vnderneath the tower, *Castor* tooke a great stone and threw it down vpon him; yet hurt him not, because he was aware of it, and auoided the stone; but it wounded another souldier standing by. Then *Cæsar* considering this deceit, began to thinke that piety and mercy in wars was hurtfull, and that cruelty was not so easily deceiued; and so being very angry at this deceit, hee caused the wall to be beaten with the ramme more then before. *Castor* and his fellowes perceiuing the tower to shake, they set it on fire, and so passed thorow the flame, and conueied themselues into a mine of the tower; so that againe the Romans admired their courage, thinking that they had burned themselues.

Castor a subtill and politike Iew.

Mercy in wars hurtfull.

Titus assaulting the wall on this part, tooke it 5. daies after that he had taken the first; and causing the Iewes to fly from thence, he accompanied with 1000. chosen men about him, entred in where the woolmen, and copperssmiths, and marchant-tailors dwelt, which place was the new city, hauing only narrow and straight waies to goe vnto the wall. And had he presently beaten down a great part of the wall, or according to the lawes of armes destroied what he had gotten, he had obtained the victory without any losse on his side. Yet now hoping the Iewes would yeeld, seeing that if he pleased he might take them by force, he gaue the more ample and easie passage to retire: for he did not thinke that they whose good he sought, would haue bin traitors vnto him.

Titus taketh the second wall.

CHAP. X.

How the Romanes did twice take the second wall.

WHen *Titus* was entred the city, he suffred none of them that were taken, to be slaine, nor the houses to be burned, but permitted the seditious (if they were so minded) to fight, and that without the preiudice of the people: and also promised the people to restore vnto them all their goods. For many besought him to spare the city for them; & the Temple for the

A the citie. The people were glad hereof: and many of the warlike Iewes thought the humanity of *Titus* to proceed from cowardize; and iudged that *Titus*, for that he deſpaired to winne the reſt of the citie, did now coward-like propound theſe conditions. They likewiſe threatned all the people, that whoſoeuer ſhould ſpeake one word concerning peace and yeelding vnto the Romanes, ſhould preſently dye: and ſome of them did reſiſt the Romanes from out of their houſes, and others in the narrow wayes: and others going out at the higher gates, began a battell; wherewith the watchmen being ſore troubled, fled from the wall, and forſaking the towers, they retired themſelues into their campe. The Romane ſouldiers within the city cried out, becauſe they were enclozed with enemies, the gates being ſhut, and aſſaulted without, by thoſe who ap-
B prehended their companions to bee in great danger. The number of the Iewes encreaſing, and preuailing, for that they knew the waies and turnings of the ſtreets, many of the Romanes were ſlaine, and violently borne downe, when they offered to reſiſt in that neceſſity: for a multitude together could not flye, by reaſon of the narrowneſſe of the ſtreets, that went vnto the wall: and all that entred into the city had beene ſlaine, had not *Titus* ſuccoured them. For placing at the beginning of euery ſtreet archers, and himſelfe being where moſt need was, he ſo did driue away the Iewes with darts and arrowes: and with him *Domitius Sabinus*, who in that fight was proued a ſtout warriour; who ſo long continued beating the Iewes with arrowes, till all the ſouldiers were eſcaped away.

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Chriſts birth, 72.

They interpret warlike Titus humanity for cowardize.

The Romans are driuen out by the Iewes.

Thus the Romans hauing got the ſecond wall, were beaten from it againe: And the citizens fit
C for war, were hereat encouraged, and were drunken with this good fortune, thinking that now the Romans durſt no more offer to come into the citie, and that they could not be ouercome, if they did arme themſelues to fight. For God, becauſe of their iniquitie had darkened their vnderſtanding, ſo that they neuer conſidered that the Romane forces were far greater then they that were ouercome, nor the famine that preſently enſued: for as yet they liued vpon the deſtruction of the people, and dranke the blood of the citie: but the good did euen now ſuffer famine, and many of them had already periſhed for want of foode: yet the ſeditious did reioyce at the death of the Citizens, as though thereby they were eaſed of a great burthen, onely deſiring their liues that bare rebellious minds, and would ioyne with them againſt the Romans, reioycing at the death of the reſt, as free from a heauy clogge: and this was the affection they bare vnto their Citizens. And
D ſo they armed themſelues and reſiſted the Romans, who now againe did attempt to enter the breach: and they threw downe ſtones and part of the wall vpon them as they came vp, and ſo draue them backe againe, and valiantly reſiſted them for three dayes. But the fourth day they were not able to withſtand *Titus* his aſſault, but were forced to retire, as before: and hee hauing gotten the wall, deſtroyed all the North part thereof, and placed a Garriſon in the towers and fortreſſes of the South part.

The Iewes courage encreaſeth.

The people in want, & many die for hunger.

Titus once more getteth the ſecond wall.

CHAP. XI.

Of the mounts raiſed to batter the third wall: and a long Oration of IOSEPHVS *to perſwade the people to yeeld: and of the famine in the Citie.*

E

TITVS now determined to batter the third wall, and he thought to continue the ſiege but a ſhort time: and that it was conuenient to giue the ſeditious ſome time to bethink themſelues, to ſee if that either by the taking of the ſecond wall, or terrified with famine, they would repent. For now there were no mo preies for them left in the city, and he lay before the wals thereof, euen as he deſired. And the time being come, that euery ſouldier ſhould receiue victuals & prouiſion for himſelfe, *Titus* cauſed them to be led euery one in order into a place, where the Iewes in the city might preſently behold them, and cauſed his captaines to diſtribute money to euery one: and the ſouldiers (as their cuſtome is) all armed, and drawing their ſwords out of
F their ſheathes, marched along, the horſemen leading their horſes gallantly adorned, and a great part of the ſuburbs gliſtered with gold and ſiluer. This ſpectacle was gratefull to their own ſouldiers, and terrible to the Iewes: for all the old walles, and the North part of the citie, and many houſes were filled with the multitude of them, who came to view this ſight: and there was no part of the citie that was not filled with people to ſee and behold it. And feare came vpon the very boldeſt amongſt all the Iewes, ſeeing both the Romans armour and their order: and perhaps that ſhew would haue cauſed the ſeditious people to haue relented, had they not deſpaired to haue found mercy and pardon at the Romans hands for their offences committed; and ſo they thought

Titus ſurceaſing the ſiege, commandeth money to be diſtributed to all his ſouldiers.

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Christs Natiuitie, 72.

it better presently to be slaine in warres, then to be put to death shamefully, if they desisted from fight. Destinie also hindred this, whereby it was decreed that the innocent should perish with the wicked, and the citie with the seditious, and for foure dayes space they distributing necessaries vnto the souldiers; and on the fift day *Titus* perceiuing that for ought he could do, the Iewes were still obstinate, he diuided his army into two parts, and about *Iohns* tombe he began to raise mounts, and against Antonia, hoping that waies to take the higher part of the citie, and by Antonia to seize the Temple; which except hee could effect, hee could not safely take the Citie: and against either of these places hee raised two mounts, euery legion making one. The Iewes and *Simons* followers did hinder the worke that was begun before *Iohns* tombe, and *Iohn* likewise with a great number of the Zelous hindred them that made the mounts ouer against Antonia: who not onely did fight with the aduantage of the higher ground, but also had now learned the vse of engines: for continuall vse by little and little made them skilfull, and they had 300. engines called Balistaes: and 40. engines to cast stones, wherewith they greatly annoyed the Romanes, and hindred them from their worke.

Destinie had decreed that the innocent should perish with the nocent, and the citie with the seditious.

The Romans in their labour are hindred by the Iewes.

Titus, foreknowing that fortune would fauour him, and that the city was like to perish, hasted to take it, neuer ceasing to perswade the Iewes to yeeld: and with his deeds he ioyned counsell. For he knew that many times words preuaile more then violence of armes, and exhorted them to saue themselues, and yeeld the city vnto him: and told them of *Ioseph*, how that he should make a speech vnto them in their owne language, for he hoped that they would heare their own countriman. Then *Ioseph*, going about the city without the danger of shot, cried vnto them to spare themselues, the Citie, the Temple, the people, and not become more hard-hearted vnto them then strangers were. For the Romans did reuerence the holy places, notwithstanding they had no society or portion in them; and how euen till this day they had abstained from violating them: and they who were nourisht with them, and might onely saue them, did willfully cause their destruction: and bade them consider that their strongest wals were batterd downe; and onely now the weaker remaining vnbattered, he willed them to consider, how they were not able to withstand the Romans forces. And that it was no newes to the Iewes, nor strange, to be subiect vnto the Romans. For although it be a good and commendable thing, to fight for liberty, yet that was to be done in the beginning: for he that was once subiect, and would rebell, hauing a long time liued vnder the obedience of the Romans, seemd rather to be desirous of a shamefull death then a louer of liberty. Moreouer, that they should disdaine to be subiect vnto base people, and not vnto them whom the whole world obeyed. For (said he) what place haue not the Romans that may be inhabited? Nay themselues might perceiue how fortune did still fauour them: And that God who guided the Empire to be placed in all parts, was now in Italy. Also that euen by the law of nature, aswell by the example of beasts as men, wee are taught to giue place vnto them that are stronger then our selues, and be contented that they should get the victory that are valianteſt in armes. And this (quoth hee) was the cause that your ancestors, who were farre more strong and politike then you, and had better meanes to resist; yet did they submit themselues vnto the Romans: which if God had not beene pleased withall, he would neuer haue permitted them to haue done. And how could they hope to resist, seeing the city was as it were already taken? And that the citizens supposing their walles were whole, yet were they all destroyed. For the Romans well knew what famine was amongst them, and how it did euery day waste the people, and would also in short time destroy the warriours amongst them. For suppose that the Romanes would cease, and not besiege the citie, nor offer with drawne swords to assault it: yet is there a ciuill warre within the Citie, which the Iewes cannot ouercome or auert, it euery day increasing: except they would also fight against hunger, and they alone ouercome aduerse fortune. Further, he added, that it was best, before intolerable calamities befell them, to change their opinion, and whilest they haue time, to bee counselled by good aduice. And that the Romans would not punish them for that which was already past, except they persisted obstinate euen vnto the end. For they are (quoth he) kind, courteous, and gentle to their subiects, and doe prefer their commodity before reuenge. And they thought it aduantage to haue the citie, and the countrey inhabited; therefore the Emperors would make a league of peace with them: but if he took the citie by force, he would not spare one, especially seeing that they were willed by him to saue themselues, and yet in their greatest necessity refused to obey him. Likewise hee told them that the third wall would also be taken very shortly, as well they might perceiue by the two walles: and suppose that the citie was inexpugnable, yet the famine would cause it to be yeelded into the Romanes hands in despite of them.

Titus bounty towards the Iewes.

Iosephs Oration to the Iewes.

Fortune and God for the Romans.

Famine in the Citie.

As

A As *Ioseph* did thus aduise them, many standing vpon the wals did raile against him, many vp- braided him, and others shot at him. *Ioseph* seeing he could not auert them from their imminent calamities, recounted vnto them all their owne Histories making for his purpose. O wretches (quoth he) and vngratefull to them that help you: you fight against the Romans, and beare armes against them, as though this way you had conquered some others that came, as they now do, a- gainst you. When doth God the maker of all things deny help vnto vs if we be oppressed? Will ye not remember your selues? For what cause did you enterprize these warres, and how great a friend and assister of yours do you daily offend? Do ye not remember the miraculous works of your ancestors, and this holy place, and how in times past it was by the enemies destroied? But I
B quake and tremble to recount the works of God to such vnworthy hearers: yet harken, that you may know that you do not onely resist the Romans, but also God himselfe. *Nechias* at that time King of Egypt, who also was called *Pharao*, came, and with an infinite army took away Queen *Sa- ra*, the mother of our nation. And what did our first father *Abraham* in this case? Did hee with » weapons and armes reuenge this iniury? hauing vnder his command three hundreth and 18. cap- » taines, and vnder them an infinite multitude? Or did he rather desist from warre, perceiuing God » not to accompany him? wherefore lifting vp pure and vndefiled hands towards this holy place, » which now you haue defiled and profaned, he chose God an inuincible helper to aide him. And » was not the Queene the second night after sent home againe vnto him vntouched? And the E- » gyptian adoring this holy place, which ye haue polluted with murders of your owne nation, and »
C trembling at the visions he saw in the night time, fled, rewarding the Hebrewes with gold and sil- » uer, whom he perceiued to be so beloued of God. Shall I recount vnto you the going of our an- » cestors into Egypt? who hauing for foure hundreth yeeres been slaues vnto the Egyptian tyrants and Kings, and able to haue reuenged themselues by force of armes, yet did they rather expect and stay Gods leisure. Who knoweth not, that then Egypt in reuenge of the Hebrewes, was filled with all kinds of serpents, and infected with all diseases, and the earth became so barren, that Ni- lus waxed dry, and the ten plagues followed one another without ceasing; whereby our ancestors » were safely deliuered without any bloodshed: for God conducted them, as willing to reserue them » for his Priests?

When the Assyrians had taken away from vs the holy Arke, did not *Palestina* and *Dagon* re-
D pent that fact? did not all the nation of them that took it, weep and lament therefore? For their priuie parts being putrified, their bowels and the meat they did eate ran out there; and so with vncleane hands they were forced to bring it backe againe, with cymbals and trumpets: thereby to make satisfaction for their offence. It was God that did this for our ancestors, because that they laying their armes aside, wholly resigned themselues to his pleasure. Was *Senacherib* King of As- syria, comming with all his power out of Asia, and incamping himselfe before this citie, ouer- come by humane force? Did not our ancestors leauing armes, flie to prayers, and by an Angell » God in one night destroyed an infinite army? And the next day the Assyrian rising, found a hun- » dreth foure score and fiue thousand of his men dead, and so fled with the rest from the Hebrewes » being vnarmed, and not pursuing him? You know also, that in the captiuity of Babylon, where
E the people liued the space of 70. yeers, they got not their liberty, till such time as God put in *Cy- rus* heart to suffer them to goe into their owne countrey. Who still assisting them, they againe as » the Priests in old time were wont, did serue and reuerence their helper. In briefe, our ancestors » did neuer atchieue any great matter by force of armes, neither did they leaue any thing vndone, » wherein they expected Gods helpe, but still remaining quiet at home, they ouercame their ene- » mies through his prouidence: and when they did fight after their own wils, they alwaies failed of » their expectation. For when *Zedechias* our King, contrary to the admonition of the Prophet *Iere- my*, did go forth, and fight with the King of Babylon then besieging the citie, both hee and all his were taken, and this city destroi'd. Yet consider how far your captains are inferior vnto that King,
F and your selues vnto the people of those times. For *Ieremy* crying vp & downe the city, and say- ing that God was offended at their iniquity, and that except they did yeeld the same, it should be » taken by force; yet did not the King nor any of the people lay hands vpon him. And you (that I » may omit your iniquity done within the city, which though I would I could not sufficiently dis- » cipher) do attempt to kill me, & vsing railing speeches against me, who once gaue you wholsome » counsell for your good; only for that I put you in mind of your sins, you not enduring to heare » of that which you daily commit. This same betided also when *Antiochus* surnamed *Epiphanes* be- » sieged the city, God being highly displeased at our ancestors, who going out in armes against him were all slaine, the towne spoiled, and this holy place for three yeeres and sixe monetes made de- solate.

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Christs birth, 72.

The Emperor striueth to be at peace with the Romans.

Iosephippeth vp the ancient Histories, and some forraine.

Nechias, a King of Egypt

The Hebrews vnder the ty- ranny of E- gypt foure hundreth yeeres.

The sacred Arke taken a- way by the Assyrians, and restored to the Iewes.

Senacherib King of Assur.

The captiuity of Babylon.

The destructi- on of Ierusa- lem by the King of Baby- lon.

Iosephs bitter inuectiue a- gainst them.

The yeer of the world, 4034. after Christs birth, 72.

solate. What should I shew vnto you any more examples? Who first incited the Romans themselues against the Iewes? Was it not the impietie of our owne countrimen that did it? Whence began our bondage at that time? Did it not proceed from the sedition of our ancestors, when the furie of *Aristobulus* and *Hircanus* brought *Pompey* into our citie: and so God subdued them vnto the Romans, being now vnworthy of liberty? And at length for three moneths space hauing endured a siege, being not so great offenders as you are, and better able to abide the siege then you, yet did they yeeld themselues. Are we ignorant of the end of *Antigonus*, the sonne of *Aristobulus*, who inuading the Kingdome, brought our nation againe into subiection; God so laying this bondage vpon them, for that he was moued at the iniquitie of our nation? And *Herod* the sonne of *Antipater*, brought *Sosius* and the Roman army, and besieged the city round six moneths space: and at last, for the greatnesse of our iniquitie was taken and punished for their offences, and the citie sacked by the enemies. So you euidently see that our nation did neuer preuaile by force of armes. And assure your selues that the Citie will be taken by this siege. It is meet therefore that you who keep this holy place, wholly commit your selues to Gods will and pleasure, and then feare not the forces of the enemies, when by reason of your piety, you are assured of Gods helpe and succour. But what one parcell of Gods Law haue you obserued? Nay, what mischiefe haue you left vndone, that he detested not? How farre greater is your impiety then theirs, that did suddenly perish for their sinnes? For you making small account of secret sinnes, to wit, stealing, deceit, and adulteries, doe violently take away mens goods by open force, and murder whom yee please; and haue deuised new waies to sinne. Moreouer, you haue made the holy Temple a place of all these your impieties; and the seate that the Romans did adore, is by our owne nation polluted: much derogating from the honour of our religion by your impious facts. Last of all, you hope of his help whom you haue so hainously offended. Truly you are very iust people and obedient, and with pure hands you aske help of God. Did our King thus pray vnto God, when he obtained that in one night so many of the Assyrians should be destroyed? Or do the Romans commit such impietie as the Assyrians did, that you may hope of the like reuenge against them? for he hauing receiued a piece of money to saue the city, did, not regarding his oath, seeke to destroy the same. The Romans doe onely request the tribute that our ancestors were wont to pay vnto them: which if they haue, they will neuer destroy the citie, nor touch our holy things. They will also permit you to enioy freely your families and possessions, and suffer our lawes to remaine inuiolate. It is altogether madnesse for you to hope that God will so punish iust men, as he did sinners and impious persons, who knoweth to punish at his pleasure. To be short, he destroyed the Assyrians the first night, that they encamped before the citie. And if he purposed also to deliuer you, and punish the Romanes, hee would then haue done it, when *Pompey* and *Sosius* came against the citie, or when *Vespasian* wasted Galilee, or lastly now, when *Titus* came to assault it. But neither *Pompey* nor *Sosius* suffered any harme, yet both of them tooke the citie. *Vespasian* so gained by warring against vs, that he hath hereby got the whole Empire. And the fountaines which before gaue you no water, yeeld it to *Titus* in great aboundance. You know that before his comming, the fountaines without the citie and Siloa were so dried vp, that water was sold by measure: yet now they flow so plentifully, that they do not onely serue al their army, and their cattel also, but besides that, do water all the gardens about. What this wonder foretelleth, you haue already experience, when the King of Babylon came with his army and destroyed the city: who took it and fired it & the Temple, notwithstanding that (as I am perswaded) the Iewes of that time were nothing so wicked as you are. Wherefore I thinke that God hath forsaken this holy place, and is now gone to them that do besiege you. Will not a good man flie a wicked house, and hate the impious that dwel therin? And do you then think that God wil abide your impiety, who beholdeth all secrets, and knoweth all things that are hid? But what is secret amongst you? Or what do you seek to hide? Nay, what do you that your enemies do not know? All your iniquities are disclozed to all men: and you euery day striue one with another who shall be most impious. And you doe as greatly labour to shew your selues vicious, as others do to shew themselues vertuous. Yet for all this, there is time to amend, and Gods wrath will be appeased, if ye acknowledge your sins, & be penitent for your offences. Cease from armes, be ashamed of your countrie now ruined through your owne meanes. Turne your eyes and behold the beauty of the place, whose ruine you seeke. How braue a City, how gorgeous a Temple, how rich with the gifts of all nations? Who would fire these? Who would desire the ruine of these? Or what is there in the world that better deserueth to be preserued then these? O hard-hearted people, and more blockish then stones! If you doe not pitie these, yet let your families moue you; euery one of you look vpon your children, wiues,

The Iewes sinnes against the Lawes.

The Romans vse the same manner of ouerthrow a. gainst the Iewes, as the Assyrians did.

God knoweth when to reuenge.

The fountains that before time were dry, now flow to Titus.

God is wont to shew mercy to those who confesse and be penitent.

G H I K L M

A wiues and parents, who ſhall all preſently be conſumed, either with ſword or famine. I know that together with you ſhall periſh my family, and wife and houſe, which ſometime were of no ſmall account: And perhaps ſome of you doe think me therfore to ſpeake this vnto you; but kill them, and take my blood for recompence of your welfare and liues: I my ſelfe am alſo prepared to dye, if after my death you would remember your ſelues.

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Chriſts birth, 72.

Ioſeph crying thus vnto them with teares trickling downe his cheekes, the ſeditious were nothing moued, but told him that it was not ſafety for them to yeeld. But the people were perſwaded to flye: and ſome ſelling their poſſeſſions & that they had for ſmall prices, they did ſwallow downe the gold, for feare the theeues ſhould take it from them. And ſo when they had eſcaped B vnto the Romans, they emptying their bellies found it againe, and ſo had mony to buy them neceſſaries. *Titus* alſo permitted many to go away whitherſoeuer they pleaſed: which thing cauſed diuers to flie, ſeeing that thereby they were deliuered out of their calamitie, which in the Citie they abode, and were not forced to ſerue the Romans. But *Iohn* & *Simon* were as diligent to ſtop the wayes, leſt the Citizens ſhould eſcape, as they did hinder the Romans from entring into the Citie: ſo that whoſoeuer did but giue any ſuſpicion of flight, he was preſently by them put to death. The richer ſort, whether they ſtayed or fled, were ſlaine for their wealth and poſſeſſions. The famine of the citie, and the deſperation of the theeues both increaſed alike, euery day more and more; ſo that now there was no more corne found. Wherfore the ſeditious perſons brake into the houſes, & ſearched euery corner for to finde corne; and if after their ſearch they found any, C then they did beat the owners for denying it at the firſt: and if they found none, they tortured the houſholders, as hauing more cunningly hidden it. And whoſoeuer was yet ſtrong of body, and well liking, him they preſently kild; for hereby they deemed him to haue ſtore of food, or elſe he ſhould not haue bin in ſo good plight of body as he was. And they that were pined with famine, were by theſe barbarous ſeditious people ſlaine, who eſteemed it no offence to kill them, who would ſhortly after die though they were left aliue. Many both rich and poore ſecretly exchanged all that they had for one buſhell of corne, and preſently ſhutting themſelues in the ſecret'ſt roome of their houſe, ſome of them did eate the corne as it was, vnground: others made bread thereof as neceſſitie and feare required. No man in the whole citie ſate downe to eate his meat on a table, but greedily taking it not boyled from the fire, they euen raw as it was did eate it.

Ioſephs loue and conſtancie towards his countrey.

The people flye with their money.

A wonderfull famine in the Citie.

The argument of ſtore of meat.

D Moſt miſerable was this manner of liuing, and a ſpectacle which none without teares was able to behold; for the ſtrongeſt ſtill got the moſt, and the weakeſt bewailed their miſery: for now famine was the greateſt calamitie they endured. And nothing doth arme-men more then ſhame: for during this famine, no reuerence was had towards any man: for wiues tooke the meat euen out of their husbands mouthes, and children from their parents, and mothers euen from their infants, which was the moſt lamentable thing of all. No body had now any compaſſion, neither did they ſpare their deareſt infants, but ſuffered them to periſh euen in their armes, taking from them the very drops of life. Yet could they not eat thus in ſuch ſecrecy, but preſently ſome came to take away from them that whereon they fed. For if in any place they ſaw any doore ſhut, preſently heereupon they coniectured that they in the houſe were eating meat, and forthwith brea- E king downe the doores, they came in; and taking them by the throat, they tooke the meat already chewed, and ready to be ſwallowed downe. The old men were driuen away, and not permitted to keepe and defend their food from being taken from them: the women were drawne vp and downe by the haire of the head, for that they hid betweene their hands ſome part of their meat, and would not forgoe it. No pitie was now remaining, neither to old age nor infancy, but they tooke young babes eating, their mouth full of meat, and not permitting it to be taken out of their mouthes, and threw them againſt the ground. Now if any one had preuented theſe theeues, and eaten their meat before they could come at them, then they were more cruell; and the other ſo much more tyrannouſly handled, as hauing committed ſome greater offence againſt them. They alſo deuiſed moſt barbarous and cruell torments to extort food from others: for they F thruſt ſticks or ſuch like into the cauitie of mens yards, and ſharpe thornie rods into their fundaments: and it is abominable to heare what the people endured to make them confeſſe one loafe of bread, or one handfull of corne which they had hidden.

A miſerable kind of liuing, and a ſpectacle of great compaſſion.

The ſouldiers enter the houſes, and take the meat vnchewed out of the Citizens mouthes.

Theſe miſcreants did not yet for all this feele either hunger or thirſt: for then theſe their impieties had bin more tolerable; but they did it onely to exerciſe their crueltie, preparing ſixe dayes food for themſelues aforehand. Wherfore meeting ſuch as had eſcaped the Roman watch in the night, and gone into the fields to gather weeds or herbs, when they againe came into the Citie, and thought they had now eſcaped the danger of their enemies; they there tooke from them the herbs

herbs they had gotten with hazzard of their liues, denying to giue them any ſmall part of that for which they had vndergone ſuch danger: and they required them for Gods ſake to doe it; yea, they thought it a benefit, if being thus robbed and ſpoyled, they did not alſo periſh by the ſwords of theſe miſcreants. Theſe calamities the baſer ſort of people endured at the hands of the common ſouldiers: but the Nobles and chiefe men of the Citie were led vnto the tyrants, and accuſed before them of betraying the Citie vnto the Romans; and ſo by ſome forged treaſon or other put to death. And many times their ſuborned accuſers would teſtifie againſt them, that they purpoſed to flye vnto the Romanes. And thoſe that *Simon* robbed, he ſent vnto *Iohn*; and thoſe that *Iohn* ſpoyled, he ſent vnto *Simon*: and ſo they did as it were one drinke vnto another the blood of the people, and diuide their dead carcaſes betweene them; inſomuch that they diſagreed onely for their deſire of rule and domination: but both conſpired to doe miſchiefe and commit iniquitie. For he that did not giue to the other part of that which by cruelties he had extorted from the miſerable Citizens, was accounted impious: and he that receiued not part, did now grieue as ſuſtaining loſſe, in not hauing a ſhare in crueltie and impietie.

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Chriſts birth, 72.

The honourable and rich are drawne before the tyrants.

The diſſenſion betweene Iohn and Simon was for rule, their concord was in wickednes.

I am not able to recount all their iniquities: but briefely, I thinke that neuer any Citie endured the like, nor neuer any people ſince the memory of men were ſo cruell and barbarous: and finally, to the intent that their impiety vnto ſtrangers might ſeeme the leſſe, they ſpake euill of the nation of the Hebrewes, and curſed them, and openly confeſſed themſelues to be ſlaues, people of diuers countries, vnited together in wickedneſſe, baſtards and abortiues of their nation. They ouerthrew the Citie, and forced the Romanes (though againſt their wils) to accept of this ſorrowfull and heauy victory, and almoſt drew the fire into the Temple, as though it ſtayed from it too long. Neither did they weepe or lament, when they ſaw the higher part of the Citie on fire; but many amongſt the Romanes did with ſorrow behold that ſight; which wee will ſpeake of heereafter, where we will deſcribe the euent of that buſineſſe.

Chap. XII.

Of the Iewes that were crucified, and the Rampiers burnt.

The mounts and rampiers that *Titus* built, did greatly aduantage him: and although his ſouldiers endured ſome loſſe by the Iewes who were vpon the wall, yet he ſent part of his horſemen, and commanded them to lay wait for the Iewes that came out of the Citie into the vallies to fetch food: and amongſt them were alſo ſome fighting men. For now that which they could rob and take from the Citizens, was not ſufficient for all of them: yet the greater part of them were poore people, who durſt not flie vnto the Romans, for feare that ſome harme ſhould thereupon betide their deareſt friends, not induring to leaue them behinde to be murthered by the theeues. Famine did now embolden them to goe forth of the citie; and now it onely remained for them to goe forth priuily, and be taken by the enemies. And being taken, neceſſitie forced them to fight for feare of torments; for they now thought it too late to requeſt mercy: after the fight, they were beaten and tortured all waies poſſible, and then crucified before the citie wals. *Titus* deemed this calamitie moſt miſerable: for euery day 500 Iews and ſometime more were taken; and yet did he not thinke it expedient to diſmiſſe ſo great a multitude, nor to keepe them who would be as a guard of guards. But the principall point for which he did not hinder this, was, that by this ſpectacle he might terrifie the Iewes, and make them feare to ſuffer the like, except they did quickly render themſelues and the Citie vnto him. Wherefore the ſouldiers for a hatred which they conceiued againſt our nation, crucified all they tooke, one after one faſhion, and another after another in deriſion. And the multitude of the captiues was now ſo great, that there remained no more ſpace to ſet croſſes in, nor any more croſſes to crucifie bodies vpon. But the ſeditious Iewes within the Citie were ſo farre from relenting by this maſſacre, that rather their hearts were heereby more hardned; ſo that heerewith they terrified the reſt of the multitude: for they carryed the kinred of them that had fled vnto the Romans to the wals, and bade them behold how thoſe were vſed that fled vnto the Romans: the ſame ſight they alſo ſhewed vnto them that deſired peace; affirming that they whom the Romanes had ſo vſed, were thoſe that fled vnto them for ſuccour, and not captiues by them taken. This terrified many who deſired to flie vnto the Romanes, from effecting their deſire; till ſuch time as the truth hereof was knowne. Yet ſome preſently went boldly vnto the Romanes, as it were intending to ſuffer death and torment at their hands, accounting that death comming vnto them by their enemies hands, was farre more tolerable then the famine they endured.

The poore peoples miſery.

Titus crucifieth many Iewes before the walles.

The Iewes carryed the kindred of thoſe that were fled out of the Citie to the Romanes, and ſhewed them the tortures they ſuffered.

Here-

A HEreupon *Titus* cut off many of the captiues hands, and ſo ſent them into the Citie vnto *Simon* and *Iohn*, that their calamitie might teſtifie them to bee captiues, and not ſuch as had fled and yeelded vnto the Romans, willing to admoniſh them at leaſt now to yeeld, and not compell him to deſtroy the Citie: telling that in ſo doing, euen now at the laſt they ſhould ſaue their owne liues, countrey, and Temple, which had not the like in all the world: and he continually went about the rampiers haſtening the workmen in their buſineſſe, as though he preſently meant to effect that in deeds, which in words hee had ſpoken. The Iewes that ſtood vpon the walles, curſed both him and his father, reuiling them, and affirming that they contemned death; and that they did chuſe rather to dye then to become bond-ſlaues: and that whileſt life laſted, they B would as much as lay in them harme the Romans, neither hauing care of themſelues nor of their countrey; which *Cæſar* ſent them word were both preſently to periſh. Moreouer, they ſaid, that the whole world was a Temple dedicated to God, farre more excellent then that of theirs, which notwithſtanding ſhould be conſerued by him that dwelt in it; whoſe helpe they alſo enioying, would deride all his threatnings, which could not come to paſſe, God being the end of all. And thus opprobriouſly they exclaimed againſt the Romanes.

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The Iewes both curſe Cæſar and his father.

At this time arriued alſo *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and with him many armed men; and beſide them, guarded with a company called the Macedonians, who were of like age; and little older then young men, in their youth all trained vp in armes, and armed after the Macedonian manner, whereof alſo they tooke their name: yet for the moſt part not able to anſwer the expectati- C on that men had of the Macedonians. For the King of Comagene was the moſt fortunate & happy of all Kings that were ſubiect vnto the Romane Empire, till ſuch time as he felt the frown of Fortune: who in his aged yeeres ſhewed that none ought to be accounted happy afore his death: he yet flouriſhing, his ſonne (ſaid he) maruelled that the Romans did delay ſo long to aſſault the Citie, and enter the battered walles (for this young man was a fine warriour, and of exceeding ſtrength, to the which he truſted too much, ſo that he did many things raſhly. *Titus* heereat ſmiled, and anſwered, that that was a labour not onely for the Romans, but for all in common. After he had ſaid thus, preſently this young man *Antiochus*, as he was accompanied with his Macedo- The inſolence of Antiochus and the ſouldiers. nians, aſſaulted the wall, and himſelfe with his ſtrength and dexteritie auoyded the darts of the Iewes, and caſt his darts at them: but all his young men (onely a few excepted) were there ſlaine: D for aſhamed of their boaſting ſpeeches, they continued longer in fight then it was expedient for them: at laſt, many being wounded retired themſelues, now perceiuing that the Macedonians to winne a victory had need of *Alexanders* fortune. The Romanes the 12 day of May, began to build their rampiers: and laboring full ſeuenteene whole daies, with much ado they ended them The Romans in ſeuenteene dayes build foure huge bulwarks. the nine and twentith day of the ſaid moneth. For they builded foure moſt huge rampiers, one of them ouer againſt Antonia, which was builded by the fift legion oppoſite to the midſt of the Struthian waters: another was builded by the twelfth legion, 20 cubits diſtant from the other. But the tenth legion, which was of more account then the two former, erected a mount oppoſite to the pond called Amygdalon on the North ſide: and the fifteenth legion made the fourth, thirtie cubits diſtant from the other, ouer againſt the monument of the high Prieſt *Iohn*.

E The mounts being thus finiſhed, *Iohn* vndermined that which was ouer againſt Antonia, and vnderpropped it with poſts of wood, and filling the myne with wood, bitumen and pitch, he fired it: ſo the poſts that held it vp being burnt, the myne fell, and the mount alſo with a hideous noiſe fell into it: and firſt of all there aroſe a great ſmoake and duſt, for the mynes did couer the flame; at laſt the fire hauing conſumed the matter that couered it, the flame cleerely appeared. The Romans at this ſudden and vnexpected exploit were amazed, being grieued at it: ſo that thereby thoſe who before made account of the victory, as though it had bin theirs already, began to deſpaire. Two daies after, *Simon* and his aſſociates did ſet vpon the other rampiers: for thereon were planted rams, wherewith the Romans began to beat the wals. Amongſt the reſt, a certaine Three valiant Iewes. F man named *Tephæus* of Garſus a citie of Galilee, and *Megaſſarus*, one of Queene *Mariammes* ſeruants, and with them one of Adiabena the ſonne of *Nabateus*, who for his fortune was named *Agiras*, which ſignifieth lame: theſe three taking fire-brands, ran vnto the Engins, and there was none found in all the Roman army more valiant then theſe men, nor more terrible: for they ran amidſt the throng of their enemies ſo boldly, as though they had gone amongſt their friends, and neuer made any ſtay, but breaking thorow the midſt of their enemies, they fired their Engines: The Romans inuironed with fire, loſe the mounts they had bulk. and notwithſtanding that on euery ſide they were aſſaulted with darts and arrowes; yet did they not giue backe, nor ſeeke to auoide the danger, till ſuch time as the fire had taken hold of the Engines. The flame mounting on high, the Romanes now came running out of their campe

to

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to succour their fellowes: and the Iewes vpon the wall with darts and arrowes hindered them, G fighting with them that sought to quench the flame, nothing sparing their owne bodies. The Romanes began to draw away the Rammes, their shelters being fired. And the Iewes amidst the flames sought to keepe them there: yet for all this the Romans saued their Rammes. From thence the fire caught hold of the rampiers, and those that would haue preuented it were burned: and the fire so increased, that it could not be extinguished; so the Romanes now enuironed with a flame, and despairing to rescue their workes, retired themselues into their campe, and left them on fire. But the Iewes were so much the more earnest, their number still increasing by new supply comming out of the Citie: and so encouraged by this their victory, they rashly aduentured

A most bitter law among the Romanes against those that forsooke their places.

vnto the Romanes campe, and assaulted the guard there. Which guard, was a company placed H round about before the campe in armour; and there was a law made, that whosoeuer of them forsooke his place, he should lose his life: so that they esteeming rather to dye a glorious death, then ignominiously to suffer a penall punishment, resisted very valiantly: so that many that had fled, retired themselues backe againe to fight, both for shame that they had forsaken their place, and for feare of punishment thereof: and placing Engines vpon the rampier of their campe, they hindred the Iewes from issuing out of the Citie any more: for they came out vnarmed, hauing nothing to defend their bodies withall. For the Iewes fought with whomsoeuer they met, and rashly running amongst their enemies pikes, they strooke them with their fists. For the Iewes preuailed more by their hardinesse, then by their deeds: and the Romanes fled more for the Iewes boldnesse, then for any harme they sustained by them.

Titus accuseth his souldiers of negligence.

I Then *Titus* came from Antonia, where he had beene to view a place to build another rampier, and he greatly blamed the souldiers, who hauing gotten their enemies walles, did now suffer themselues to be in danger in their owne walles; and now forced to abide that, which earst the Iewes did suffer, being now as it were broken out of prison: and so he with certaine chosen men assaulted the enemies on one side; and they, though striken vpon the faces, yet did they not giue backe, but stoutly resisted him: and so ioyning the battell, the dust was so thicke, that none could see one another, nor any heare what was said for the cryes and noyse, so that now no man could discerne his friends from his foes. The Iewes persisted still in the battell, not for that they trusted to their force, or thereby preuailed, but becausse they were desperate. The Romanes on the other part tooke courage, and fought stoutly for shame, and for that *Cæsar* himselfe was in danger a- K

The Iewes retire within the Citie.

mongst them. So that I thinke, that had not the Iewes retired themselues into the Citie, the fury of the Romanes had then consumed the whole multitude. The Romanes were now sorrowfull for the losse of their rampiers, who in one houre had lost that, which with such labour and so long time they had beene making: and many of their Engines being now displaced, they despaired to take the Citie.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the wall which the Romane army built about Ierusalem in three daies space.

L

Titus consulteth with his Captaines.

TITVS now deliberated with his Captaines what was to be done; and they that were most forward amongst them, thought it best with all the whole army to assault the walles: for that as yet the Iewes had onely fought with one part of the army, but they were not able to withstand the force of the whole army, but would bee all consumed with darts and arrowes. The wiser sort againe perswaded *Titus* to build rampiers: but others counselled the contrary, to hold themselues quiet there, and onely to keepe all places about, that no food should be conueyed into the Citie, and so famish the Citie, and neuer fight with the enemy. For that the Iewes being now desperate, and desiring to be slaine, would not be ouercome by force; or if not, to slay others which was worst of all. But *Titus* thought it a shame to lie there idle with so huge an armie. and doe nothing; yet he deemed it superfluous to fight with them, who would willingly M fight to be slaine: and he could not make any mounts, becausse he wanted matter, and it was most difficult of all to guard euery place about the citie, that none could go forth, for that it could not be beleagerd round on euery side, by reason of the difficult places, & huge compasse thereof, fearing also the dangers that so might ensue, the Iewes issuing out of the citie. For the Iewes seeing their opē waies all garded by the Romans, they would deuise some secret waies, both vrged thereunto by necessity, & also becausse they knew all places thereabout very well. And if so be that the Iews should secretly effect any thing to preiudice them, that then their siege was like to continue so

A so much the longer: so that he feared that the continuance of time would diminish the glory of his victory. For though all these waies might be taken, yet he preferred haste before glory: and if so be he would vse celerity and safety, that then it was needfull for him to compasse the whole citie round about with a wall: for so all waies and passages might be hindred: and so the Iewes seeing now no hope of safety, should either be compelled to yeeld the citie, or else be consumed with famine, otherwise he could not be in safety and at quiet; and that so he might erect mounts, hauing that wall to defend them. And if any one thinke that work difficult, and not to be atchieued, let him consider that it did not become the Romans to make a base or slender piece of work: and that no man in the world could without labour effect any great matter, but God only. Hauing
B with these speeches encouraged his Captaines, he caused them to lead the souldiers, and dispose them all in these businesses. The souldiers had as it were some diuine force and courage falne vpon them: for the Captaines parting the circuit amongst them, not onely they, but the souldiers also did striue who should first effect their part. And euery souldier laboured to please his Decurio, the Decurio to content the Centurion, and the Centurion the Colonell, and the Colonell to please the Captaine, and the Captaine to please *Cæsar*, who euery day went round about and beheld the worke: and so beginning at the place called the Assyrians campe, where he was encamped, he drew a wall all about, euen vnto the new citie, and from thence by Cedron and mount Oliuet, and so turned toward the South, and inclozed the mountaine to the rocke called Peristereonos, and the hill next adioyning thereunto which hangeth ouer Siloa: and from thence bending his work into the West, he brought it down all along the vally of the fountaine: from thence
C ascending to the monument of *Ananus* the high Priest where *Pompey* pitched his tents, and so brought it about by the North side of the citie: and comming along vnto the village called Erebinthonicus, he compassed the monument of *Herod* towards the East, and so ioyned the wall vnto his campe where he began. This wall was nine and thirty furlongs about. Without this wall he builded also thirteene forts, euery one ten furlongs in compasse. And all this whole worke was finished in three daies space, which desired moneths to haue beene builded in: so that the celerity in the building thereof doth make it scarcely credible. The citie being thus encompassed with a wall, and guards placed in euery fort, *Titus* himselfe did still goe round about the first watch, to see all things in good order: the second watch hee allotted vnto *Alexander*; and the third
D vnto the Captaines of the legions, and the watchmen appointed euery one in his turne to sleepe in: and so all night long some of them went about the Castle.

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Titus determineth to incloze the city with a wall.

The Romans with ceasselesse labour build the wall.

One wall of 39. stounds, whereof one containeth eight furlongs or thereabout. The Romans plant their courts of guard in seuerall Castles.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of the famine in Ierusalem: and of the building of the second Rampire by the Romanes.

THE restraint of liberty to passe in and out of the Citie, tooke from the Iewes all hope of safety; and the famine now increasing, consumed whole housholds and families; and the houses were full of dead women and infants; and the streets filled with the dead
E bodies of old men: And the young men swollen like dead mens shadowes, walked in the market place, and fell downe dead where it happened. And now the multitude of dead bodies was so great, that they that were aliue could not bury them, nor cared they for burying them, being now vncertaine what should betide themselues. And many endeuouring to bury others, fell downe themselues dead vpon them as they were burying them. And many being yet aliue, went vnto their graues and there died. Yet for all this calamity, was there no weeping nor lamentation, for famine ouercame all affections. And they who were yet liuing, without teares beheld those, who being dead, were now at rest before them. There was no noyse heard within the citie, and the still night found all full of dead bodies: and which was most miserable of all; the theeues at night came and tooke away that which couered the dead bodies nakednesse, and went
F laughing away, and in their bodies they proued their swords, and vpon pleasure only thrust many thorow yet breathing. Yet if any had desired them to kill him, or to lend him a sword to kill himselfe, that so he might escape the famine, they denied him. And euery one that died, as he was dying, fixed his eyes vpon the Temple, and beheld it now with griefe, leauing the seditious behind them. The seditious now not able to endure the stink of the dead bodies that lay corrupted aboue the ground, first commanded that all such should bee buried at the charges of the city: at last finding not place wherein to burie them all, they threw them ouer the walles into the ditch. When *Titus*, going about the walles, beheld all the ditch filled with dead mens bodies, he

The houses and weyes full of dead men.

The dead lye vnburied in the streets.

The cruelty of the theeues against those that lye a dying.

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lamented; and lifting vp his hands to Heauen, he called God to witnes, that it was not his doing. Such was the estate of the citie. Now the Romans, when none of the seditious durst make any more excursions, passed their time in ioy and mirth: for they neither suffered famine nor sorrow, hauing abundance of corne, and all other necessaries out of Syria, and the Prouinces adioyning: and many standing before the wals, and shewing their abundance of victuals vnto the Iewes, did so much more encrease their famine. Yet were not the seditious people mooued at these calamities: wherefore *Titus* pitying the reliques of the nation, and minding at least to saue them that were left aliue, hasted to take the citie, and so he began anew to build mounts, though he scarcely found matter to doe it withall. For all the wood neere vnto the citie, was consumed in the first workes, so that now the souldiers were forced to fetch more wood 90. furlongs off; and only against Antonia, were erected in foure places foure mounts greater then the former. *Cæsar* went about and hastned the workmen, and now shewed the theeues that they were falne into his hands. Yet for all this, they would not repent: and now as it were depriued of their wits and bodies, they vsed both as though borrowed, and not their owne. For neither did any affection mooue their minds, nor any griefe their bodies: for they rent and tore the dead bodies like dogs, and filled the prisons with weake and languishing people.

Titus lifting vp his hands to heauen, calleth God to witnes that the fault is not his.

The Romans shew the Iews their aboundance of victuals.

Titus pitying the remainder of the nation, laboureth to saue them.

The blindnes of the Iewes.

CHAP. XV.

Of the massacre of the Iewes, both within and without the Citie.

AT last, *Simon* hauing tormented *Matthias*, put him to death, notwithstanding that by his meanes hee had obtained the citie. This *Matthias* was sonne vnto *Boethus* a Priest whom the people for his fidelity towards them greatly esteemed of: who seeing the outrage of the Zelous towards the people, *Iohn* being now ioyned with them, perswaded the people to call in *Simon* to helpe them, conditioning nothing with him before, for that they misdoubted no euill. And when he was come into the citie, he held him for his enemy as well as the rest: notwithstanding, that by his onely aduice hee was receiued into the citie, as though *Matthias* had onely done that of simplicitie. Wherefore calling him before the people, he accused him that he did fauour the Romans, and so condemned him to die, not suffering him to cleare himselfe; and put to death likewise his three sonnes with him, for the fourth was before this time fled vnto *Titus*. *Matthias* requested *Simon* that he might be put to death before his sonnes: but *Simon*, in regard that by his meanes hee had gotten the Citie, caused him to be executed last of all. And so he was killed vpon the murdered bodies of his sonnes, in a place where the Romans might behold him: for so *Simon* commanded *Ananus* his executioner who was the sonne of *Bamadus*. This man was the most cruell of all *Simons* followers: who euen when he was to kill *Matthias*, derided him, asking what they could now helpe him, to whom he sought to flye? and permitted not their bodies to be buried. After them *Ananias* a Priest the sonne of *Masbalus* a Noble man, and chiefe Secretary to the Councell, a valiant strong man and borne at Emaus, and with him fifteene of the chiefest men in the citie were put to death. They tooke also *Iosephs* father and kept him in prison, and with the publike voyce of a crier proclaimed, that no man should talke with him nor visit him, pretending feare of treason: and whosoeuer bewailed his estate, were put to death without any tryall. It hapned, a certaine man called *Iudas* the sonne of *Iudas*, who was one of *Simons* Captaines, seeing this (who also kept a tower that *Simon* committed vnto his charge, perhaps moued with compassion towards them that perished without desert, yet rather fearing his owne life) assembled together ten of his most trusty companions, and said;

Simons cruelty against Matthias and his sonnes.

Ananus one of the cruelst souldiers about Simon.

Ananias the Priest, with fifteene of the noblest people slaine.

Iosephs father taken.

Iudas consultation with his companions.

cc How long shall we endure these calamities? Or what hope haue we of life, in being trusty to a
cc most impious man? Behold how famine doth take our citie. The Romans are almost within our
cc wals, and *Simon* is cruell and faithlesse, euen towards them that haue well deserued at his hands:
cc with him we are in feare of punishment; if we flie vnto the Romans, we shall assuredly be receiued
cc into fauour. Wherfore let vs deliuer the wall vnto them, and saue our selues and our city. Neither
cc can *Simon* hereby sustaine any great losse, in being punished a little sooner, then otherwise hee
cc should be, being now desperate of his owne health and safety. The ten men to whom in this man-
cc ner he brake his mind, agreed hereunto, and so he in the morning sent the rest of his souldiers vn-
der his rule into diuers places, that they might not perceiue his intent, and he at the third houre of the day standing vpon the tower, called the Romans. But some of the Romans proudly contemned their offer, and others scarcely beleeued them, & the rest made no speed to come. In the meane time

Iudas with his companions is slaine by Simon.

A time while *Titus* with certaine armed men came vnto the wall, *Simon* had notice of their intent; and ſo ſpeedily got the tower, and ſlew them that were within, in the ſight of the Romanes, and caſt downe their bodies ouer the wall. And *Ioſeph* going about the wall, and comming thither (for he neuer ceaſed from requeſting the Iewes to remember their eſtate) he was ſtrooke vpon the head with a ſtone, and ſo amazed with the blow, fell downe: who being falne downe, preſently the Iewes made excurſions out of the Citie, and had carryed him away into the Citie, had not *Titus* ſent men to defend him: and whileſt they fought, *Ioſeph* was carryed away, ſcarcely knowing what was done. The ſeditious with loud cryes reioyced, as hauing ſlaine him whoſe death they chiefly deſired; and ſo they reported within the Citie. Hereupon the people were B moſt ſorrowfull, verily beleeuing him to be ſlaine, by whom they had confidence to flye vnto the Romanes.

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Chriſts birth, 72.

Ioſeph wounded in the head with a ſtone, and the rumour is ſpred thorow the Citie.

When *Ioſephs* mother who was in priſon heard this, ſhe ſaid vnto thoſe of Iotapata that were her keepers, that ſhe verily beleeued it, for that he was neuer taken aliue by the Romanes: yet ſecretly vnto her maidens ſhe wept, and ſaid, that this benefit ſhe receiued by hauing borne a ſon, that ſhe could not bury him by whom ſhe hoped to haue beene buried her ſelfe. But this falſe report did not long grieue her, nor comfort the theeues: for *Ioſeph* was quickly healed of his wound, and recouered; and ſhewing himſelfe hee cryed vnto them, that ere long they ſhould finde that he would be reuenged on them for his wound; yet he ceaſed not to exhort the people to obey the Romanes, and yeeld: but the ſeditious ſeeing him aliue were aſtoniſhed, and the C people conceiued good hope. Many (preſent neceſſitie vrging them) leapt off the walles and fled vnto the Romanes; diuers, with ſtones going forth vnder pretence to fight with the Romanes, yeelded themſelues, who had harder fortune there then within the Citie; and were now more harmed by plentie of victuals which they found amongſt the Romanes, then with their famine they ſuffered in the Citie: for many became by famine all ſwollen, as though they had the dropſie, and preſently filling their emptie bodies they burſt; and ſo all dyed, ſaue only thoſe who being wary, did by little and little accuſtome their bodies to food, which they had long wanted. Yet they who thus eſcaped fell into another grieuous misfortune: for one of the Iewes that were fled vnto the Romans, was found amongſt the Syrians, gathering gold out of his owne dung which he had ſwallowed, as is before ſaid, for that the ſeditious did ſearch all, and take D that they could finde from them: and there was very great ſtore of gold in the Citie, and that now was ſold for twelue Atticks which before was worth twentie fiue. This deuice being diſcouered in one, preſently a report was ſpred all ouer the whole campe, that the Iewes that fled from the Citie, came full of gold. And now the Arabians and Syrians did rip the bellies of their poore ſuppliants, to ſee if they could finde any gold or ſiluer within them. And I am perſwaded that there was no greater calamitie befell the Iewes then this was: for in one night the bellies of 2000 Iewes were ript. *Titus* hearing of this crueltie, had cauſed the authors hereof to haue bin compaſſed round with horſemen, and ſlaine with darts; and had the multitude of offenders bin knowne, many more of them ſhould haue bin puniſhed, then of the Iewes that were ſo murthered. Wherefore he called together the Leaders of the ſouldiers that came to helpe him, and E the Romane Captaines (for ſome of the Romanes alſo did commit this fault) and ſaid vnto them in anger, that if any of his ſouldiers did commit any ſuch acts for vncertaine gaine, and were not aſhamed that their armour ſhould be made of gold and ſiluer: or if the Arabians in theſe warres againſt ſtrangers did what they pleaſed, and preſently cauſe the infamy of their vile facts to redound vnto the Romans; they committing ſuch murders, and exerciſing their hatred againſt the Iewes (for now euery one that bare armes vnder him, were defamed with this vile report) he declared vnto them, that ſuch being hereafter found in that fact, ſhould be put to death. Alſo hee commanded his owne legions to make enquiry, who were ſuſpected among them for this matter, and bring him word thereof. But auarice is not terrified by feare of puniſhment, and cruell people haue naturally a deſire of lucre and gaine, and no one calamitie may be compared to the F deſire of wealth; yet ſometime it is bridled and reſtrained for feare. But now God, who had giuen ouer the people to perdition, ſuffered all things to be turned to their deſtruction: for that which *Cæſar* did ſo ſtreightly forbid, was ſtill ſecretly committed againſt the poore Iewes that fled for mercy vnto the Romanes. So that now whoſoeuer fled out of the Citie, the ſouldiers firſt looking about them, leſt any of the Romanes ſhould ſee them, ript their bellies, and ſo got an vngodly and impious booty; yet in very few did they finde that they ſought for; and the moſt of them that were ſlaine, had no gold nor ſiluer found within them. And this miſchiefe cauſed many that fled vnto the Romanes to returne againe into the Citie.

Ioſeph recouereth vpon his wound.

Many that fled from famine at home met with more ſpeedy death among the Romans.

Two thouſand Iewes imbowelled in one night. Titus diſpleaſed at this curſed act.

Auarice is not terrified with any puniſhment.

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Christs Nativitie, 72.

Chap. XVI.

Of the sacriledge committed about the Temple, and the dead bodies cast out of the Citie: and of the famine.

John falleth to sacriledge, and taketh away many presents out of the Temple.

When *Iohn* could rob no more, nor get any spoyle from the Citizens, whom he had robbed of all they had, hee presently fell to sacriledge, and tooke many gifts that were bestowed vpon the Temple, and carryed away sacred vessels for Diuine Seruice, as cups, plates, tables, and the cruets of gold that *Augustus* and his wife sent. So that now a Iew robbed and spoyled the Temple of all gifts wherewith the Romane Emperours and other Nations had honoured it: affirming vnto his associates, that without feare they might vse the holy things of the Temple, seeing they fought for God and the Temple, and therefore it was lawfull for them to be fed by the riches of the Temple. Moreouer, that it was lawfull for them to spend the holy wine and oyle which the Priests reserued for Diuine Sacrifice: which he distributed in the Temple amongst the multitude, and they without feare were anointed therewith, and dranke thereof. I will not cease to speake that which griefe compelleth me. I verily thinke, that had the Romanes forborne to haue come against these seditious, that either the earth would haue swallowed the Citie vp, or some deluge haue drowned it, or else the thunder and lightning which consumed Sodom, would haue light vpon it: for the people of the Citie were far more impious then the Sodomites. In briefe, by their desperation and obstinacy the whole nation was extinguished. What need I recount euery particular misery? *Mannæus* the sonne of *Lazarus*, flying to *Titus* out of the gate that was committed vnto his custody, and yeelding himselfe vnto him, recounted vnto *Titus*, that from the time that the Romanes army was placed neere the Citie, from the foureteenth day of Aprill, vntill the first of Iuly, were carryed out of that gate he kept, a hundreth, fifteene thousand and foure score dead bodies; yet was he not the Keeper of the gate; but being appointed to pay for the burying of the dead at the charges of the City, was forced to number the dead bodies. For others were buryed by their parents, & this was their buriall, to cast them out of the Cirie, and there let them lye. And certaine Noblemen flying vnto *Titus* after him, reported that there were dead in the Citie 600000 poore folkes which were cast out of the gates, and the others that dyed were innumerable: and that when so many dyed that they were not able to bury them, that then they gathered their bodies together in the greatest houses adioyning, and there shut them vp. And that a bushell of corne was sold for a talent, which is sixe hundreth crownes: and that after the Citie was compassed with a wall, that now they could not goe out to gather any more hearbs, many were driuen to that necessitie, that they raked sinkes and priuies to finde old dung of Oxen to eate; and so the dung that was loathsome to behold, was their meat. The Romanes hearing this, were mooued to compassion; yet the seditious within the Citie, who beheld this miserable sight, were nothing mooued, nor repented not, but suffered them to be brought to that calamitie: for their hearts were so blinded by the prouidence of God, that they could not see what hanged ouer their heads, and ouer the Citie.

Sixe hundreth thousand dead carcases cast out of the Citie.

Cow-dung and dirt gathered together is the Iewes food.

THE

THE SEVENTH BOOKE OF THE WARRES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the seuenth Booke.

1 *Of the breach made in the wals: and how the mounts were fired: and how* Sabinus *assaulted the wall.*
2 *How the Romanes assaulted Antonia, and were repulsed by the Iewes.*
3 *Of the exceeding valour of* Iulian *a Romane souldier.*
4 Iosephs *speech, perswading the Iewes to yeeld their Citie: and how the Iewes fled vnto the Romanes.*
5 *Of another battell, the Rampiers being againe builded: and of the excursions of the Iewes.*
6 *How the Romanes were by the deuice of the Iewes consumed with fire.*
7 *Of the famine amongst the Iewes.*
8 *Of a woman that for hunger did seethe her owne sonne.*
9 *How the wall was taken, and the Temple burnt.*
10 *How the Temple was set on fire against* Titus *his will.*
11 *Of the Priests: the treasure house: and the porch.*
12 *Of the signes and tokens which appeared before the destruction of the Citie.*
13 *Of* Titus *his rule and gouernment: and how the Priests were slaine.*
14 *Of the prey of the seditious, and the burning of the inner part of the Citie.*
15 *How the higher part of the Citie was assaulted: and how some of the Iewes fled vnto* Titus.
16 *How the rest of the Citie was taken.*
17 *Of the number of the captiues, and them that were slaine.*
18 *A briefe History of the Citie of Ierusalem.*
19 *How the souldiers were rewarded.*
20 *Of* Vespasians *saying: and how* Simon *was taken: and of the spectacles, and shewes made vpon* Vespasians *birth day.*
21 *Of the calamitie of the Iewes amongst the Antiochians.*
22 *How* Vespasian *at his returne was receiued by the Romanes.*
23 *Of* Domitians *acts against the Germanes and Frenchmen.*
24 *Of the riuer Sabbatticus: and of the famous triumph of* Vespasian *and* Titus.
25 *How Herodium and Machæra were taken by* Bassus.
26 *Of the Iewes that were slaine by* Bassus: *and how Iudæa was sold.*
27 *Of the death of King* Antiochus: *and how the Allans brake into Armenia.*
28 *How Massada, the strongest Castle of all, was taken and destroyed.*
29 *Of the death of the Sicarians that fled into Alexandria and Thebes.*
30 *How the Temple which* Onias *built at Alexandria was shut vp.*
31 *Of the Massacre of the Iewes at Cyrene.*

CHAP. I.

Of the breach made in the walles: and how the mounts were burned: and how SABINVS *assaulted the wall.*

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Christs birth, 72.

THE misery of Ierusalem euery day increased, the seditious being by reason of their misery more and more incited against the people: for now the famine was not only amongst the people, but amongst them also. And it was a miserable sight to see the multitude of dead bodies heaped together in the Citie, from which came a pestilent and infectious smell, so that it hindred the souldiers from making excursions. For they were forced to tread vpon dead bodies, as though they were to march along a field couered with dead carcasse. Hauing now embrued their hands in the blood of their countreymen, they prepared to resist and fight with their enemies, and (as it seemeth to mee) hereby vpbraiding

The multitude of carcasses heaped in the Citie, is hideous to behold.

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Christs birth, 72.

ding God, in that hee so deferred to punish them. For the greatest part of them did now fight more earnestly then before, not for hope of safetie, but as despairing of all. The Romanes though much troubled to get wood to build withall; yet did they in one and twentie dayes finish their mounts, hauing cut downe all the woods neere the Citie by 90 furlongs. It was miserable to behold that countrey and place, before all beset with trees and fertill plants, now to lye plaine like a desart, all cut downe: neither was there any stranger that before-time had seene Iudæa, and the beautifull suburbs of Ierusalem, who now beholding it, could abstaine from teares, or not lament the woefull change so farre different from the former. For now this warre extinguished vtterly all signes of beautie: neither could one comming suddenly now know the place which he well knew before. G H

The Iewes vpbraided God, in that he so long delayed to punish them.

Iudæa desart and desolate.

The Iewes & Romanes are equally afraid.

When the mounts were ended, both the Romans and the Iewes greatly feared: the Iewes, for that except they were destroyed, their Citie would be presently taken: the Romanes, for that if these were ouerthrowne, they knew not how to erect more, wanting matter: and now their bodies were wearied with labour, and their minds with many griefes and molestations. But the Romans were more grieued at the calamity of the City, then the Citizens within: for the Iewes notwithstanding these miseries did neuertheless stoutly defend their wals: but the courages of the Romanes fayled, when they saw that the Iewes policy made their mounts vnprofitable, that the strength of the wals resisted their engines, that the Iewes boldnes ouercame their strength in fight; and especially, seeing that the Iewes hauing endured such calamity, famine, and misery, were still more couragious then before: so that they deemed their strength not to be ouercome; and that their minds were inuincible, who were hardned and encouraged by misery. For who were able to abide their forces in prosperity, who by aduersity were incited to vertue? Wherefore the Romans made a stronger watch about their mounts. But *Iohns* followers who were in the Castle Antonia, fearing what might ensue if the wall were batterd, preuented it in what they could, before the Rams were set vp: and taking firebrands in their hands, they assaulted the mount; but deceiued with a vaine hope, they retired themselues. For first of all they seemed to disagree among themselues; so that they came from their wals one after another, and some space betweene euery one; so that they came softly and fearefully; and briefly, not after the manner of the Iewes: for they wanted courage, rashnes, and flocking together at once, which is proper vnto all that nation, and so came more soberly, and with lesse courage then they were wont. They did also finde the Romanes more couragious then of late, who so defended their mounts with their bodies and weapons, that it was not possible to come and fire them; and euery one was fully determined not to shrinke out of his place till he was slaine. For besides that if so be that worke were destroyed, they had no hope left to build more, they all accounted it a shame that their vertue should be ouercome by subtiltie, or their weapons by rashnesse and temerity, or their skill by a multitude; or the Romanes by the Iewes. Also they had engines to cast darts at them as they came downe their walles. And when any one of the Iewes that was slaine fell downe, he hindred them that followed, and the danger of him that went before terrified them that came after. They also that rashly aduentured within the shot of a dart, either were terrified, with the discipline, and multitude of their enemies, or else wounded with their darts: and so they all retyred, one accusing another of cowardlinesse, and atchieued nothing. I K L

The Romans most of all feare the desperatenesse of the Iewes.

The Iews with firebrands set vpon the engines: but losing their hope, returne backe againe.

The valour and violence of the Iewes decreaseth.

The Iewes retire arguing one another of cowardize.

The first day of Iuly the citie was assaulted: and the Iewes being now retyred, the Romans set vp their Rammes, notwithstanding that they were assaulted from Antonia with stones, fire and sword, and whatsoeuer their enemies in that extremitie could finde. For though the Iewes had great confidence in their walles, as that they could not be battered, yet did they not permit the Romans to place their Rams against them. And the Romans being perswaded that the Iewes so laboured, because they knew their walles to be weake, and lest Antonia by the breach of the wall should be hurt, did striue to place them against the wals. But the wall would not yeeld vnto the Ram: yet did the Romans safely & without danger (notwithstanding that many darts were cast at them from off the wals) persist to beat the wall with their Rams: who being below and seeing the stones broken with the force of their engins, they shielded themselues with their bucklers: and so some with their hands pulled the stones out of the wall; some digged vnder the foundation therof: and when foure stones with much labour were broken and shaken, the night hindred both parties from doing any more at that time, and in it the wall now shaken with the Ramme (in the place which *Iohn* had vndermined to destroy the mounts, the myne settling) fell downe. So, that fell out otherwise then either part expected: For the Iewes, who indeed had cause to be sorrowfull for the myne of the wall, and for that they did not preuent that mischance, were ioyfull and coura- M

The Romans vndermine the wall.

The Iewes set vpon the Romans.

A courageous,as though Antonia did yet remain firme and ſtrong: And the Romans reioycing for this vnexpected fall, were againe diſmaied, ſeeing the other wall that *Iohn* had built within,yet they iudged it eaſier to be taken then the former;but no man durſt aſcend it,for that he who firſt aſſaulted it,was certaine to dy. *Titus*,thinking that by hope and perſwaſion his ſoldiers might be encouraged, and knowing,many times promiſes and exhortations make men forget danger, and ſometime to contemne death it ſelfe, he called together the moſt valiant of all his ſouldiers; and ſpake thus vnto them as followeth; Fellow ſouldiers,it is manifeſt cowardlineſſe to exhort men to enterprize a thing without danger,both in them that are exhorted, and in him that exhorts: for exhortations are onely to be vſed in doubtfull affaires, wherein it is praiſeworthy for euery B man to aduenture himſelfe.So that I confeſſe it is hard for you to aſcend the wall:yet will I ſhew you that it is a glorious death to dy in ſuch a fight, and eſpecially it becõmeth them that are deſirous to win honour; and that they that firſt aduenture valiantly to do it,ſhall not goe away vnrewarded. And firſt let this moue you which terrifieth others, to wit, the patient minde of the Iewes,and their conſtancy in aduerſity. For it is a ſhame for the Roman ſouldiers, who in time of peace practiſe themſelues in warlike feats, and are accuſtomed in war to get the victory, now to be ouercome by the Iewes;and that in the end of the victory, we hauing alſo God to help vs: for all our harmes proceed from the Iewes deſperation; and their deſtruction and calamity by Gods fauor and your valour is euery day increaſed. For what elſe is betokened by their ſedition amongſt themſelues,their famine, the fall of their wals without our engines to batter them, and C the ſiege it ſelfe, then the wrath of God towards them,and his fauor towards vs? Wherefore it is vnſeemly for you either to giue place to your inferiours, or to betray Gods fauor and furtherance. Is it not a ſhame that the Iewes, who, were they conquered, ſuſtained no great reproch, as being accuſtomed to ſerue and obey others, ſhould ſo valiantly contemne death, leſt they ſhould hereafter ſuffer or endure the like;and many times boldly to aduenture and make excurſions euen among the midſt of vs, not for hope they haue to ouercome vs, but onely to ſhew their valour:and we,who haue conquered almoſt the earth and ſea, to whom it is an infamy not to be victorious,to lie idle,neuer making valiant aſſault vpon our enemies,but being thus armed, to expect till fortune and famine deliuer them into our hands? Eſpecially ſeeing that by vndergoing a little danger,all will be ours.If we get into Antonia,we haue taken the city.For ſuppoſe D that we were then to fight againſt them that are within the city (which I do not thinke) we hauing gotten the higher part of the city,being aboue our enemies head, are then aſſured of a perfect victory ouer them. I omit now their commendations who haue beene ſlaine in warres, and their immortality whom Martiall fury hath depriued of this life: and thoſe that do not ſo think, I pray that they may die of ſome euill death in peace, whoſe ſoules are condemned to be entered with their bodies.For what valiant man knoweth not that the ſoule of him that dies in war,is preſently receiued into the moſt pure airy element, and from thence carried and placed among the ſtars of heauen,and the good and valiant ghoſts doe alwaies aſſiſt his poſterity? And that all that in peace do die of ſome diſeaſe and ſickneſſe, their ſoules are kept in the bowels of the earth in darkneſſe: notwithſtanding that they be moſt iuſt and pure, and preſently they are forgotten, E and their life and memory together with them extinguiſhed. Seeing therefore that we are all certaine to die, and that to die by the ſword is a more eaſie death,then to die by any diſeaſe,why ſhould we depriue our ſelues of this opportunity, ſeeing that at laſt we muſt neceſſarily forgoe our liues as due debt vnto the deſtinies? And this I haue ſpoken as though it were vnpoſſible to eſcape with life,you doing your endeuours; yet they that beare the mindes of men, can finde meanes to ſaue themſelues euen in the greateſt dangers. For firſt of all, that part of the wall that is falne may eaſily be entred, and the wall new built is not hard to be throwne downe: and many of you together enterprizing this worke, may one exhort and helpe another, and your audacity and courage will quickly daunt the enemies heart, and perhaps may get vs the victory if we get this one place without bloodſhed. For they will not reſiſt vs if wee offer to aſcend the wall: F and let vs but effect any one exploit either ſecretly or openly,and the Iewes will neuer more endure vs,though we be but few in number. And I would be aſhamed if I did not ſo reward him that doth firſt begin,as to make all that are in our army to enuy his happineſſe: and from henceforth I decree, that whoſoeuer eſcapeth,ſhall be Gouernour ouer them that are now his equals; and whoſo is ſlaine in this quarrell, I will doe him great honour.

Titus hauing thus ſpoken, the reſt of the multitude feared the greatneſſe of the danger: but one of them that warred in the companies, named *Sabinus*, a Syrian borne; a man of excellent ſtrength and courage; yet of ſo ſmall ſtature, that if one had ſeen him, they would haue deemed him

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Chriſts birth, 72.

No man durſt aſcend the wall that Iohn built.

Titus exhortation to the moſt valiant and ſtrongeſt.

The patient mindes of the Iewes,& their conſtancy in misfortunes.

The wrath of God againſt the Iewes, is the Romans furtherance.

Titus ſpeaks of the life to come,after a poeticall manner.

The reward of valiant men.

The yeer of the world, 4034. after Christs birth, 72.

him vnfit to haue been a ſoldier: for he was of very ſmall ſtature and of black colour, but he had a mind far bigger then his body, and ſtrength ſcarce able to be contained in ſo little room. This *Sabinus* riſing vp, ſaid; I offer my ſelfe vnto thee, O *Cæſar*, firſt of all to aſcend the wall, and that with a willing mind, requeſting that my fortune may aſſiſt my ſtrength and mind: yet if fortune ſhal hinder my enterprize, know that I dy not againſt my expectation, but that I will gladly giue my life for thee. When he had ſo ſaid, he took his ſhield in his left hand, and holding it aboue his head, with his drawne ſword in his right hand, about the ſixt houre of the day he went vnto the wall: and 11. men followed him, who only enuied his vertue. But *Sabinus* with a diuine feruour of ſpirit went before them all; notwithſtanding that on euery ſide the Iewes vpon the wall caſt an infinite number of darts at him, and rowled downe vpon him huge ſtones, which did ſtrike downe ſome of the 11. that followed him. But *Sabinus*, meeting the darts and peſtering arrowes, yet did not remit his force, till ſuch time as he had gotten to the top of the wall, and put the enemies to flight: who, terrified with his ſtrength and courage, and indeed thinking that more had come vp after him, fled. Wherein, who may not iuſtly blame Fortune, and accuſe her; as enuying at vertuous acts? For this man failed not of his purpoſe, yet was he ſtricken with a ſtone, and throwne downe flat vpon his face moſt violently with a great noiſe: ſo that now the Iewes ſeeing him alone, and lying on the ground, returned againe, and ſhot at him on euery ſide: and he kneeling vpon his knees, and couering himſelfe with his ſhield, did firſt of all reuenge himſelfe vpon his enemies, and wounded many that came neere him, till with wounding them he was ſo weary, that he could ſtrike no longer; and ſo at laſt was ſlain with arrows: a man who for his valour deſerued better fortune, and died as valiantly as his enterprize was courageous. Thoſe that were left of his company, hauing almoſt gotten to the top of the wall, were ſlaine with ſtones, and the reſt being wounded, were carried into the camp. And this was done the 3. day of Iuly.

Sabinus a man of low ſtature, yet both in hand and heart valiant.

Sabinus with 11. men approcheth the wal.

The power of Fortune.

Sabinus with three companions ſlaine.

CHAP. II.

How the Romanes aſſaulted Antonia, and how they were driuen backe from thence by the Iewes.

TWo daies after, twenty of the watchmen which guarded the mounts, two horſemen, and one trumpetter, gathered themſelues together: and about the night houre of the night, they came by the ruines into Antonia without any reſiſtance: and finding the firſt watchmen aſleepe, they ſlew them, and got the wall, and commanded the trumpetter to ſound; by which ſound the reſt of the watchmen were awaked, and fled for feare, before they ſaw what company of the Romans were gotten vpon the wall: and the ſound of the trumpet perſwaded them, that a great multitude of enemies were come vp the wall. *Cæſar*, hearing the ſound of the trumpet, preſently armed his ſouldiers; and accompanied with his chiefe Captaines, and a company of choſen men, he aſcended the wall. The Iewes fled into the inner Temple, and the Romans alſo brake in amongſt them by the myne that *Iohn* had made to deſtroy the mounts of the Romans. And the followers both of *Iohn* and *Simon*, did courageouſly driue them backe: for they thought it the vtter ruine of all, that the Romans were now gotten into the holy place, which indeed was the beginning of their victory. So they began a ſore fight, euen in the very entrance, the Romans ſtriuing to get the inner Temple, and the Iewes endeauouring to beate them backe towards Antonia. And now arrowes, darts, and ſpeares, nothing auailed either part, but they both fought it out at handy blowes with ſwords: and in that conflict no man could diſcerne on which ſide any one fought; for the ſouldiers on both parts were mingled together, and for the ſtraightneſſe of the place, could not keepe their roomes: for there was ſuch a noiſe that no man could heare one another, and many were ſlaine on both parts: and the dead bodies of thoſe that were ſlaine, and their weapons falling with them, did hurt many that trode vpon them; and whoſoeuer had the worſt, preſently cried out pittifully, and the victors ſhouted for ioy: neither was there any place to flie or follow; the fight was ſuch, that now one had the better, and now the other. Moreouer, they that ſtood in the forefront of the battell, were either of neceſſity to kill or be killed: for there was no void ſpace left betweene the two armies. At laſt the Iewes courage ouercame the Romans skill, and they were all beaten backe (hauing fought from the ninth houre of the night, vnto the ſeuenth houre of the day.) The Iewes were encouraged to fight for feare they ſhould be ouercome. And that parcell of the Roman army (for as yet the legions were not come) thought it ſufficient at that time to haue gotten the Caſtle of Antonia.

The Romans inuade Antonia.

A moſt ſtout fight about the entrance of the inner Temple.

The ſtraightneſſe of the place was incommodious for the fight.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the exceeding valour of IVLIAN *the Roman ſouldier.*

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Chriſts birth, 72.

THERE was one *Iulian*, a Centurion, borne in Bithynia, of good parentage, who (as my ſelfe well knew) was moſt valiant of all, both in ſtrength of body and skill, and courageous mind. This *Iulian*, ſeeing now the Romans to haue the worſt (ſtanding by *Titus* in Antonia) he preſently leapt downe, and all alone purſued the Iewes who had the victory, into the inner Temple. And the whole multitude fled, deeming him by his force and courage, not to haue beene a man. But he amongſt the midſt of them, ſlew whomſoeuer he light on, one of them for haſte caſting downe another. So that this his deed ſeemd admirable to *Cæſar*, and terrible to his enemies. Yet did that deſtiny befall him which no man can eſcape; for hauing his ſhooes full of ſharpe nailes, as other ſouldiers haue, running vpon the pauement, he ſlipt and fell downe, his armor in the fall making a great noiſe: whereat his enemies, who before fled, now turned againe vpon him. Then the Romans in Antonia fearing his life, cryed out: but the Iewes many at once ſtrooke him with ſwords and ſpeares. And hee defended many blowes with his ſheld, and many times attempting to riſe, they ſtrooke him downe again: yet as he lay, he wounded many; neither was he quickly ſlaine, becauſe all parts of his body, which being wounded might cauſe preſent death, were armed, and ſhrunk in his necke a long time till the reſt of his body being cut off, and no man helping him, his ſtrength failed. *Cæſar* was very ſorrowfull to ſee a man of ſo great force and fortitude ſlaine in the ſight of ſuch a multitude: and that the place wherin he was, hindred him from helping *Iulian*: and others that might haue helped him, durſt not for feare. At laſt, when *Iulian* had a long time ſtriuen with death, and wounded many of them that ſlew him, he was with much ado killed, leauing behinde him a renowned memory, not onely amongſt the Romans and *Cæſar*, but alſo amongſt his enemies. Then the Iewes tooke his dead bodie, and beat backe the Romanes and ſhut them in Antonia. In this battell one *Alexas* and *Gyphthæus*, two of *Iohns* company, fought valiantly, and of *Simons* company *Malachias* and *Iudas*, the ſon of *Merton*, and *Iames* the ſon of *Soſa*, Captaine of the Idumæans; and two brethren of the Zelous, the ſons of *Iairus*, *Simon* and *Iudas*.

Iulians famous fortitude.

Iulian running, fals vpon the pauement.

Iulians death.

Valiant ſouldiers amongſt the Iewes.

CHAP. IIII.

IOSEPHS *ſpeech, perſwading the Iewes to yeeld their City: and how many of them fled vnto the Romanes.*

AFter that *Titus* had commanded his ſouldiers to pull downe the foundations of Antonia, and make an eaſie entrance for the whole army: he called *Ioſeph* vnto him (for he vnderſtood, that day being the ſeuenteenth of Iuly, that the Iews were wont to celebrate a certaine feaſt to God, which they called *Entelechiſmus*, and that it was not ſolemnized for want of men; ſo that the people greatly mourned therefore) and againe commanded him to tell *Iohn* that whereof before he had ſent him word, to wit, that if he deſired to fight, he ſhould haue liberty to come, with what multitude he pleaſed; ſo that the City and the Temple might not both periſh with him, willing him now to deſiſt from prophaning the holy place, and from ſinning againſt God: ſending him alſo word, that if he ſo pleaſed, he would grant him leaue to celebrate the feſtiuity which had bin now long time omitted, and that by what company he pleaſed. *Ioſeph*, to the intent that not onely *Iohn* might heare this offer of *Titus*, but alſo the reſt of the people, he ſtood in an eminent place, from whence he might be heard, and in the Hebrew tongue he recounted vnto the Iewes *Cæſars* pleaſure, earneſtly requeſting them to ſpare their countrey, and forbid the fire now ready to take hold of their Temple, and to offer the accuſtomed ſacrifices vnto God. When he had thus ſaid, the people were very ſorrowfull, and euery one held his peace, not knowing what to ſay. But the tyrant *Iohn* hauing vſed many rayling ſpeeches againſt *Ioſeph*, at laſt he anſwered, that he need not feare the deſtruction of the Temple and City, ſeeing that it belonged to God.

Titus willeth Iohn to come out to fight, leſt with him the City and temple ſhould periſh alſo.

Iohn raileth againſt Ioſeph.

Then *Ioſeph* with a loud voice cried out, True it is, you haue kept it pure, and vnprophaned for God, and the holy things you haue kept inuiolate, neither haſt thou committed any iniquity againſt him, from whom thou expecteſt helpe, but haſt offred ſolemne ſacrifice vnto him. If any man ſhould take from thee thy daily food, no doubt thou wouldſt account him thy enemy: canſt thou then hope that God, whō thou haſt depriued of daily ſacrifice, will aſſiſt thee in theſe wars?

Doſt

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Christs birth, 72.

Doſt thou impute theſe offences to the Romans? why? they euen now do defend our religion, G and command ſacrifice to be offered, which thou haſt forbidden. Who doth not bewaile this vnexpected change, and lament our city? Strangers and enemies correct thy impiety, and thou a Iew borne, and brought vp in our law, art more cruell then they. But conſider, *Iohn*, it is no ſhame to repent thy wickednesſe in extremity: and at the laſt caſt, if thou be deſirous to ſaue thy countrey, thou haſt a good example of *Iechonias*, ſometime King of the Iewes; who, when the Babylonians warred againſt him, of his owne accord went out of the city before it was taken, and willingly endured captiuity with all his family and kinred onely, leſt he ſhould betray theſe holy places to his enemies, and behold the Temple fired. And for this act of his, he is of ſacred memory among the Iewes, and hath thereby gained immortall credit amongſt all his poſterity. This H

Iechonias ſuſtained a voluntary baniſhment in Babylon.

" is a good example, O *Iohn*, although danger be at hand: and I will promiſe thee alſo pardon from
" the Romans, onely remember that I thy countriman admoniſh thee, and promiſe this vnto the
" Iewes: behold who is the author and counſeller hereof. God forbid that euer I ſhould ſo liue a
" captiue, that I ſhould not liue according to the lawes of our countrey. Yet thou art againe incenſed againſt me, and exclaimeſt on me, and curſeſt me. But true it is, I deſerue worſe then this;

The City by the ordinance of fate and Gods will, was to bee ouerthrowne.

who ſeek to perſwade contrary vnto the determination of Gods prouidence, and ſtriue to ſaue them whom his ſentence hath condemned. Who is ignorant of the writings of the ancient Prophets and their prophecies, now hanging ouer this wretched city? For then it is foretold by
" them to be deſtroyed, when we murther our owne nation: and now not only the city, but alſo
" the Temple is full of your dead bodies. Certainly it is God, God it is that, together with the I
Romans, bringeth in fire to purge this city filled with iniquity.

Ioſephs ſpeeches interrupted with ſighs.

Ioſeph thus crying with teares and lamentations, he could ſpeake no more for ſobbing: And the Romans, compaſſionating his ſorrow and affliction, were aſtoniſhed. But *Iohn* and his confederates were ſo much the more incited againſt the Romans, and ſought to take *Ioſeph*; yet his ſpeech did moue many of the nobles; and diuers, fearing the ſeditious watchmen, remained ſtill where they were, making full account both of their owne deſtruction, and the ſubuerſion of the city. Yet ſome there were, who finding opportunity, fled vnto the Romans: amongſt whom

Some of the nobility among the Iews eſcape to the Romanes.

were two Prieſts, *Ioſeph* and *Ieſus*, and three ſons of *Iſmael* the Prieſt, who was beheaded at Cyren, and foure ſons of *Matthias* the Prieſt, and one of the other *Matthias*, who eſcaped vnto the Romans before his father was put to death by *Simon Giora*, with his three ſons, as is before ſaid: K and many other nobles reuolted with the Prieſts, whom the Emperor receiu'd very courteouſly, and ſent them into Gophna; knowing that it was a griefe for them to conuerſe amongſt people of diuers manners from them, and willed them to remaine there, and promiſed euery one of them great poſſeſſions after the warres were ended. So they ioyfully departed vnto the place appointed. But the ſeditious, for that they were not ſeene, reported vnto the people, that they who had fled vnto the Romans were ſlaine, meaning hereby to terrifie the reſt from fleeing to them: and thus their deuice a while preuailed, as their former did; and they that faine would, durſt not now flee for feare. But afterward when *Titus* recalled them from Gophna, and com-

Cæſars humanity towards the Iewes.

manded them to go about the wals with *Ioſeph*, and ſhew themſelues vnto the people; then many of the Iewes fled vnto the Romans. And after they had gathered themſelues together, ſtanding L

Thoſe Iewes that were fled beſought the beſieged with teares & ſighs to ſubmit themſelues.

all before the Romans, they beſought the ſeditious with teares, firſt to receiue the Romans into the Citie, and ſaue their countrey: or if it pleaſed them not, at leaſt to depart out of the Temple, and deliuer it vp vnto them. For the Romans durſt not, except neceſſity vrged them thereto, fire the holy Temple. But their malice againſt the Romans encreaſing, and rayling againſt them that had fled vnto them, they planted all their engines to caſt ſtones, darts and arrows vpon their holy porches. So that all the void ſpace about the Temple was filled with dead bodies like a ſepulchre, and the Temple it ſelfe reſembled a caſtle, & they now with their weapons hauing their

The Temple after the manner of a caſtle.

hands imbrued with the blood of their countrimen, preſumed to enter into the ſanctuary where none ought to come: and they became ſo iniurious againſt their owne lawes, that looke what indignation the Iewes ought to haue conceiued againſt the Romans, if they had ſo profaned the M holy places, the ſame they cauſed the Romans to haue againſt them, for doing the like. For there was not one amongſt the Roman ſouldiers, that did not with reuerence behold the Temple, and adore it, and that did not heartily wiſh that the theeues would repent themſelues before it was too late. Moreouer, *Titus* pitying the ſeditious, once again ſpake vnto *Iohn* and his adherents, ſaying: O ye impious people, haue you not inuironed the Temple about with a cloiſter? haue not

Titus ſpeakes to Iohn & his companions.

you your ſelues in Greeke and our language engrauen in tables, forbidden all men to enter into thoſe limits? did not we licence you to kill any man that ſhould paſſe them, notwithſtanding that he

A he were a Roman? Why then, ye wicked wretches, do you tread vpon dead mens bodies within your Temple? Or wherefore haue you polluted the Temple with the blood of ſtrangers, and of your countrimen? I call my country gods to witnes, and him who ſometime dwelt in this place, if euer there were any (for now I am perſwaded there is none) I call alſo my army to witnes, and proteſt to the Iewes that are with me, and to your ſelues, that I will not compell you to violate theſe ſacred things: but that if your army will depart from this place, that then no Roman ſhall come into theſe holy places, nor commit any thing in contumely of them, but I will preſerue the Temple for you againſt your wils.

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Chriſts birth, 72.

Titus in deſpight of the Iewes, ſtriues to ſaue the Temple.

CHAP. V.

B *How the battell was renewed, the Rampires being againe builded, and of the excurſions of the Iewes.*

IOSEPH hauing deliuered theſe words of *Titus* to the Iewes, the ſeditious thinking that they proceeded not of good will, but of feare, began to be more proud hereat. Then *Titus*, ſeeing they neither pitied themſelues nor the Temple, determined againe to fight, though very loth ſo to doe; yet could he not bring all his army againſt them, the roome was ſo little. Wherefore out of euery hundred he made choice of thirty of the ſtrongeſt among them, and ouer euery thouſand he appointed a Colonell, and made *Cerealis* their Captaine or Generall, commanding him at the ninth houre of the night to aſſault the watchmen of the enemy. Alſo he himſelfe would C haue gone downe with them armed; but his friends, and the Captaines about him, foreſeeing the great danger he might fall into, would not permit him: affirming, that he might doe more good ſitting in Antonia, and encouraging the ſouldiers that fought, then if he ſhould goe and endanger himſelfe: for euery man being in the view of the Emperor, would fight more couragiouſly. *Titus* was herewith perſwaded, telling the ſouldiers that the onely cauſe he went not with them was this, that he ſtaied behind to view and iudge euery ones valour and vertue, and to the intent that none behauing himſelfe valiantly ſhould go away vnrewarded, nor any coward eſcape vnpuniſhed, but that he himſelfe would be a beholder of euery mans vertue, and a witneſſe thereof, who was their Lord either to reward or puniſh.

Titus choſe thirty out of euery hundreth, moſt ſtrong and able men, and bids them charge the beſieged.

Then he went vnto a watch-tower in Antonia, from whence he beheld what was done. But D they whom *Titus* ſent did not finde the watchmen aſleep, as they hoped, but with a crye, aſſaulted the Romans that came againſt them: and at this noyſe they awaked their fellowes, who came in whole companies to aſſiſt them, and made excurſions vpon their enemies. So the Romans ſuſtained the violence of their firſt companies: but the ſecond that came, fell vpon their owne fellowes, and vſed them like their enemies: for no man could know one anothers voice for the noiſe there, neither could one ſee another by reaſon it was night: and moreouer, ſome were blinded with fury, ſome with anger, ſome with feare: wherefore euery one ſtrooke him that met him, without any reſpect. And the Romans receiued ſmall damage thereby, becauſe that they were defended with their ſhields, and remembred one anothers watch-word. But the Iewes fell on euery ſide, ſhewing themſelues raſh as well in excurſions as in their retiring; ſo that many times one E of them tooke the other to be his enemy, euery one falling vpon him that retired, as though he had beene a Roman, aſſaulting them in the dark. Briefely, more were wounded by their fellowes then by their enemies, til day breaking that euery one knew his companion; and each one keeping his rank, did then betake themſelues to their darts and arrowes. Neither part gaue backe, nor was wearied with labor: but many Romans together and apart, did in the view of the Emperor ſhew their courage, euery man accounting that day the beginning of his preferment, if he behaued himſelfe valiantly. The Iewes fought ſtoutly, both for that they feared their owne imminent danger, if they were ouercome, and the deſtruction of the Temple: and *Iohn* ſtanding by, encouraged them to fight, ſome with blowes, other ſome with threatnings. They fought moſt commonly with handy blowes; yet fortune often changed: for neither part had either farre to flee, or any ſpace F to follow them that fled. The Romanes in Antonia cryed vnto their fellowes that fought the battell, Now for hope of victory: preſently encouraging them to ſtand to it, when they began to giue backe; ſo it was as it had beene a Theater of warre: for *Titus*, and they with him, beheld all that was done; ſo at laſt, in the fift houre of the day the fight ceaſed, hauing continued from the ninth houre of the night, neither party forſaking the place where firſt they began battell, neither any part hauing the victory. Many Romans there fought courageouſly, and amongſt the Iewes theſe that follow: *Iudas*, the ſonne of *Merton*; *Simon*, the ſonne of *Ioſias*; and *Iacob*, and *Simon Idumæans*; this, the ſonne of *Cathla*, but *Iames* was the ſonne of *Soſa*: and all theſe were of

Titus beholds from a window in Antonia what his ſouldiers performe.

The euents of battels are changed very ſhortly.

Simons

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Christs birth, 72.

Simons company, and of *Iohns* followers *Gyptheus* and *Alexas*; and of the Zelous, *Simon* the son of *Iairus*. But the 7. day, the rest of the Romans pulling downe the foundations of Antonia, made a large entrance for the rest of the army. And the legions comming vnto the wall, presently began to raise mounts, one against the corner of the inner Temple, which was situate North and East: and another against the gallery on the North side betwixt the two porches: and the other two, one against the porch of the West side of the outward Temple; the other against the North porch. So with much toile and labour they finisht this worke, fetching wood to build it withall 100. furlongs off. And many times they were endamaged by trechery, not being wary by reason of their victory: and the Iewes despairing of themselues euery houre, more and more were encouraged. For many of the horsemen going either to get wood or hay, while they were about it, they took the bridles from off their horse, and permitted them to feed till they had ended their busines; and presently the Iewes issuing out in troups vpon them, tooke them away.

Foure mounts raised neere to the temple.

The Iewes surprize the Romans horses.

Titus seeing that this fell out, deemed (as indeed it was) that his mens horses were stolne rather by their negligence then their enemies valor: wherefore he thought by the seuere punishment of one, to make others looke better to their horses. And so he put to death one of the souldiers that had lost his horse: by whose punishment the rest of the souldiers being terrified, kept their horses better. For after that, when they went about any businesse, they neuer left their horses in the pastures, but kept alwaies with them. Thus the Romans assaulted the Temple, and builded there mounts. The day following, certaine of the seditious, who now could get no more booties in the city, and now also began to taste of hunger, assaulted the Romans that were placed towards mount Oliuet about the eleuenth houre of the day: for they hoped to take them vnawares, as being now at dinner. But the Romans perceiuing their intent, came out of their places, and resisted them who attempted violently to breake in vpon them ouer the wall: so that there was a hot fight, and many other deeds were done on either party, the Romans hauing both strength and knowledge in warlike affaires; the Iewes led with a desperate fury: and shame forced the Romans to fight, and need compelled the Iewes: for the Romans accounted it a shame not to ouercome the Iewes, who were as it were falne into their hands; and the Iewes thought it the onely way to saue their owne liues, to breake downe the wall by force. And one of the horsemen, called *Pedanius*, the Iewes being put to flight and driuen into the vally, pursued them with his horse as fast as he could gallop, and ouertook a young man, one of his enemies, being heauy of body, armed all ouer; and taking him about the ankle, he carried him violently away: thereby shewing the strength of his arme and of the rest of his body, and his skilfull chiualry, and so brought the captiue vnto *Cæsar* as a present. *Titus* admiring *Pedanius* his strength, and punishing the captiue for hauing attempted to assault the wall, he now hasted to assaile the Temple, and commanded the workmen quickly to dispatch the mounts. In the meane time the Iewes being ill handled in the former warres, and war still increasing to the ouerthrow of the Temple, they did, as the custome is in a putrefied body, preuent the plague from going any further, by cutting off the corrupted members. For that part of the porch that reached from the North vnto the East, ioyned vnto Antonia: which they firing, separated it twenty cubits from it, hauing now with their owne hands begun to cast fire into the holy place. Two daies after, which was the 24. day of the aforesaid moneth, the Romans set the porch on fire, and the fire hauing gone fourteene cubits, the Iewes pulled downe the top thereof, and not desisting from their accustomed workes, they pulled downe all adioyning vnto Antonia; when it was easie for them, and that they ought to haue hindered the fire. The porch being on fire, they permitted so much to bee burned, as they thought good for their purpose. The fight about the Temple neuer ceased, many excursions were made one against each other.

The fight of the Iewes and the Romans neerevnto the mount Eleo.

Pedanius, a strong and expert horseman.

The captiue punished.

The Romans burnt the porches of the Temple.

The Iewes are too slacke in putting out the fire.

Ionathan prouokes the stoutest Roman to a single combate.

About this time, a certaine Iew of low stature, and to see to a contemptible person, euery way an abiect, both by reason of his base parentage and otherwise, named *Ionathan*, going to the monument of *Iohn* the Priest, dared the strongest amongst the Romanes to come and fight a single combate with him. The Romanes that beheld him, disdained him: yet some amongst them (as it is commonly seene) were afraid of him: others wisely deemed, that they ought not to fight with one that was desirous to die: for they that were desperate, neither fought aduisedly, nor had the feare of God before their eyes: and so that it was not a signe of valor, but of ouermuch hardinesse, to fight with such a one; who n though they ouercame, yet they could win no credit, but with infamy hazzard themselues to be vanquished. So a long time none of the Romans came against him, and he vpbraided them of cowardlinesse. At last, an arrogant and proud fellow, one of the Roman horsemen, named *Pudens*, disdaining his insolency, and perhaps also for

that

A that he was of little ſtature, came againſt him; and fighting with him, fortune frowned vpon him, ſo that he was laught to ſcorne by his fellow: for he falling downe, *Ionathan* ſlew him; and ſetting his foot vpon the dead body, with his left hand he flouriſhed his ſhield, and with his right his bloody ſword: and ſtriking his weapons one againſt another, he inſulted ouer the Roman army, and ouer the dead body, vpbraiding the Romans, ſo long till *Priſcus* a Centurion, as he was thus vaunting, ſhot him thorow with an arrow, and ſo he fell downe dead vpon the body of his enemy: at which deed, both the Romans and the Iewes raiſed a confuſed cry or noiſe. So *Ionathan* here ſhewed how quickly reuenge purſued the felicity of warlike victory, falling out contrary to all reaſon.

The yeer of the world, 4034. after chriſts birth, 72.

Pudens fighting with Ionathan, is ſlain by him. Priſcus the Centurion, killeth Ionathan with an arrow.

B

CHAP. VI.

How the Romanes through the deceit of the Iewes were conſumed with fire, and of one ARTORIVS.

THE ſeditious that kept the Temple, did now euery day openly in fight reſiſt the Romans that kept the mounts, and the 27. day they deuiſed this ſtratagem; They filled the void part of the Eaſt porch of the Temple with dry wood and brimſtone, and bitumen, and then fled out of it as not able longer to reſiſt. Wherefore many of the Romans raſhly purſued C the Iewes that fled, and with ladders got into the galleries. But the wiſer ſort conſidering that the Iewes had no iuſt occaſion to flie, kept their place. The porch being now full of Romanes that were got vp into it, the Iewes gaue fire to the wood and brimſtone, and vpon a ſudden all the porch was compaſſed with the flame: ſo that the Romanes who were out of danger were hereat amazed, and thoſe that were amidſt the flames became deſperate; and inuironed with the flames, ſome ſought to run backe into the towne, otherſome vnto the enemies; others kild themſelues, ſo preuenting the fury of the fire; and preſently the flame ouertooke thoſe that ſought to flie. *Cæſar*, though offended at the ſouldiers for hauing aſcended into the porch vnbidden, yet ſeeing them die ſo wofully in the flames, he compaſſionated them. And although that the fire could not be quenched, yet the poore ſouldiers dying amongſt the flames were hereat comfor- D ted, in that they perceiued him to be ſorrowfull for them, for whom they had loſt their liues. For they beheld him crying to their fellowes to helpe to extinguiſh the fire, and he himſelfe laboured what he could to do it; ſo that euery one eſteemed his ſorrow and lamentation for them as much as a ſumptuous funerall: but ſome eſcaped the fire and got into the largeſt part of the porch; yet inuironed round about with Iewes, hauing long reſiſted, though with many wounds; yet in the end they were all ſlaine.

The Iewes fill the void part of the Eaſt porch with dry wood, ſulphure and bitumen.

The Romanes calamity in the fire.

Cæſar hath compaſſion of the Romanes that were in the fire.

At laſt a young man named *Longus*, was an honor to all this miſery: and notwithſtanding that euery one that there periſhed deſerued particularly to be remembred, yet he ſhewed himſelfe the moſt valiant of them all. The Iewes were deſirous to kill this man for that he was ſtrong, and willed him to come down vnto them, ſwearing vnto him to ſpare him. But his brother *Cornelius*, E who ſtood on the other ſide, entreated him not to diſcredit his owne honour and the Romans; whom he obeyed: and he lifting vp his ſword on high, that either part might ſee, ſlew himſelfe. Yet one *Artorius* from amidſt the fire eſcaped by this deuice: he called vnto him one *Lucius* his fellow ſoldier and chamber fellow; I will (quoth he) make thee heire of all my inheritance, if thou wilt catch me in thy armes. *Lucius* willingly endeuouring to do it, *Artorius* caſt himſelfe downe vpon him, and ſo eſcaped with his life, but *Lucius* vpon whom he fell was bruiſed againſt the pauement, and ſo died. This calamity awhile did greatly grieue the Romans, yet it made them more wary afterward, and acquainted them with the Iewes ſubtilties, whereof before being ignorant, they ſuſtained great domage; ſo the porch was burnt vnto the tower which *Iohn* built, during his wars againſt *Simon*: and the Iewes, after the Romans that were aſcended into it were F conſumed, pulled downe the reſt. The next day the Romans fired the North porch, euen vnto the foreſaid Eaſt porch, which contained the corners of the wall builded ouer the vallie Cedron, ſo that it was terrible to behold the vally from thence, by reaſon of the depth.

Longus killes himſelfe.

Lucius dieth: but Artorius ſaueth himſelf by a ſtratagem.

The porch of the Temple fired.

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Christs birth, 72.

Chap. VII.

Of the famine amongst the Iewes.

The intestine warres of the Iewes that were welnie famished with hunger.

SVch were the affaires about the Temple, but an infinite multitude perished within the City through famine, so that they could not be numbred: for in euery place where any shew or signe of food was, presently arose a battell, and the dearest friends of all now fought one with another, to take the food from other poore soules, neither did they beleeue them that were now a dying for famine, but the theeues searched them, whom they saw yeelding vp the Ghost, thinking that they dying for famine, had hid about them some food: but they were deceiued of their hope, being like mad dogs, greedy of meat, and fell against the doores like drunken men, searching the selfe-same houses twice or thrice together in desperation, and for very penury they ate whatsoeuer they light vpon, gathering such things to eate, as the most filthy liuing creatures in the world would haue loathed. In briefe, they did eat their girdles and shooes, and the skins that couered their shields, so that a little of old hay was sold for foure Attiques. But what need is it to shew the sharpnesse of this famine by things that want life? I will recount an act neuer heard of, neither among the Greeks, nor any other barbarous people, horrible to be rehearsed, and incredible: so that I would willingly omit this calamity, lest posterity should thinke I lie, had not I many witnesses hereof, and perhaps should incurre reprehension, not fully recounting all accidents of them that are dead.

The Iewes eat their own girdles, shooes, the leather of their Targets, and old hay.

Chap. VIII.

Of a woman that for famine killed her sonne, and dressed him for meate.

ACertaine woman named *Mary*, dwelling beyond Iordan, the daughter of *Eleazar* of the towne of Vitezokia, which signifieth the house of *Hysope*, descended of noble and rich parentage, flying with the rest vnto Ierusalem, was there with them besieged, her other goods the tyrants had taken from her, which she had brought from beyond the riuer into the city: and whatsoeuer being hid, escaped their hands, the theeues daily came into her house and tooke it away: wherat the woman greatly moued, cursed them, and with hard speeches animated them the more against her, yet no man either for anger, or compassion would kill her, but suffred her to liue to get them meat: but now could she get no more, and famine inuaded her, with rage and anger more then danger. Wherefore by rage and necessity she was compelled to doe that which nature abhorred, and taking her son vnto whom she then gaue sucke, O miserable childe (quoth she) in warre, famine, and sedition, for which of these shall I keep thee? If thou continue among the Romans, thou shalt be made a slaue, yet famine will preuent bondage, or else sedition worse then them both. Be therefore meat for me, a terrour vnto the seditious, a tragicall story to be spoken of by posterity, and that which is onely yet vnheard of among the calamities of the Iewes. Hauing thus spoken she slew her sonne, and did seethe the one halfe of him, and ate it, the rest she reserued couered. Presently came the seditious, smelling the sent of that execrable meat, threatning presently to kill her, except she forthwith brought some of that vnto them which she had prepared. Then she answered that she had reserued a good portion thereof for them, and presently vncouered that part of her son which she had left vneaten, at which sight they trembled, and a horror fell vpon them. But the woman said, This is truely my son, and my doing, eate you of it, for I my selfe haue eaten therof. Be not more effeminate then a woman, nor more mercifull then a mother. If religion make you refuse this my sacrifice, I haue already eaten of it, and will eate the rest. Then the seditious departed hereat, onely trembling; and scarcely permitting this meat to the mother. Presently the report of this hainous crime was bruted all about the city, and euery man hauing before his eyes this execrable fact, trembled as though himselfe had done it. And now all that were vexed with this famine, hastned their owne deaths, and he was accounted happy that died before he felt this famine. This vnnaturall fact was soone after recounted vnto the Romans, and some of them would not beleeue it, others pitied them within the City, and many hereat encreased their hatred towards that nation.

The mothers speech before she slew her sonne.

The seditious challenge the meat which the desolate mother had dressed.

The calamity recounted to the Romans.

Cæsar before Almighty God protested, that he was not the cause of this, hauing offered the Iewes peace, free pardon and forgiuenes for all their offences past, and that they did rather make choice

A choice of war then peace, of ſedition then quietneſſe, of famine rather then wealth and plenty, hauing with their owne hands begun to ſet on fire the Temple, which he had preſerued for them, and that therefore ſuch like meate was fit for them, and that he would bury this abominable crime of eating their owne children in the ruines of their countrey, and that he would not in any part of the world ſuffer the Sunne to ſhine vpon ſuch a City, wherein mothers did eate their owne children, and that ſuch food did more beſeeme fathers then mothets, who for all their miſeries would not yet ceaſe from armes. Hauing thus ſpoken, he conſidered the deſperation of the enemies, and that they would not recall themſelues, who had already endured all ſuch calamities, which might if it had beene poſſible haue altred their opinions, rather then haue endured them.

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Chriſts birth, 72.

" *4 Reg. 6. Ant. li. 9. c. 4.*

CHAP. IX.

How the wall was taken, and the Temple burnt.

THE eighth day of Auguſt, two of the Roman legions hauing finiſhed their mounts, they began to place their Rammes againſt the Eaſt galleries without the Temple, hauing ſixe daies together without intermiſſion, already beaten the wall with their ſtrongeſt Rams, C and nothing preuailed, the ſtones being ſo ſtrong, that the Rams could not mooue them: others of the Romans laboured to dig vp the foundations of the porch, that was on the North ſide; and after much toile, they only could pull away the outward ſtones, and the inner ſtones did ſtill ſupport the porch. At laſt the Romans ſeeing themſelues not preuaile by their iauelins and other inſtruments, they ſet ladders to aſcend into the galleries. The Iewes did not greatly labour to hinder them from getting vp: but when they were within the galleries, then they came and fought with them, and caſt ſome of them downe headlong, forcing them to retire; others they ſlew that ſtood in it; and others that were vpon the ladders going down, before they could defend themſelues with their ſhields, were with ſwords ſtricken down, and they alſo thruſt downe ſome ladders full of armed men. So that there was a great maſſacre of the Romanes, ſome fighting for D their enſignes, which the Iewes had taken from them, eſteeming the loſſe thereof a great ſhame vnto them. At laſt the Iewes got their ancients, and ſlew them that came vp to reſcue them; and the reſt terrified with their deaths that were ſlaine, went down againe, and no one of the Romans died, who before he was ſlain did not ſome valiant act; and thoſe ſeditious people that in the former battels did ſhew themſelues valiant, did now alſo fight valiantly, and beſide them *Eleazar*, ſon vnto the tyrant the brother of *Simon*. Then *Titus* perceiuing that he ſpared the Temple of the Iewes to his loſſe, and to the death of his ſouldiers, he commanded fire to be put to the Temple gates: preſently *Ananus* of Emmaus the moſt cruell of all *Simons* followers, and *Archelaus* the ſon of *Magadatus*, fled vnto *Titus*; who, for their cruelties committed, determined to put them to death: yet they hoped for pardon, for that they had now forſaken the Iewes when they had got-E ten the better hand. But *Titus* affirmed they came not of good will, but for neceſſity, and that they did not deſerue to liue forſaking their country now ſet on fire for their offences: yet his promiſe bridled his wrath, and he diſmiſſed them, but they were not ſo much eſteemed as the reſt. The Roman ſouldiers did now put fire vnto the Temple doores: and the ſiluer plate wherewith they were couered being molten, the flame quickly fired the wood, and encreaſing, tooke hold preſently on the next porch. The Iewes ſeeing themſelues inuironed with flames, were now altogether diſcouraged, and their ſtrength failed them, and being amazed no man ſought to extinguiſh the flame, and ſo they ſtood ſtill beholding the fire, yet not lamenting that which was ſet on fire, more then deſiring to ſaue the reſt: and ſo that day and all the next night the fire encreaſed, for the porches were burnt by little and little, and not all at one.

The Iewes ouercome the Romans, and ſeize their enſignes.

Two of Simõs guard reuolt from him.

Titus promiſe reſtraineth his wrath.

None of the Iewes goeth about to extinguiſh the fire.

F The next day *Titus* cauſed part of his army to quench the fire: and calling vnto him his Captaines, and ſixe that were the chiefeſt among them, to wit, *Tiberius Alexander* Generall of the whole army, *Sextus Cerealis* Commander of the fift legion, *Largius Lepidus* of the tenth, *Titus Frigius* of the fifteenth, with whom alſo was *Aeternius Fronto* Commander of the two legions that came from Alexandria, and *Marcus Antonius Iulianus* Gouernour of Iudæa, and with them the Colonels and Captains, he deliberated with them what was to be done concerning the Temple. Some counſelled to vſe the cuſtome of warres, for that the Iewes would neuer liue peaceably their Temple ſtanding; all their nation whereſoeuer liuing, aſſembling themſelues thither at

Titus calleth the chieftains before him.

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Christs Nativitie, 72.

certaine times. Others perſwaded *Titus*, that if ſo be the Iewes yeelded their Temple, and fought not for it, then to ſaue it: but if they fought for it, to burne it: for now it ſeemed a caſtle and not a Temple: and if any man were offended hereat, it ſhould not be imputed to the Romanes or to their Generall, but to the Iews who conſtrained them to do it; and he offended not, they forcing him to fire it. But *Titus* affirmed, that although the Iewes fought for their Temple being men without conſcience, yet it ſhould not be deſtroied: for he would not ſo be reuenged of their iniquities: neither would he euer fire ſo goodly a building; for ſo it would redound to the loſſe of the Romans; as alſo it would be a credit vnto them, if it were left remaining. And now *Alexander*, *Fronto*, and *Cerealis*, perceiuing *Cæſars* mind, were of his opinion, and ſo he diſmiſſed the conuocation, and commanded the ſouldiers and Captaines to reſt, that they might be more able to fight when need required: and preſently he appointed certaine choſen men to make the wayes euen, and eaſie for the army to paſſe by the ruines, commanding them to quench the fire; and that day the Iewes being fearefull and weary did make no reſiſtance. The day following taking heart and aſſembled together, they aſſaulted the watchmen that kept without the Temple, the ſecond houre of the day. The Romanes valiantly reſiſted their firſt aſſault, ſo defending themſelues with their ſhields as though they had a wall before them; yet ſure it was that they would not long abide, for that they were fewer in number then their enemies, and not ſo deſperate as they were. Then *Cæſar* before his men retired (beholding the fight from Antonia) with certaine choſen horſmen came to ſuccour them: whoſe force the Iewes not ſuſtaining, but the firſt of them being ſlaine, the reſt fled: and the Romans departing, they returned, and fought againſt them; and when the Romans returned againe, preſently they fled, till about the fift houre of the day, the Iewes were forced to betake themſelues into the Temple, and there they were ſhut vp. Then *Titus* returned into Antonia, purpoſing the next day to aſſault them with all his army, and win the Temple. But the ſentence of God had already determined, that it ſhould be conſumed with fire: and now the fatall day was come after many yeeres, which was the tench of Auguſt: vpon which day alſo, the King of Babylon did once before fire it, yet was it now firſt ſet a fire by our owne countrimen, who were indeed the cauſe thereof. For the ſeditious being quiet till *Titus* was departed, then againe they aſſaulted the Romans, and ſo fought with the guard that were without the Temple, labouring to extinguiſh the flame; who putting the Iewes to flight, came vnto the Temple.

Titus counſel as concerning the temple.

Titus with his choſen horſemen, cõmeth to reſcue the Romans.

The temple was burnt by the Romans the tenth of the moneth of Auguſt, on which day beforetime it was burned by the King of Babylon.

CHAP. X.

How the Temple was burnt againſt the will of TITVS.

THen a certaine ſouldier, who expected no command, nor feared to do ſo execrable a fact, moued with ſome diuine fury, and lifted vp by his fellow, took in his hand a flaming firebrand, and caſt it into the golden gate which entred into the roomes on the North part of the Temple, and the flame preſently aroſe: which cauſed a great cry amongſt the Iewes, expreſſing their calamity, and euery one haſted to extinguiſh the fire; now neither accounting of their liues nor forces, hauing loſt that for which they ſo fought. Newes hereof was preſently brought vnto *Titus*, by one who came from the fight, who then was reſting in his tabernacle, and he preſently aroſe and ran vnto the Temple to hinder the fire, and all the Captaines after him; whereat the ſouldiers being terrified followed, and there aroſe a great cry and tumult in that army being vnordered. *Cæſar* both with voice and hand made a ſigne vnto the ſouldiers, that were fighting, to quench the fire. But they did not heare him, there was ſo great a noyſe, neither did they perceiue the ſigne he had made vnto them with his hand, becauſe that ſome were diſtracted with fight, others with anger: and the ſouldiers iſſued in, not reſtrained either by commands or threatnings, but euery one went whither fury carried him: and thronging together at the entrance, many preſſed one another to death; and many being amongſt the fiery ruines of the galleries, periſhed as miſerably as thoſe that were ouercome. When they came vnto the Temple, euery one counterfeited himſelfe not to heare *Cæſars* command, and ſo exhorted his fellowes that were before him to fire the Temple. The ſeditious now had no hope to withſtand them, but either fled or were ſlaine; and many vnarmed and vnable people, whereſoeuer they were found, were ſlaine: ſo that about the altar was an innumerable company of dead bodies heaped together, and their blood flowed down the Temple ſtaires; & their bodies that there were

A ſouldier contrary to Cæſars will burned the temple.

The burning of the temple. Great ſlaughter in the temple.

A were ſlaine rouled downe, *Cæſar* ſeeing he could not reſtraine the fury of the mad-braine ſouldiers, and that the fire encreaſed, entred into the Temple with his Nobles, and beheld all the holy things there, and whatſoeuer elſe was there, farre ſurpaſſing all report which ſtrangers had giuen of it, and equall to the report which the Iewes made of it. And the flame not hauing yet pearced into the inner part of the Temple, nor yet conſumed the houſes and roomes about it, he deemed that as yet it might be preſerued: wherefore himſelfe came and entreated the ſouldiers to extinguiſh the fire: commanding *Liberalis* the Centurion of his guard to beate thoſe with a trunchion that would not be obedient, and driue them away. But their fury and the rage of warre, and the hatred they bare againſt the Iewes, ouercame in them all *Cæſars* commands, and feare of them
B that forbade them. Many were incited ſo to doe, hoping of ſome bootie, thinking that all the Temple within was full of money, becauſe they ſaw the gates of gold. Moreouer, a certaine ſouldier, when *Cæſar* ſought to quench the flame, fired the poſtes about the doores: and preſently the flame appearing within, *Cæſar* and the Captaines departed, and ſo euery one ſtood looking vpon it, and no man ſought to extinguiſh it. Thus the Temple was burnt againſt *Titus* his will. And although euery man will iudge it a lamentable caſe, in ſuch a building ſurpaſſing all that euer was ſeene or heard of, both in greatneſſe, workmanſhip, coſtlineſſe and plenty of all things; in this yet we may comfort our ſelues, in that the deſtinies had ſo determined. For neither liuing creatures, nor places, nor buildings can auoyd their deſtiny. One may alſo admire the exact and iuſt reuolution of time: for it was now deſtroyed in the ſame moneth, and on the ſame day that
C the Babylonians firſt deſtroyed it: and from that time that *Salomon* began the firſt Temple, vnto the deſtruction of the ſecond Temple, which hapned the ſecond yeere of *Veſpaſians* raigne, were a thouſand a hundreth and thirty yeeres, ſeuen moneths, and fifteene daies: and from the building of the latter Temple which *Aggæus* built in the ſecond yeere of the raigne of King *Cyrus*, vnto the deſtruction thereof now in *Veſpaſians* raigne, were ſixe hundreth thirty nine yeeres and fiue and forty dayes.

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Chriſts birth, 72.

Titus ſtriueth to ſaue the inward Temple.

How many yeeres there were between the firſt building of the Temple vnder king Salomon and the deſtruction vnder Titus.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Prieſts: the Treaſure-houſe: and the Porch.

D WHEN the Temple was thus conſumed with fire, whatſoeuer the ſouldiers found therein, they carried away, and put all to the ſword that were in it, which was an infinite number: neither did they ſhew any pity to old age, or infants: but old, young, Prieſts and common people, all were ſlaine without reſpect, and all ſorts of people taſted the calamitie of warre, whether they reſiſted, or intreated for mercy. And now the flame encreaſed, which grieued euen them that were yeelding vp the ghoſt: and by reaſon of the height of the hill, and the building together, one would haue thought the whole City had beene on fire. Then a moſt lamentable cry was raiſed betweene the Romane legions, and the ſeditious now inuironed with fire and ſword, and of the people that were taken in the higher part of the Citie,
E and had fled vnto the Romanes, lamenting their calamitie; and they of the Citie anſwered the teares and cries of them in the hill, and many whoſe eyes death by famine had already clozed, tooke ſtrength awhile to bewaile the Temple, which they now opening their eyes beheld on fire. The countrey beyond Iordan, and the mountaines about did eccho with their laments: and yet the calamitie ſurpaſſed that tumult. For one would haue iudged the hill whereon the Temple was ſituate, to haue beene burnt vp by the rootes, it was ſo full of fire: Yet multitude of blood there ſhed ſurpaſſed the fire. Many that were ſlaine were couered with them that ſlew them, and all the ground was ouerſpred with dead bodies, ſo that the ſouldiers ranne vpon the dead bodies to purſue them that fledde. At laſt the theeues hauing driuen the Romanes without the Temple, they ranne into the Citie; and the reſt of the people that were left, fled
F into the outward porch. And many of the Prieſts firſt vſed ſpits, and then their ſeates made of lead, in ſtead of darts againſt the Romanes; at laſt, nothing at all preuailing, and the fire falling vpon them, they went vnto a wall eight cubits broad, and there ſtayed. Yet two of the Nobles, when they might either haue fled vnto the Romans, and there haue beene ſaued, or elſe haue endured like fortune with the reſt, they notwithſtanding caſt themſelues into the fire, and ſo were burnt with the Temple: one of them was named *Meierus* the ſon of *Belga*, the other *Ioſeph* the ſonne of *Dalæus*.

The cry and howling of the murthered Iewes.

The Temple filled with fire and blood.

Two Noble men caſt themſelues into the fire.

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Christs Natiuitie, 72.

The Romans thought it in vaine to ſpare the buildings about the Temple, ſeeing the Temple was already conſumed, and ſo ſet fire on them all, the porches, galleries and gates; two onely excepted, one on the Eaſt ſide, and the other on the South ſide, both which afterward they razed vnto the ground: they burnt alſo certaine cheſts called Gazophylacia, or money boxes, wherein was great ſtore of coine, and rich garments, and other precious things, and indeed all the Iewes treaſure, for the richeſt of the Citie had brought all their wealth thither. There came into the porch that was left ſtanding, many men, women, and children, to the number of ſixe thouſand. And before *Cæſar* and the Captaines did determine any thing what ſhould bee done with them, the furious ſouldiers fired the porch wherein they were, and ſo they all periſhed in the flames; ſaue a few, that leaping downe to auoide the fire, were ſlaine in the fall, ſo that no one eſcaped of all that multitude. A certaine falſe prophet was cauſe of all their deaths, who the ſame day preached in the Citie, and commanded them to goe into the Temple, and behold ſignes of their deliuerance: for many falſe prophets were then ſuborned by the tyrants, to perſwade them to expect Gods helpe, thereby to hinder them from flying to the Romans, and to cauſe the ſouldiers to fight more valiantly to defend their Citie. Men eaſily beleeue and are credulous in aduerſity, ſo that if any deceitfull perſon promiſe deliuerance out of Calamity, he that ſuffereth miſery, is full of hope thereof.

Six thouſand in the porch conſumed by fire.

Falſe prophets ſuborned by the ſeditious.

CHAP. XII.

Of the ſtrange ſignes and tokens that appeared before the deſtruction of Ieruſalem.

The blindnes of the people.

THeſe miſerable people were thus eaſily perſwaded by impoſtors who did belie God, yet would they not beleeue, nor giue any eare or regard vnto certaine tokens, and ſignes of the ruine of their city: but as it were blinded, neither hauing eyes nor ſoules, they counterfeited themſelues not to ſee what God foreſhewed them. One while there was a Comet in forme of a fiery ſword, which for a yeere together did hang ouer the city: another time before the firſt reuolt and warre, the people being gathered together to the feaſt of vnleauened bread (which was the eighth day of April) the ninth houre of the night, there was ſo much light about the Altar and Temple, as though it had bin bright day, which remained halfe an houre: this the ignorant people interpreted as a good ſigne; but they that were skilfull in holy Scripture, did preſently iudge, what would enſue before it came to paſſe. The ſame feſtiuity, a Cow led to be ſacrificed at the Altar, brought forth a lambe in the midſt of the Temple: and the Inner gate of the Temple on the Eaſt ſide being of maſſiue braſſe, which at night time had alwaies at leaſt 20. men to ſhut it, and was bound with locks of iron, and was barred with barres, the ends whereof went into morteis holes in the ſtones on either ſide the doore (the foreſaid ſtones being on each ſide, one whole ſtone) was ſeene at the firſt houre of the night to open of his owne accord: which being preſently related vnto the Magiſtrate by the keepers of the Temple, hee himſelfe came thither and could ſcarcely ſhut it, and this alſo to the ignorant ſeemed a good ſigne, affirming that God opened vnto them the gate of his bleſſings: but the wiſer ſort iudged that the defence of the Temple would decay of his owne accord, and that the opening of the gate foretold, that it ſhould be giuen to the enemies, affirming one vnto another that this ſigne ſignified deſolation. A little while after the feaſt daies, on the 21. day of May there was ſeene a viſion beyond all beliefe, and perhaps that which I am to recount might ſeeme a fable, if ſome were not now aliue that beheld it, and that calamity worthy to bee ſo foretold enſued: for before the ſunne ſet, were ſeene in the ayre iron Chariots all ouer the countrey, and an army in battell aray paſſing along in the clowds, and begirting the Citie. And vpon the feaſt day called Pentecoſt, at night the Prieſts going into the inner Temple to offer their wonted ſacrifice, at firſt felt the place to moue and tremble, and afterward they heard a voice which ſaid, Let vs depart hence. And that which was moſt wonderfull of all, one *Ieſus* the ſonne of *Ananus* a countrey man of the common people, foure yeeres before the warres began, when the Citie flouriſhed in peace and riches, comming to the celebration of the feaſt to Ieruſalem, which we call the feaſt of Tabernacles, ſuddenly began to cry out thus; A voyce from the Eaſt: A voyce from the Weſt: A voice from the foure winds: A voyce againſt Ieruſalem and the Temple: A voyce against men and women newly married: A voyce againſt all this people: and thus crying night and day, he went about all the ſtreets of the Citie.

A comet like vnto a ſword.

The ſecond prodigie was, that a bright light ſhined about the Altar and Temple by night.

The third prodigie was a Cow that brought forth a lambe in the midſt of the Temple.

The fourth the brazen gate of the Temple opened it ſelfe.

The fifth, armd chariots and men ſeene in the ayre.

The ſixt, a voyce in the inward Temple.

The ſeuenth prodigie, Ieſus a countrey mans cry and death.

Some

A Some of the Nobility diſdaining misfortune, took him and ſcourged him with many ſtripes: but he, neither ſecretly ſpeaking for himſelfe, nor to thoſe that did beat him, perſeuered crying as before. The Magiſtrates then thinking (as indeed it was) that the man ſpake this through ſome diuine motion, led him vnto the Generall of the Romans, where being beaten till his bones appeared, he neuer intreated nor wept, but as well as he could, framing a weeping voice he cried, Wo, wo vnto Ieruſalem. *Albinus* (being then Iudge) asked him what he was, or of whence, or wherefore he ſaid ſo, but he made him no anſwer. Yet hee ceaſed not to bewaile the miſery of Ieruſalem, vntill *Albinus*, thinking him to be out of his wits, ſuffred him to depart. This man euen vntill the time of warre neuer went to any Citizen, nor was ſeene ſpeake to any one: but ſtill as it were B ſtudying of ſome ſpeech, he cryed, Wo, wo vnto Ieruſalem. Neither did he euer curſe any one, though euery day one or other did beate him; nor thanke any one that offred him meat. All that he ſpake vnto any man was this heauy prophecy. Hee went crying as is aforeſaid, chiefely vpon holy-dayes, ſo doing continually for the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres and fiue moneths, his voyce neuer waxed hoarſe nor weary, till in the time of the ſiege, beholding what hee foretold them, hee ceaſed, and then once againe vpon the wals going about the city, with a loud voyce he cried, Wo, wo to the City, Temple and people: and laſtly he ſaid, Wo alſo to my ſelfe. Which words were no ſooner vttered, but a ſtone ſhot out of an engine ſmote him, and ſo hee yeelded vp the ghoſt, lamenting them all.

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Ieſus for ſeuen yeeres ſpace and fiue moneths cried about the Citie.

A ſtone ſhot from an engine killeth Ieſus.

If any one do diligently conſider all theſe, he ſhall finde that God hath a care of mankind, and C doth euery way foreſhew betime, what is moſt expedient for them, and they through their owne madnes, to haue voluntarily periſhed in their wickedneſſe. For the Iewes, when the Caſtle Antonia was taken, made the Temple foure-ſquare: notwithſtanding that it was written in the holy Scripture, that the City and Temple ſhould be taken, when the Temple was made foure-ſquare. But that which chiefely incited them to war, was the doubtfull prophecy likewiſe found in the holy Scriptures: That at the ſame time one in their dominions ſhould be Monarch of the whole world; and many wiſemen were deceiued in this interpretation, making account that hee ſhould be one of their owne nation, yet indeed thereby was foretold *Veſpaſians* Empire. But men cannot preuent deſtiny, though they foreſee it. Thus the Iewes interpreted ſome of the ſignes as they pleaſed, and at others they laughed, till by the ruine of their countrey, and their owne wofull D ouerthrow, their iniquity appeared.

The Iewes interpreting the ſignes to their owne good liking, are their Countries ruine, and the cauſe of their owne calamity.

CHAP. XIII.

How TITVS *was made Emperour: and of the death of the Prieſts.*

AFter the ſeditious were fled into the City, all the Temple and places thereabout being ſet on fire, the Romans placing their Enſignes in the Temple ouer againſt the Eaſt gate: and there celebrating ſacrifice, with great cries declared *Titus* Emperor, and the Romans got many preyes and booties, that they ſold gold in Syria for halfe the valew. And among thoſe E Prieſts that kept on the wall, a child being thirſty, deſired peace of the Romane watchmen, ſaying, that he was thirſty. So they, pitying both his yeeres and his need, gaue him their hands that hee ſhould haue no harme, and then hee came downe and drunke, and filled a bottle which hee brought with him: and when hee had done, hee ranne vp againe to his fellowes, and none of the watchmen were able to ouertake him, and they vpbraided him with falſhood. But he anſwered, that he had done nothing, but that which he and they intended: for they did not giue him their hands to ſecure him to remaine with them, but onely to come downe and take water, which hee had done. The Romane watchmen greatly admired the ſubtilty of him that was but a childe. The fift day, the Prieſts being almoſt famiſhed came downe, and the watchmen carried them to *Titus*, whom they beſought to grant them their liues. But he anſwered them, that the time of par- F don was paſt, ſeeing that was deſtroyed, for the which he might haue pardoned them, and that it was meet that the Prieſts ſhould periſh with the Temple: and ſo he commanded them to be put to death. Then the tyrants with their followers being on euery ſide beſet with wars, and hauing no way to flee, they being thus beleagured round, requeſted to parley with *Titus*; who for his naturall meekneſſe, his friends alſo perſwading him thereto, thought at leaſt to ſaue the Citie (iudging indeed that now the ſeditious had already their minds) and ſo he ſtood in the Weſt part of the inner Temple: for there was a gate built aboue a gallery, and a bridge that ioyned the Temple

Gold was ſold for halfe the price.

The craft of a boy.

The Prieſts craue pardon, but Titus commands them to be led to execution.

The ſeditious ſummon Titus to a parley.

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Temple and Citie together, which was then betweene *Titus* and the tyrants. Many ſouldiers on both parts flocked about their Rulers; the Iewes about *Simon* and *Iohn*, hoping for pardon: the Romans about *Titus*, deſirous what he would ſay vnto them: and *Titus* by an Edict commanding the ſouldiers to be quiet, and to ſhoot no arrowes, ſpake vnto them firſt by an Interpreter, thereby ſhewing that he had the vpper hand, and ſaid, O ye men of Ieruſalem, are ye not now glutted with the calamities of your countrey? Neither calling to minde our power, nor your owne infirmity, but with a raſh fury haue deſtroyed your people, City and Temple: your ſelues alſo hauing iuſtly deſerued to periſh; who, ſince *Pompey* firſt conquered you, haue neuer ceaſed to be ſeditious, and at laſt, haue openly borne armes againſt the Romans. Did you truſt vnto your multitude? You haue ſeene that a ſmall parcell of the Romans army hath ſufficiently reſiſted you. Or did you expect forraine aid? What nation is not vnder our dominion? and who would rather make choyce of the Iewes then of the Romans? Did you truſt in your ſtrength of body? why, you know the Germanes ſerue vs. Or in the ſtrength of your walles? what wall, or what greater hinderance then the Ocean, wherewith the Britaines inuironed, haue yeelded vnto the Roman forces? Or to your courage, and politike counſell of your captaines? You haue already heard that the Carthaginians haue beene by vs ſurprized. It was therefore the Romans humanity that incited you againſt themſelues, who firſt of all permitted you to poſſeſſe your countrey, and gaue you Kings of your owne nation: and after all this, we kept your lawes inuiolate, and ſuffred you to liue as your ſelues deſired, not onely in your owne countrey, but alſo amongſt other nations; and which is the greateſt of all our benefits beſtowed vpon you, we permitted you to gather tribute and gifts to the maintenance of your Temple and ſacrifices to God; of all which, we neither forbad any to be brought vnto you, neither hindered any that would offer vnto your Temple, but ſuffred you our enemies to bee made richer then our ſelues, ſo that you haue vſed our owne money againſt vs. Wherefore, hauing receiued ſo many benefits at our hands, you haue now diſgorged your ſelues vpon vs, and like ſpitefull ſerpents, ſpet your poiſon vpon them that made much of you. Let vs omit that by *Nero* his negligence you became forgetfull of your duty, and like ſome member in the body broken or ſhrunke, you being ſtill tumultuous, at laſt were taken in a greater offence, and were incouraged with immoderate deſires to hope for vnlawfull liberty. My father came into your countrey, not to puniſh you for your miſdemeanor toward *Ceſtius*, but by good counſell and warning to reprehend and quiet yon. And whereas if he had come to deſtroy your nation, he ought firſt to haue cut downe the very roote, and to haue come vnto this city and deſtroyed it, with the inhabitants: he rather choſe firſt to waſte Galilea, and the places adioyning, that in the meane time you might repent you, and conſider of your eſtate. But this his mercy towards you was held for cowardlineſſe and infirmity in him, and by our long ſuffering, you were emboldned againſt vs: and when *Nero* was dead, you did as treacherous ſubiects are wont to do, taking occaſion by our ciuill diſſention, to reuolt from vs: and whileſt my father and I were gone into Egypt, you prepared your ſelues to war againſt vs: neither were you aſhamed to trouble them that were deſigned Princes, whom notwithſtanding you had found moſt gentle Captaines vnto you. At laſt, when the Empire fell vnto vs, and all things being now quieted, all nations with gifts and preſents came to congratulate vs: behold againe, the Iewes ſhewed themſelues our enemies, and you ſent an Embaſſador beyond Euphrates, onely to nouriſh your rebellion, walling and fortifying your townes anew: and contending like ſeditious and tyrants one with another, ſet abroach ciuill warres: all which, none but impious people would haue committed. Wherefore being commanded by my father, who was now vrged thereunto, I came againſt this city with a heauy charge; yet did I reioyce when I heard that the people deſired peace. Before I warred againſt you, I exhorted you to peace: after war was begun, I deſiſted awhile from vſing ſeuerity: I ſpared all them that of their owne accord fled vnto mee, and kept my promiſe vnto them, pitying thoſe that were captiues. I with ſtrokes reſtrained them that haſted the war againſt you againſt my will; and euen forced ſo to do, I ſet the Romans againſt your wals, and alwaies reſtrained my ſouldiers ſo much deſirous of your blood. As often as I ouercame you, ſo often did I exhort you to peace, as though I had beene vanquiſhed. Againe; when I approached vnto the Temple, I (willingly omitting the law of armes) requeſted you to ſpare both it and the holy things, offering you leaue to depart, and promiſing you ſafety, or licencing you to fight another time in another place, if ſo you thought good. All theſe my offers you refuſed, and with your owne hands fired your Temple. And now you wicked wretches vrge me to a parlee. What thing can you now preſerue ſo excellent, as that which is already periſhed? What pardon can you

Titus oration to the Iewes by an interpreter.

The Romans humanity incited the Iewes againſt them.

G H I K L M

A you expect, seeing your temple is destroied? nay, euen now you stand armed, not so much as counterfeiting submission in the last cast. O wretches, with what hope? Is not your people dead, is not your temple destroied, and your city now in my hands, yea, your liues also? But do you thinke death the renowne of fortitude? I will not striue with your obstinacy: yet if you will cast downe your weapons, and yeeld your bodies, I will spare your liues: And like as in a priuate house I will shew my selfe vnto you a gentle master; and after I haue punished that which otherwise is incurable, I will reserue the rest for my selfe.

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Titus grants the Iewes life, on condition they should lay aside their weapons, and submit themselues.

To this they answered, that they could not receiue pardon at his hands, hauing vowed the contrary: wherefore they requested licence to depart with their wiues and children by the camp,
B which he had enuironed with a wall, and so to goe into the wildernes, and leaue the City to the Romans. *Titus* was hereat greatly enraged, that they being in a manner captiues, should impose vpon him conditions, as though they were victors; and commanded a crier to tell them, that henceforth they should not flee vnto him, nor hope that he would pardon them: for he would spare nothing, willing them with all their forces to fight and saue themselues as they could, for he would now in all things vse the law of armes: and so he permitted the souldiers to sacke the City and set it on fire. And that day they did nothing: but the next day following, they fired the councell-house, the palace Acra, and Ophla, and the fire came vnto Queene *Helens* palace, which was situate in the midst of Acra: also the houses and streets of the city full of dead bodies were set on fire. The same day, the sons and brethren of King *Izates*, and with them many nobles
C of the people, assembled together, besought *Cæsar* to pardon them: and he, though incensed against them all, yet not changing his maner, receiued them to mercy, and put them all in prison, and afterward carried them bound to Rome for hostages, that were the kings sons and kinsmen.

The souldiers set the city on fire.

Cæsar constant in his resolution.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of the prey of the seditious, and the burning of the inner part of the Citie.

D THe seditious went vnto the kings palace, where many had left all their wealth, because it was a strong place: and driuing the Romans from thence, they slew all the people there assembled, amounting to the number of 8000, and 400. and carried away all the mony, and they tooke there two Roman souldiers aliue, one a horseman, and another a footman; & they slue the footman, & drew him all along the city, as it were in the body of that one, reuenging themselues vpon all the Romaes. But the horseman affirmed that he had something to say vnto them, which would greatly profit them, and saue their liues: who was carried to *Simon*; and not hauing there any thing to say, *Simon* deliuered him to one of his captaines called *Ardala* to be slaine, and he brought him where the Romans might behold him with his hands bound behind him, & a veile before his eies, meaning there to behead him: but he, whil'st the Iew drew out
E his sword, fled to the Romans. And *Titus* would not put him to death, because he had escaped from the enemies: yet deeming him vnworthy to be a Roman souldier, who suffred himselfe to be taken aliue, he tooke from him his armes, and discharged him from bearing them any more, which to a wise man was worse then death. The next day, the Romans putting the seditious to flight that were in the lower city, they fired al vnto Siloa, reioycing that the town was destroied: yet they got no booties, because the seditious had already robbed and spoiled all, and carried it into the higher city. For they nothing repented them of their wickednes, but were as arrogant as though they had beene in prosperity: so that they with ioy beheld the city on fire, affirming that they desired death; for that the people being slaine, the temple destroied, and the city on fire, they should leaue nothing to their enemies. Yet *Ioseph* in that extremity laboured to saue
F the relicks of the city, much inueighing against their cruelty, and earnestly exhorting them to saue themselues: yet he nothing profited in all this, but was derided for his labor: for neither would they yeeld to the Romans for their oaths sake, neither were they able to fight with the Romans, being now as it were besieged round by them; yet their accustomed murders did encourage them to stand out.

The seditious resorting to the kings house take away the treasure.

The punishment of a Roman souldier taken by the Iewes.

The Iewes are arrogant in midst of their calamity.

The Iewes refuse to submit themselues to the Romans, yet are they vnable to wage warre with them.

Thus dispersed all ouer the City, they lurked in the ruines, lying in wait for those that sought to flee vnto the Romans, and many of them were taken, and all of them were slaine; for famine had so weakned them, that they could not flee, and they cast their dead bodies to dogs. And any death

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death were easie in respect of famine. So that many fled vnto the Romanes, hauing no promise, G no nor hope to be pardoned by them, and vpon purpose fell into the hands of the seditious, who neuer ceased from murther: and now there was no place in the whole Citie voide, but was fild with dead bodies, who either perished by famine or sedition. But the tyrants and factious theeues put their last refuge in the vaults, where they hoped whatsoeuer hapned to saue themselues, hoping that there they could not bee found, and so after the Citie was destroyed, to escape, which was onely their vaine fantasie. For they could neither be hid from God nor the Romanes: yet at that time they trusted in those caues, from whence they fired the Citie more then the Romanes, and cruelly murdred them, that hauing escaped the flames, came and fled into secret places, and spoyled them: also if they in any place found any meat, though all bloody, H yet they tooke it, and did eate it, and now one of them began to fight with another about the spoyle they got. And I verily perswade my selfe, that had they not beene preuented by the destruction of the Citie, their crueltie would haue beene such, that they would haue eaten the bodies of dead men.

The tyrants vttermost hope was in their vaults.

Rapine and slaughter in the vaults.

CHAP. XV.

How the higher part of the Citie was assaulted: and how some of the Iewes fled vnto TITVS.

I

CÆSAR, perceiuing that the higher part of the Citie would not be won without mounts, being situate in a soile, round about the which were high and deep places, on the twentith day of August, he set al his souldiers on work, and the carrying of wood for that purpose was very painfull: all trees within 100. furlongs off the Citie were already cut downe, and vsed in the former worke, as is before said. So the foure legions raised a mount on the West side of the Citie, and all the rest made a mount against the porch, bridge and tower, which *Simon* during his warres with *Iohn* had built. About this time, the Captaines of the Idumæans assembling together, deliberated to yeeld themselues, and sent fiue of their company to *Titus*, beseeching him to confirme a peace vnto them: and he hoping that the tyrant would yeeld after them, who were the greatest part of his army, with much adoe granted them life, and so sent them to their K fellowes: but *Simon* had notice of their departure, and presently slew those fiue that were sent vnto *Titus*, and taking the Captaines (the noblest of whom was *Iames*, the sonne of *Sosa*) he put them in prison, and also kept and guarded the Idumæans, who now hauing no Gouernors, knew not what to doe, yet the guard could not hinder them from fleeing: for although many of them were kild, yet diuers fled and escaped, and were all receiued by the Romanes; *Titus* courtesie being such, as that he remembred not his former Edict to the contrary, and now the souldiers hoping for gaine, and hauing already gotten sufficient, abstained from murthers: for leauing only the common people, they sold the rest with their wiues and children for a small price, many being exposed to sale, and few comming to buy them: so that he hauing made an Edict that none should flee vnto him alone, intending thereby to bring their families with them, yet he now re- L ceiued them also, appointing some to enquire who had deserued punishment, and to inflict it on them. And an infinite number was sold, and more then 40000 of the people were saued, whom the Emperour dismissed, and permitted to goe whither they pleased. The same time a certaine Priest, the sonne of *Thebathus*, named *Iesus*, was promised pardon, on condition he should deliuer certaine holy things giuen to the Temple: and so he came and brought out of a wall two candlesticks, like to them that were in the Temple, tables, goblets, cups, all made of solid and massiue gold: also the veile and the ornaments of the Priests, and the precious stones about them, and many vessels made for sacrifice. Moreouer, the Keeper of the holy Treasure, called *Phineas*, brought forth the garments, and all things that did belong to the Priests, and much purple and scarlet, which were laid vp in store, to make tapestry or hangings, among which M also was some Cinamon, Cassia, and many other odoriferous things, whereof were compounded sweet odours to be offered to God. He also deliuered him much wealth of other mens, and much Sacred Treasure: for the which, notwithstanding he was taken by force, yet he was pardoned, as they were that fled vnto *Cæsar*.

The Idumæans consult in their assembly about their submission.

Fortie thousand of the people saued. Iesus a Priest, the sonne of Thebathus.

Phineas, the Treasurer of the Temple taken.

CHAP.

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CHAP. XVI.

How the reſt of the Citie was taken.

THE ſeuenth day of September, the mounts being finiſhed, which was the eighteenth day after they were begun, ſome of the Romanes placed their Rams and Engines to batter them; and ſome of the ſeditious, who now deſpaired to keepe the Citie, left the wals, and fled into Acra, others hid themſelues in certaine vaults, and many hindred the Romans, and reſiſted them for placing their Rams againſt the walles, who were ouercome by them, being both more in number then they were, and alſo ſtronger and more valiant. The Iewes being now all diſcouraged and ſorrowfull, ſo ſoone as any part of the wall was broken downe, or ſhaken with the force of the Rams, ſtraightwaies fled, and now the tyrants were ſurprized with a greater feare then needed. For euen before ſuch time as the enemies had entred the wall, they ſtood in doubt whether they might flee or no: and they who a little before were proud and arrogant malefactors, did now tremble and quake, ſo that it was pitifull to ſee ſuch a change in them, though they were wicked perſons. And they endeuoured to aſſaile the wall that *Titus* had built to compaſſe the whole Citie withall: but ſeeing themſelues forſaken of all thoſe that were wont to be truſty vnto them, euery one fled whither neceſſitie did driue him. Preſently newes were brought them that all the Weſt wall of the Citie was beaten downe, others affirmed that the Romans had entred, and that they had ſeene the enemies in the towers, feare dazeling their eyes: and proſtrate on the ground, they bewayled their misfortune; and as though they had beene lame, they ſtood ſtill, and ſought not to flee. From whence one may chiefly perceiue Gods Iuſtice toward the impious, and the Romanes fortune: for the tyrants depriued themſelues of their ſtrong holds, and voluntarily departed out of their towers, wherein they could neuer haue beene taken but by famine: and the Romans, hauing ſo much labored at the lower wals, did now by fortune take theſe, which their engines could neuer haue ſhaken, for there were 3. inexpugnable towers that could not be battered with the engines, whereof before we haue made mention. So the tyrants hauing forſaken theſe, or rather being by Gods will driuen from hence, preſently they fled vnto the valley Siloa; after the feare was paſt, they againe tooke heart, and went vnto the wall that was in that place: yet not vſing ſuch courage and violence as their need required, they were beaten by the watchmen that guarded it; their ſtrength now failing and wearied with labor, feare, famine and calamity. And ſome were driuen one way, and ſome another, and were forced to hide themſelues in vaults and ſinks. The Romans hauing obtained the wall, placed their colours in the towers, and clapping their hands, and ſinging for ioy, they cried, Victory, finding the end of the warre nothing ſo terrible as the beginning. Yet did they not beleeue that was the end, becauſe they got the wall without any bloudſhed, but admired, ſeeing no man did offer to reſiſt them. And now iſſuing into euery ſtreet, they ſlue whomſoeuer they found, without any reſpect, and fired houſes, and all the people that had fled into them, and deſtroyed many whereas they entred for to get a prey, and they found whole families dead, and houſes full of dead bodies, conſumed by famine. Thus terrified with that heauy ſight, they departed out, not taking any thing away, yet for all that they pitied not them that were left aliue, but ſlew whomſoeuer they met, whereby they filled the narrow ſtreets ſo full of dead bodies by them ſlaine, that none could paſſe that way for them: all the whole city flowed with bloud, ſo that many things ſet on fire, were quenched with the bloud of them that were ſlaine. At euening they ceaſed from killing, but all the night long the fire encreaſed: and ſo in the morning, which was the eighth day of September, all was now on fire, the city in the time of the ſiege hauing endured more miſery and calamity, then euer it receiued ioy and happineſſe from the time of the firſt foundation, notwithſtanding that they were ſo great, that all cities might iuſtly enuy it, and it no wiſe deſerued ſo to be oppreſſed with ſuch miſery, ſaue onely for that it foſtered and bred ſuch impious perſons as wrought the ouerthrow thereof.

Titus, entring into the city, amongſt the reſt admired the ſtrong holds thereof, and the rocky towers which the tyrants like madde men depriued themſelues of: and ſeeing the height, firmneſſe, bignes, and the ioyning of the ſtones together, and their breadth & height, he ſaid: Surely, God hath aſſiſted vs in the fight, and he it was that did withdraw the Iews from theſe fortreſſes. For what could mens hands and engins preuaile againſt them? And hauing ſpoke much to this effect,

Some of the ſeditious kept in Acra, the reſt in the vaults of the city.

The feare and amazement of the ſeditious.

The tyrants infeeble themſelues, and of their own accords forſake the towers, from whence by no meanes but famine they might be driuen.

The Romans enter the towne and obtaine the victory.

The houſes & families of beſt reckning, are left full of dead bodies.

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Christs birth, 72.

effect, comming with his friends, he ſet them at libertie whom the tyrants had left bound in the Caſtles: and when he deſtroyed the reſt of the Citie and walles, he left thoſe towers ſtanding as a monument of his good fortune and victory, by the which he had gained them, though vnexpugnable. The ſouldiers now being weary with killing the miſerable Iewes, and yet a great multitude remaining aliue, *Cæſar* commanded, that onely the armed Iewes and they that reſiſted ſhould be ſlaine, and the reſt left aliue. But the ſouldiers alſo killed old folkes and weake perſons, and taking all able men and luſty, they carryed them into the Temple, and ſhut them there in the place appointed for the women. *Cæſar* left one *Fronto*, a Libertine and his friend, to keepe them, giuing him alſo charge to make inquiry, who had deſerued puniſhment; who ſlew all the theeues and ſeditious, one of them bewraying another, and reſerued certaine choſen young men of large ſtature and beautifull withall for the triumph: and all the reſt that were aboue ſeuenteene yeeres old, he ſent bound into Ægypt, to be imployed in certaine workes there, as digging, deluing and manuring the fields, and to be vſed in other publike buſineſſe. *Titus* alſo ſent many of them vnto diuers Prouinces to be ſlaine in the Theaters with beaſts or ſwords: and they that were vnder ſeuenteene yeeres of age were ſold. And during the time that *Fronto* kept them, 10000 dyed for hunger; partly, for that their Keepers hating them, would not giue them any meat; partly, for that ſome refuſed meat when it was offered them. For there was now ſcarcitie of corne, by reaſon of the great multitude of the people.

These munitions of the city and defence of the tower, which the tyrants abandoned for feare, impregnable, Fortunes monument.

The old and weake Iewes are ſlaine, & the ſtrong and luſty reſerued.

Titus diſtributeth the Iewes.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the number of the captiues, and them that were ſlaine.

The number of the captiues and ſuch as dyed, during the ſiege of the Citie.

THE number of all the captiues that were taken during the whole time of warre, was 97000: and the number of all that dyed and were ſlaine during the ſiege, was 1100000, the moſt of them being Iewes by nation, but not inhabitants of that place. For being aſſembled together from all parts to the feaſt of vnleauened bread, preſently and on a ſudden they were inuironed with warre, and firſt of all a plague fell among them by reaſon of the ſtraightneſſe of the place, and immediately after, famine, worſe then it. And that the Citie was capable of ſo many men it is euident, for that *Ceſtius* before numbred them; who, deſirous to ſignifie the flouriſhing eſtate and ſtrength of Ieruſalem vnto *Nero*, who contemned our nation, requeſted the high Prieſts, that if poſſibly they could, they ſhould number all the people in their Citie: and that vpon the feaſt of Eaſter, when they killed offerings from the ninth houre of the day vntill the eleuenth (and to eate a Lambe not fewer then ten perſons were aſſembled, for it is not lawfull to feaſt alone, yea, many times twentie are in a company) they numbred 256000, and 500 oblations or lambs to be kild; ſo that if we reckon to euery lambe ten men, the number amounts to 2700000 men, all purified, whole and ſound: for it was not lawfull for any that were lepers, or had a fluxe of ſeed, nor women that had the monethly termes, to eate of that ſacrifice, nor for any ſtranger, except he came thither for Religion ſake. And this multitude was aſſembled together from other places, and was there by the prouidence of God ſhut vp as it were in a priſon. And the Citie being filled with men of warre was beſieged, that the number of them that were ſlaine, paſſed all that euer periſhed, either by any plague ſent from God, or by the meanes of men; who were partly openly ſlaine, partly taken by the Romanes: who ſearching the vaults, and opening the ſepulchres, ſpared none they met withall. There alſo were found more then 2000, whereof ſome ſlew themſelues with their owne hands, other-ſome kild by others, the reſt periſhed by famine. The ſtinke of dead bodies was ſo great, that many minding to goe and ſearch the foreſaid places, and being entred into them, were forced to retire: yet others for lucre ſake treading on the dead carcaſes, ſearched the dead bodies, if they could finde any thing: for much riches were hid in the vaults, and couetouſneſſe omitted no way to gaine. Moreouer, many were taken out from thence, whom the tyrants had bound, who euen in their extremitie ceaſed not to tyrannize: yet God plagued them both according to their deſerts: for *Iohn* being now almoſt famiſhed with his brethren in a vault, beſought the Romanes to ſaue his life. And *Simon*, hauing long ſtriuen with neceſſitie, as we ſhall hereafter make mention of, at laſt yeelded himſelfe, who was kept for the triumph; and *Iohn* was condemned to perpetuall priſon. Then they deſtroyed the walles, and fired the outward parts of the Citie.

The Romans ſearching the graues and vaults, finde much treaſure.

Iohn and Simon apprehended in the vaults.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Christs birth, 72.

A briefe History of the Citie of Ierusalem.

THVS was Ierusalem taken the second yeere of *Vespasians* raigne, on the eighth day of September, and hauing beene already fiue times before surprized, it was finally againe destroyed. First *Asochæus* King of Ægypt, and after him *Antiochus*, then *Pompey*, and after them *Herod* with *Sosius* tooke the Citie, and yet destroyed it not. But before them the King of Babylon destroyed it, when he had inioyed the same, a thousand three hundreth and threescore yeeres, eight moneths and sixe dayes after it was first built: but he that first built it, was one of the Princes of the Cananeans, in his owne language called the iust King. For he indeed was so, and therefore was the first Priest that sacrificed vnto God, and dedicating a Temple, called the Citie Solyma: but *Dauid* the King of the Iewes hauing driuen out the Cananeans, gaue it vnto his people to be inhabited, and after foure hundreth threescore foure yeeres and three moneths, it was destroyed by the Babylonians: and from King *Dauid* who was the first Iew that raigned there, vntill the time that *Titus* destroyed it, were a thousand one hundred seuentie & nine yeeres, and from the time that it was first erected vntill it was by him destroyed, were two thousand one hundred and seuentie seuen yeeres: yet neither the antiquitie nor riches, nor the fame thereof now spred all ouer the world, nor the glory of Religion did any thing profit or hinder it, from being destroyed. Such was the end of the besieging of Ierusalem. When there was none left to kill, nor any thing remaining for the souldiers to get, and that now there was nothing, against which the souldiers could shew their outrage (for they would haue spared nothing that they could haue spoyled) *Cæsar* commanded them to destroy the Citie and Temple, onely yet leauing standing certaine towers, that were more beautifull and stronger then the rest, to wit, Phasaelus, Hippicos, and Mariamme, and the wall that was on the West side; meaning there to keepe a garrison, and that they should be monuments of the Romanes vertue, who had surprized a Citie so well fortified as it appeared by them. All the rest of the Citie they so plained, that they who had not seene it before, would not beleeue that it had beene euer inhabited. This was the end of their madnesse, who were alwaies giuen vnto sedition in Ierusalem, a most worthy Citie and famous amongst all nations.

Ierusalem being fiue times spoyled, was at that time once more sackt.

The Romans wholly ruinate both the Citie and the Temple.

CHAP. XIX.

How the souldiers were rewarded.

CÆSAR determined to leaue the tenth legion for a garrison in Ierusalem, with some troupes of horsemen and other companies of footmen: and all warres being now ended, hee purposed to thanke the whole armie for their valiant acts, and reward the most couragious for their deserts. And placing a great tribunall in the middest before the campe, standing in it with the chiefe Peeres about him, from whence the whole armie might heare him, he gaue them heartie thankes for that of their good will towards him, they had patiently abode with him during those warres, praising them for their loyaltie during all the foresaid time, and that in many skirmishes they had shewed themselues valiant, and by their valour had enlarged the dominions of their countrey: likewise they had now giuen all nations to vnderstand, that neither the multitude of enemies, nor strong holds, nor greatnesse of Cities, nor rashnes, nor barbarous crueltie of their aduersaries could euer resist the forces of the Romanes, nor escape their hands; notwithstanding that in many things fortune fauoured them: adding that it was a credit for them to haue ended those warres that had continued a long time; which was all that they hoped for at their comming; and which was most glory of all vnto them, that those Captaines whom they had elected to be the Romane Emperours, were well liked and imbraced of all men, all standing to their appointment; and acknowledging themselues beholding to them that elected them. Moreouer, that he admired them and loued them all, for that euery one shewed himselfe valiant and couragious: affirming that he would now recompence those with honours, and due desert, who had behaued themselues most valiantly, and most hazarded themselues, and effected worthy deeds, and whosoeuer was forwarder then the rest, should haue reward according to his desert. And that he would be more diligent in honouring them that had bin his companions

Titus thanketh his souldiers, for that they had continued their loue towards him.

Titus promises recompence to his valiant souldiers.

The yeer of the world, 4034. after Christs birth, 72.

in that warre, then in punishing their offences; then presently he willed them to whom it appertained, to nominate them who had valiantly behaued themselues in those warres, and had performed any worthy exployt: which being done, he called euery one by his name, and praised them, as greatly reioycing at the valour of his countrymen, crowning them with crownes of gold, and put chaines of gold about their neckes, and gaue them large speares of gold, and ensignes made of siluer; he also preferred euery one of them, and gaue them of the spoile, precious garments, with gold and siluer very plentiously: and thus hauing rewarded euery one according to his merit; and praising God with all his army, he descended with great applause out of the tribunall, and went and offered sacrifices for the victory, and hauing gathered a great multitude of Oxen about the Altar to sacrifice them, he offered them all, and therewith feasted his army, and himselfe three dayes with all his Nobilitie, dismissing all the souldiers to depart whither they would, or thought good, appointing the tenth legion to keepe Ierusalem, and did not send it backe vnto Euphrates, where before it was. He banished also the twelfth legion out of all Syria, remembring that vnder *Cestius* his gouernment they fled from the Iewes, being before at Raphanæas, which he sent vnto Malto that is situate by Euphrates, in the confines of Armenia and Cappadocia, and the other two hee kept with himselfe, as sufficient to guard him into Ægypt, which were the fift and fifteenth legions. And comming to Cæsarea by the Sea coast, he there layd vp all his spoyles, and caused the captiues to be kept, because that the Winter season permitted him not to sayle into Italy.

Titus largesse to his souldiers.

Titus sacrifice for his victory.

The twelfth legion vnder Cestius leading, gaue place to the Iewes.

CHAP. XX.

Of VESPASIANS *voyage by Sea, and how* SIMON *was taken: and of the spectacles, and shewes made vpon his birth day.*

Vespasians sayling and iourney.

WHileſt *Titus* was busied in the siege of Ierusalem, *Vespasian* in a Marchants Ship sayled to Rhodes: and from thence departing in a Gally, hauing visited all Cities by the which he passed, being ioyfully receiued of them all, he went from Ionia into Greece, from thence vnto Corcyra, and then vnto Iapygia, and afterwards by Land. Thus *Titus* being returned from Cæsarea on the Sea coast, he came vnto Cæsarea Philippi, and there he made a long abode, proclaiming all sorts of pastime: wherein many captiues perished, some being cast vnto wild beasts, others forced in great companies to fight one against another; being in this place, he vnderstood that *Simon* the sonne of *Giora* was taken. This *Simon* at such time as Ierusalem was besieged, was in the higher part of the citie, when the Romane army had entred the wals, and began to waste it: and with his most trusty fellowes, and certaine Masons, hauing prouided them all necessary tooles, and victuals that might haue sufficed them all for many dayes, he accompanied with them, and went into a secret caue, vnto the end thereof, & there he caused them to digge further, hoping so to get out at some place where he might safely escape away. Yet this his hope had not so good successe as he expected: for they had but digged a little way, ere victuals fayled them: notwithstanding, that they had made very great spare thereof. Then *Simon* thinking to feare the Romanes, clothed himselfe in white, and a purple cloake buttoned about him, and so came out of the earth in that place where the Temple had beene builded before-time. And they that did first see him, were astonished awhile, and stirred not, but let him alone: yet at last they came vnto him, and demanded what he was, but *Simon* would not tell them, willing them to call their Captaine vnto him, and presently some of the souldiers ran to call him, and so he came: at that time *Terentius Rufus* was Captaine of the souldiers. *Terentius* hauing learned the truth of all, kept him bound, and related vnto *Cæsar* the manner of his taking, and thus *Simon* was by the power of God deliuered into his enemies hands, who hated him aboue measure, and so was iustly hereby punished, for hauing so cruelly tyrannized ouer his owne countreymen, not taken by their force, but yeelding himselfe vnto them, hauing cruelly butchered many, vnder pretence of false criminations: to wit, for hauing reuolted vnto the Romanes.

Shewes at Cæsarea.

Simon gets down into the vault, and hopeth to escape from thence in safetie.

Simon is taken by the Romanes.

But impiety cannot escape Gods vengeance, neither is the diuine iustice of so weake force, but that it can at one time or other punish them that violate it, and it many times inflicteth a grieuous punishment vpon men, when they thinke they haue escaped all, for they were not presently punished, which also *Simon* felt, after he fell into the Romans hands: his comming out of the earth, made a great many more of the seditious at that time to be taken in the caues. When *Cæsar* was returned into Cæsarea by the Sea coast, *Simon* was presented bound vnto him, who commanded him

Sinne cannot shun Gods iustice.

A great multitude of the seditious taken in vaults.

A him to bee reſerued for his triumph, which hee purpoſed to make at Rome. After making ſome abode in that place, he celebrated his brothers birth day with great ſolemnitie: and in that ſolemnitie bringing forth diuers Iewes, whoſe puniſhment hee had of purpoſe deferred till that time, the number of all that periſhed there with fighting againſt beaſts and amongſt themſelues, and by fire, amounted to more then two thouſand and fiue hundreth men. Yet the Romanes thought all theſe puniſhments too light and eaſie for them. After this, *Cæſar* came to Berytus (which is a Citie in Phœnicia, and a Colony of the Romanes) and here alſo he made ſome long abode, and celebrated the birth of his father, with farre greater ſolemnitie then the former, as well in making diuers ſhewes vnto the people, as in great expences and ſumptuouſneſſe, and cau-
B ſing many captiues to periſh as before.

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Chriſts birth, 72.

In a ſhew in Cæſarea two thouſand fiue hundreth Iewes dye.

Titus celebrateth Veſpaſians birth day.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the calamitie of the Iewes at Antiochia.

AT the ſame time the reſt of the Iewes were in great miſery, and the city of Antiochia was incited againſt them, both for certaine criminall cauſes now laid vnto their charge, as alſo for certaine offences before committed, which neceſſarily I muſt recount, before I ſpeake any thing of the reſt. The nation of the Iewes is mixed almoſt amongſt all nations of the
C world, and eſpecially amongſt the Syrians, by reaſon of their vicinitie, and many of them were at Antiochia, becauſe it was a great Citie, and the Kings that ſucceeded *Antiochus*, permitted them freely to inhabit there, and to enioy all liberties of the Citie. For *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *Epiphanes*, deſtroyed Ieruſalem, and ſacked the Temple: but the Kings ſucceſſors reſtored all the braſſe that was taken from the Temple vnto the Iewes, offering it vnto their Synagogue in Antiochia, and permitted them to haue the ſame liberties in the Citie, that the Greekes enioyed, and the other Kings alſo of later times vſed them after the like ſort: ſo that their number greatly encreaſed, and they enlarged their Temple and enriched it with ſundry offerings, oftentimes winning many Pagans to be of their religion, and ſo as it were made them alſo a part of their nation. Now about the time that the warres began, and *Veſpaſian* was newly arriued, the Iewes began to bee
D generally hated of all men: then one of them named *Antiochus*, reuerend for parentage, whoſe father was chiefe of all the Iewes in Antiochia, at ſuch time as the people of Antiochia were aſſembled in the Theater, this man came in amongſt them, and accuſed his owne father, and the reſt of the Iewes to haue conſpired together to burne the Citie in the night time, and deliuered ſome Iewes vnto them that were his gueſts, as conſpirators with the reſt. The people hearing this, could not repreſſe their rage, but preſently cauſed them that were offered vnto them, to be burnt in the Theater, and made great ſpeede to ſet vpon all the Iewes, hoping that by ſpeedy diſpatch they might preſerue their countrey, which otherwiſe was like to periſh. And then *Antiochus* to enrage them the more, did now offer to ſacrifice according to the cuſtome of the Pagans, therby as it were aſſuring the Antiochians, that he hated the Iewes and their cuſtomes, willing them
E alſo to compell all the reſt of the Iewes to doe the like, for whoſoeuer refuſed ſo to do were traitors. The Antiochians followed his counſell: but few Iewes would obey them, yet they that denyed to ſacrifice were ſlaine. Then *Antiochus* receiuing a charge of ſouldiers from the Captaine of the Romanes, became moſt cruell againſt his countrymen, and would not permit them to keepe holy the ſeuenth day; but in it to doe all labour and buſineſſe, that they were accuſtomed to do vpon any other day, and ſo vrged them hereto, that within ſhort time the ſeuenth day was not onely violated among them of Antiochia, but alſo in other places and Cities round about. The Iewes at Antiochia hauing then indured the foreſaid miſery, now fell into as great ca-
F lamitie as that was, whereof I intending to ſpeake, was forced to relate the former. For it hapned that the foureſquare market was fired, and the publike places, where all Writings and Regiſters were kept, as alſo the Kings Houſes: and the fire ſo increaſed, that with much ado it was hindred from firing the whole Citie. Of this fact *Antiochus* accuſed the Iewes, thereby ſufficiently inciting the Antiochians againſt them, although that they had not before borne them any malice, and making them ſo eaſily beleeue his calumniations, who now gaue full credit vnto his accuſations, by reaſon of that which was paſt: ſo that now they almoſt perſwaded themſelues, that they did ſee the Iewes put fire vnto them, and ſo in a great rage all of them ſet vpon them that were accuſed. Wherefore *Collega* the younger had much adoe to pacifie the people, notwithſtanding

The nation of the Iewes intermixed among the people of the world.

A number of Iewes in Antioch.

A Iew called Antiochus is the cauſe of their mightie miſerie in Antioch.

Antiochus perfidious to his Citizens.

Antiochus forbiddeth to ſanctifie the ſeuenth day.

Another calamitie at Antioch.

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Christs birth, 72.

A sort of wicked men, by meanes they were indebted, burne the market-place, and the publike records.

that he requested them to permit him to informe *Cæsar* of all that was past. For *Vespasian* had already sent *Cæsennius Portus* to be Gouernor of Syria, but he was not as yet arriued there. Then *Collega* making diligent enquiry of the matter, found out the truth, and not one of the Iewes accused by *Antiochus* was guiltie: for certaine impious people had done all this mischiefe, being indebted; thinking that if they had burnt the market-place, and the publike writings, that then their debts could not be required at their hands. Yet the Iewes liued in great feare, and expected the euent of those forged accusations.

CHAP. XXII.

How VESPASIAN *at his returne was receiued by the Romanes.*

The yeere of the world, 4035. after christs birth, 73.

The Citie of Rome entertaineth Vespasian with all willingnesse and pompe.

AFTER that *Titus* had receiued letters from his father, that he was arriued in Italy, and all Cities wherein hee as yet came, welcommed him very ioyfully, and that especially Rome had entertained him with great pompe and triumph, hee was now eased of the care he had before, and very ioyfull for his fathers welfare, and good fortune. For all the people of Italy did reuerence *Vespasian*, though absent, as though he had beene present with them, desiring to see his expected arriuall, whose comming they so heartily wished for. For the Senate, remembring what calamities had befalne the Citie in the change of Princes, desired to receiue their Emperour dignified with the honour of old age, and martiall renowne, whose presence onely would be to his subiects profit and safetie. And the vulgar sort also troubled before with ciuill warres, long expected his arriuall, assuring themselues thereby to haue an end of their calamitie, and to recouer againe their wonted affluence. Especially he was expected by the souldiers, who knowing his skill in martiall affaires by that which himselfe had already done, and finding their other Captaines, vnder whom they warred, ignorant and vnskilfull, they wished for his comming, thereby to be deliuered from the disgrace wherein they liued, desiring to receiue him by whom they might both be honoured, and preserued from danger. The Nobilitie seeing him so beloued of all men, could no longer waite his comming, but went and met him, he being farre from the Citie, and accompanied him; and no man stayed his comming, but in whole multitudes they went to meete him, they were so desirous to see him: so that more went to meete him then stayed at home.

The Romans issue out to meete with Vespasian.

When newes was brought that he approached neere vnto the Citie, and how friendly and courteously hee had entertained all men, the people with their wiues and children stayed in the way he came, to salute and see him: and whersoeuer he came, with ioyfull applauses and acclamations they cryed, calling him their Conseruer and Benefactor, and he who onely was worthy to be the Romane Emperour, and the whole Citie was as it had beene a Temple all hung with garlands, and full of sweet odours and perfumes: and the multitude of people being such that he could scarcely get into the palace, he offered sacrifices vnto his houshold gods for his safe returne, and all the people were feasted by their tribes, kinred and neighbours, sacrificing vnto God, and requesting that *Vespasian* might long continue their Emperour, and his sonne after him, and that the Empire might neuer depart from his linage. The Citie of Rome hauing thus receiued *Vespasian*, it presently was blessed with all happinesse and felicitie.

Vespasian celebrateth gratulatory sacrifice for his safe arriuall.

CHAP. XXIII.

The exploits of DOMITIAN *against the Germanes and Frenchmen.*

The causes of the reuolt of the Germans and French, from the Romanes.

BEFORE such time as *Vespasian* was gone to Alexandria, or that *Titus* besieged the Citie of Ierusalem, a great part of Germanie was reuolted, with whom the Frenchmen that bordred vpon them, renouncing their allegeance, they were in great hope to free themselues from the yoke and gouernment of the Romanes. The first motiues that caused the Germanes to reuolt, and to warre against the Romanes, was their temeritie and rash natures prone to fight, hauing but a very little hope of successe; then the hatred of their nobles, who knew that none could by force bring them into subiection but only the Romans, and chiefly thereunto encouraged by the opportunity they had. For they seeing the Empire greatly afflicted with ciuill wars, by reason of the often changing of Emperors, & knowing that all the world vnder their dominion was now

A now in ſuſpence, they thought that by reaſon of their troubles and ciuill warres, fit opportunity was offered them, and they were hereunto perſwaded by one *Caſſius* and *Ciuilis*, two of the moſt potent amongſt them, who long before deſired alteration; and now finding opportunity, ſhewed what minds they bare: who now taking courage, made tryall what the common people thought of this point, and the greateſt part of them manifeſtly condeſcended hereunto, and perhaps the reſt were not vnwilling. At this time, as it were by Gods prouidence, *Veſpaſian* ſent letters vnto *Petilius Cerealis* (who before-time had beene Gouernour of Germanie) and declared him Conſull, commanding him to goe into Britaine and take the rule of the countrey. Hee foorthwith obeyed *Veſpaſians* command: and hearing that the Germanes had reuolted, hee came againſt B them, they hauing now leuyed an army, and gaue them a great ouerthrow, killing many of them, and forced them to their due obedience vnto the Romanes. Notwithſtanding, if hee had not come thither, not long after they had aſſuredly beene puniſhed for their offence. For ſo ſoone as newes of their rebellion was brought to Rome, *Cæſar Domitianus* hearing of it (not as one of his yeeres would haue done, being very young) vndertooke that expedition to goe and conquer them: but hauing his fathers courage, and being more skilfull then his age required, he preſently went againſt them: who terrified with the report of his comming, yeelded vnto him, thereby gayning this, that without bloodſhed they were brought vnder ſubiection as before. Now all things in Gallia being well diſpoſed of, ſo that it was not eaſie for them, although they would, to rebell any more, *Domitian* returned againe to Rome, being a credit vnto his C age and countrey.

The yeere of the world, 4035. after Chriſts birth, 73.

Cerealis compelleth the Germanes to ſubiection.

Domitianus Titus brother.

At the ſame time alſo the Scythians rebelled, and the Sarmates aſſembled in great multitudes, and paſſed ouer the riuer Iſtrum, and with great violence and crueltie comming vnexpected, ſlew many of the Romane garriſons, whom they found in ſtrong holds: and *Fonteius Agrippaes* Lieutenant, who had beene Conſull, meeting them, bade them battell, and fought very valiantly: which done, they went all ouer the countries adioyning, waſting, robbing, and ſpoyling them. When *Veſpaſian* heard thereof, and how *Mæſia* was all waſted, he ſent *Rubrius Gallus* to be reuenged vpon them: who hauing ſlaine many of them in fight, he forced the reſt to retire into their owne countrey. The Generall of the armie hauing thus ended that warre, prouided to preuent them, if hereafter they did attempt the like; for he built farre more ſtronger D Forts then were before, ſo that the enemy could no way paſſe out of their owne countrey: by which meanes the warres in Mæſia were quickly ended.

The Scythians and Sarmates rebellion againſt the Romanes.

CHAP. XXIIII.

Of the Riuer Sabbaticus, and the famous triumph of VESPASIAN *and* TITVS.

TITVS the Emperour hauing ſome while remained at Berytus (as is before ſaid) and being returned from thence, hee ſhewed many ſpectacles in all the cities of Syria, wherein he E came, reſeruing for that purpoſe the Iews that were captiues, to let all men vnderſtand of their ouerthrow: in his iourney, he beheld a riuer worth the recitall, which runneth in the midſt betweene Arcas and Raphaneas, two cities of the kingdome of Agrippa, which had a miraculous nature: for when it floweth, it is very full of water, and runneth with a ſwift ſtreame; yet hauing flowed ſixe daies, it is on the ſeuenth day ſo dry, that you may ſee the bottome, and ſo continueth his courſe, which for this cauſe the Iewes called Sabbaticus, taking the name thereof from the Iewes Sabbath, which is the ſeuenth day. When the Antiochians vnderſtood that *Titus* was comming to their citie, they could not containe themſelues within their wals for ioy, but all went out to meete him; and not onely men, but alſo women and children, expecting his cõming thirty ſtounds off: and when he approched neere vnto them, they holding vp their hands F to him, ſaluted him with great ioy; and hauing receiued many courteſies from him, they returned with him, and amongſt other acclamations, they often beſought him to baniſh the Iewes out of their citie. But *Titus* returned no anſwer, making as though he heard not what they requeſted. Yet the Iewes doubtfull what he would do, and what his intent was, were all in exceeding great feare. For *Titus* did not tarry at Antiochia, but paſſed from thence to Zeugema towards Euphrates, where *Vologeſus* the King of Parthians meſſenger came vnto him, bringing him a golden Crowne for his conqueſt of the Iewes: which he receiuing, feaſted the Kings Embaſſadors, and

Titus celebrateth many ſumptuous paſtimes in all the cities of Syria.

The flood Sabbaticus.

Titus comming to Antioch.

The prayers of the Citizens againſt the Iewes.

The yeer of the world, 4036. after Christs birth, 74.

so returned to Antiochia, where the Senate and people besought him to come into the Theater, G where all the people were assembled expecting him, & he accorded so to do: and againe they besought him to expell the Iewes out of their city; but he answerd that their country whereunto he might haue banished them, was now destroyed, and there was no place that would receiue them. So the Antiochians seeing they could not obtaine their former petition, requested another thing of him, to wit, that he would take away the brazen tables, wherein were engrauen the Iewes priuiledges: but *Titus* would not grant that, but leauing the Iewes in the same estate he found them, he departed from thence into Ægypt: and as in the way he past by Ierusalem, comparing the desolation of that place with the beauty and goodly buildings that were before it was destroyed, he lamented & pitied the ouerthrow thereof, not insolently reioycing as another would haue done, H for hauing destroyed so faire and strong a citie, but cursing the seditious who forced him to destroy it, not purposing to make his vertue knowne by the calamitie of wretches. For as yet great part of the treasure of the Citie was found in the ruines, and some the Romanes found of themselues; but the most they got, the captiues told them of, which was gold and siluer, and other precious things buryed by the owners in the earth, being vncertaine what would betide them. *Titus* going forward in his iourney speedily past the wildernesse, and came to Alexandria: and determining now to sayle vnto Italy, he sent the two legions that accompanied him vnto the places, from whence they came, the fift into Mæsia, the fifteenth into Panonia, commanding *Iohn* and *Simon* Captaines of the prisoners and others, to the number of seuen hundreth, all of goodly statute, & beautiful, to be carried presently into Italy, meaning to vse them in his triumph. When I he was now arriued at Rome as he desired, the people were so affected towards him, as if he had beene their father, and came to meet him. *Vespasian* also honoured his sonne *Titus*, meeting him in his owne person with great ioy: all the citizens likewise receiued him with exceeeding ioy, seeing that now the father and his his two sonnes were met: Within a few dayes after, they purposed to make a triumph in common, but the Senate had decreed them a priuate and peculiar triumph, for their valiant deeds: and in the day prefixed for the same, no man in all the Citie remained at home, but euery one got a place to stand in that they might see the Emperours, leauing onely roome betweene them for their passage. All the souldiers before it was day light, euery one with his Captaine in companies, came and expected the Emperour, not at the Palace gate, but neere the Temple of Isis: for the Emperours that night lodged there, and at day-breake *Vespasian* and K *Titus* came forth both crowned with Lawrell, and in purple garments made after their countrey fashion, and they went vnto *Octauians* walks, where the Senate, Captaines and Knights expected their comming. Before the porch was made a tribunall, and in it placed seates of Iuory, which they ascending sate downe in, & presently all the souldiers with loud voice declared their valour and fortitude. The Emperours were vnarmed and cloathed in silke, and crowned with Lawrell. *Vespasian* hauing receiued their praises, they offering still to speake more in his commendations, he beckned with his hand, and made a signe vnto them to be silent: which being done, he arose vp, and couering the greatest part of his head with his garment, he performed his solemne vowes, and *Titus* also did the like. That done, *Vespasian* spake vnto them all in generall in few words, and L so dismissed the souldiers to goe to dinner, which according to the custome, the Emperour was to prouide for them: himselfe departed from them to the triumphant gate, so called, for that all triumphs passed that way, and they did eate meat, and put on triumphant apparell, hauing offered sacrifices vnto the gods that were placed by the gate, and so went in triumph all along the place, where people striued to see them, to the end that all people might haue a better view of them. But the spectacles there exhibited, both for number, varietie, and costlinesse, cannot be described sufficiently, being excellent in all things, which any man could deuise, both workemanship, riches, and varieties, and nouelties of nature. For almost all things that euer were in any place amongst men that liued in felicitie, either rich or beautifull, and pleasant to behold, all of them were that day shewed and seene in that triumph, giuing a testimony of the large domini- M ons of the Romans. For there was such store of works of gold, siluer, and yuorie, that one would not haue deemed them to haue beene made onely for the pompe of that day, but to haue bin so plentifull, as if they had flowed all about the citie: some carried fine tapestry made of all sorts of purple, othersome carried others diligently wrought with pictures and Babylonian worke, and there were so many gemmes and precious stones, some set in crownes of gold, some in other workes, that it appeared, that without reason, we iudged them to be rare and scarce. Moreouer, the pictures of their gods were carried with them, which were admirable both for greatnesse and worke-

Titus lamenteth the losse & desolation of Ierusalem.

The Romans finde no small part of the riches of Ierusalem.

Iohn & Simon and seuentie other goodly Iewes are reserued by Titus, to be sent into Italy.

The triumphant attire of Vespasian and Titus.

Their vowes and dinner before their triumph.

The magnificence of the triumph.

The most precious garments.

A workemanſhip,and all of precious matter. And diuers ſorts of liuing creatures were there to be ſeene, all adorned with ſome attire, agreeing and alluding vnto their nature. There was alſo an infinite multitude of men, in purple garments ouer-wrought with gold, which carried all theſe things,and they who were ſeparated from the reſt to be ſeene,were attired in ſuch garments,that as many as beheld them admired. The captiues went not without their gorgeous attires, but the variety and beauty of the garments hid all the deformity of their bodies,which hapned through their bad vſage. The Pageants that were borne in that triumph, were of an admirable bigneſſe, ſo that the people that beheld them, wondred how it was poſſible that men ſhould carry them: for many were builded with three or foure lofts one aboue another, ſurpaſſing all that can bee B imagined of them for worke and coſt, for many of them were hanged about with Tapeſtrie of gold,and all things annexed vnto them,whereon they were carried,were made of wrought gold or Iuory. Therein was curiouſly repreſented the manner of warre,and all ſtratagemes, and manners of fighting,that could be deuiſed; ſome in one part of the Pageant, ſome in another. There might one haue beheld a moſt fertile and fortunate land deſtroyed, and all the army of enemies to be ſlaine, and ſome flying, others taken priſoners, and ſtrong and huge wals battered downe with Rammes, and Caſtles and ſtrong holds deſtroyed, and the wals of populous Cities to be ruined, and the army entring the wals,all places filled with maſſacred men, and how thoſe that were not able to fight, yeelding themſelues, asked mercy, the Temples ſet on fire, and after all elſe was waſted,the houſes throwne downe vpon the owners heads,and a riuer repreſenting ſor- C row,not flowing as it was wont, into tilled places,and to ſerue the vſe of man, nor for cattell to drinke, but into a Countrey which was in euery part burning, and enuironed with flames, all which the Iewes in their wars endured. Theſe things were ſo artificially repreſented vnto their viewes that had not ſeene them,as though they were now a doing: Before euery Pageant went the Captaine of the City, repreſenting the manner how it was taken. After all theſe followed many ſhips, and in euery place were carried the ſpoiles taken in warre: amongſt all which,thoſe that were taken in the Temple of Ieruſalem, were moſt excellent, for there was a golden table weighing many talents, and likewiſe a golden Candleſticke, the vſe whereof was now not ſuch as we were wont to put it vnto, for in the middeſt of the ſtem thereof was fixed a baſe, and out of it proceeded many ſmall branches, framed like a three forked ſpeare, euery one being at the D top made like a Lampe, which were ſeuen in number, ſhewing the honour of the ſeuenth day, which is called the Sabbath amongſt the Iewes. After all this,was carried the Iewes law,which was the laſt of all the ſpoyles. Then followed many carrying the image of Victory,all made of gold and Iuory. Afterwards,came *Veſpaſian*,and after him *Titus*,and with him *Domitian* gallantly adorned and mounted vpon an excellent horſe, and ſo they went all to the Temple of *Iupiter Capitolinus*, and there was the end of all this pompe, where they made ſome abode.

The yeere of the world, 4036. after chriſts birth, 74.

The building of the Pageants.

The yeere of the world, 4037. after chriſts birth, 75.

A table of gold of the weight of a great talent.

The laſt of the ſpoiles was the law of the Iewes.

For it was an ancient cuſtome of their country, to repoſe themſelues there till ſome came and brought newes vnto them,of the death of him,who was Generall of their enemies. This as then was *Simon Giora*, who was alſo carried in the triumph, and hauing a rope faſtned about his necke, was drawne all along the market place, where they that drew him did kill him. For it is E the cuſtome of the Romanes,there to put malefactors to death that are condemned. After word was brought that he was dead, all the people made ioyfull exclamations, and ſo they began to ſacrifice: which done according to the cuſtome, they returned into the Palace, and they feaſted ſome,other ſome had prepared banquets for themſelues at their owne houſes. For this day was ſacred amongſt the Romanes, in ioy of the victory ouer their enemies, and an end of ciuill calamity, and the beginning of good fortune, and hope, which they had in their new Princes. When the triumphs were ended, and all the Romane Empire quieted, *Veſpaſian* built a Temple, and dedicated it vnto Peace,which he did in ſo ſhort a ſpace as it was admirable:and hauing beſtowed great coſt vpon it, he alſo beautified it with diuers pictures and carued works. And he placed in that Temple all things that men of former ages had come to ſee, from the vttermoſt F parts of the earth. And he placed there all the golden veſſels,and other neceſſaries that the Iewes vſed in their Temple, doing them great reuerence. But their law and the Tapeſtrie or purple veiles of the Sanctuary he commanded to be kept in the Palace.

Simon the ſonne of Giora,is drawne with a halter about his necke, thorow the market place.

Veſpaſian buildeth & dedicateth a tẽple to Peace.

CHAP.

The yeere of the world, 4037. after Christs birth, 75.

CHAP. XXV.

How Herodium and Machærus were taken by BASSVS.

CÆSAR sent *Lucius Basilius* into Iudæa to be Lieutenant there, who receiuing an army of *Cerealis Vetilianus*, he tooke the Castle and garrison of Herodium, being yeelded vnto him. After this, gathering together all his army, who were dispersed in diuers places of the countrey, he with the tenth legion purposed to warre against *Machærus*; for he thought it necessary to destroy that castle, lest that for the strength it might mooue many to rebell: for by reason of the situation of the place, they that were in it, had certaine hope of their safety, and those that sought to assault it, were in great danger. For it was built vpon a rocke that was exceeding high, which made it almost inexpugnable; and nature had so deuised, that it is hard to come vnto it, who hath enuironed it round about with vallies, so deepe, that the bottome thereof cannot be descried, neither could one passe ouer them, nor fill them vp: for that which is on the West part is threescore stounds large, and endeth at the lake Asphaltites, and on this side *Machærus* hath a very high prospect, and it is inuironed on the North and South with vallies of the like measure that the former is, whereby it is impossible to win the Castle: but that vally which is on the East side, is at least a hundreth cubits deep, and it endeth vpon a mountaine neere vnto *Machærus*. King *Alexander* seeing the nature of the place did there build a Castle, which afterward *Gabinius* in the war against *Aristobulus* destroied. But *Herod* when he was King, iudged this place worthy to be fortified, as a principall defence against the neighbouring Arabians. For it was aptly situate vpon a mountaine, where one might behold their borders: wherefore making a large wall, he builded a City there in the place that men doe enter vnto the Castle: he also compassed the very top thereof with another wall, and in the corners he placed towers that were threescore cubits high, and in the very middest of all he built a Palace, for largenesse and beauty admirable, and made many cisterns to receiue water in conuenient places, which serued the people aboundantly, as it were striuing with nature, that the places which he had made inexpugnable, he by Art might make places more strong then that was. He also laid vp there in store, arrowes and engines, and made all prouision wherewith the inhabitants might be able to hold out a great siege.

Herod inuironeth Machærus with a great wall and tower.

Wonderfull store of arrowes and other engines in this tower.

In the Kings Palace, there grew the hearb called Rue, which was very admirable for the greatnesse, for there was no figge tree taller or broader then it: and it was reported that it had continued euer since *Herods* time, and had endured longer, had not the Iewes, Inhabitants of the place cut it downe. In the vallie that lieth on the North side of the City, there is a place called Baaras, where also groweth a roote of the same name, the colour whereof resembleth the flame, and it shineth at night like the Sun beames, and is not easie to be pulled vp, till that one cast vpon it the vrine of a woman or her flowers: which done, whosoeuer toucheth it is sure to die, except he carry the roote hanging on his hand. It is also gathered another way without danger, after this manner: They dig all round about it, so that they leaue a very little of the root couered with earth, and then they tie a dog vnto it, which striuing to follow his master who maketh as though he would goe away, he easily pulleth vp the roote, and the dog presently dieth, as it were in his stead that seeketh to get it, so that afterward none that handleth it or taketh it, neede to stand in any feare thereof. This hearb notwithstanding all this danger is diligently sought out for the vertue it hath. For it driueth away diuels (which are the spirits of wicked men) out of mens bodies, if it be but applyed vnto them, whereas otherwise if they had no helpe, these diuels possessing their bodies would kill them. Out of that place also doe spring certaine hot waters, very different in taste one from another; for some are bitter, some sweet, there are also sources of cold waters, one neere vnto another in a Plaine: but which is most admirable, there is a caue hard by, not very deep, enuironed with an eminent rocke aboue, from the which there commeth as it were two dugges or paps, hard by one another, and out of the one of them there floweth very colde water, out of the other very hot; which mingled together make a pleasant bath, and serue to cure many diseases, and especially helpeth all paines of the sinewes. In the same place also are mines of Sulphure and Alume.

How Baaras is to be gathered

Another fashion how to dig the roote.

Hote baths.

Bassus hauing viewed this place on euery side, resolued to besiege it, and endeauoured to fill vp the vallie that was on the East side, and so make a way vnto it: which he began to doe, hastening

A ſtening to raiſe a very high mount, and ſo make it eaſie to be taken. Thoſe that were inhabitants, conſtrained Iewes that were ſtrangers, to goe into the lower City, iudging them an vnprofitable multitude, and ſo cauſed them to endure the firſt brunt of the enemies, and they themſelues kept the Caſtle, both for that it was ſtrong, and alſo to preſerue themſelues, hoping that by yeelding the place vnto the Romans, they might obtaine pardon of them; yet firſt they purpoſed to make triall if they could auoid the ſiege: and therefore very courageouſly, euery day they made excurſions, and fought with them they found, and many were ſlaine on both parts. Fortune and opportunity ſometime cauſed one to be victors, ſometime another: for the Iewes got the beſt when they could aſſault the Romans at vnawares, and the Romans ouercame, when they were B aware of the Iewes comming and armed themſelues. But the ſiege was not ended by theſe skirmiſhes: yet a chance befell, that forced the Iewes to yeeld their Caſtle. Amongſt them that were beſieged was one *Eleazar* a young man, and very hardy and bold in any enterprize, who oftentimes made excurſions and ſought to hinder the Romanes worke, who alwaies in euery fight did greatly endomage the Romanes, and by his valour and aduenturous courage, he gaue them that were his fellowes opportunity to aſſault the Romanes, and to flie againe and retire in ſafety, himſelfe being alwaies the laſt that ſo retired. It hapned one day that the fight being ended, and both parts parted, he as it were contemning all men, and thinking that none of his enemies durſt vndertake to combate with him, ſtaied without the gate, ſpeaking to them that were vpon the wall, and giuing great attention vnto them. Then one *Rufus* an Ægyptian one of C the Roman army, eſpying this opportunity, ran vpon him ſo ſuddenly, that he at vnawares tooke him all armed as he was, and they vpon the wals ſtood amazed, whileſt *Rufus* led him vnto the Romans campe. Then the Generall of the Romans cauſed him to be led into a place, where they in the City might ſee him, and there to haue all his cloaths taken off him, and whipped; and the misfortune of this young man did greatly diſcourage the Iewes, and all the city was reſolued into teares for the calamity of that one man. *Baſſus* ſeeing this, he deuiſed this counſell againſt them; for he ſought to moue them ſo to compaſſion, that for to ſaue him they ſhould yeeld their caſtle: which fell out as he deſired. For he preſently commanded a croſſe to be erected, as though he would preſently haue crucified *Eleazar*: which ſight greatly moued them in the Caſtle to ſorrow: ſo that now with loud cries they lamented, ſaying that this calamity was D inſupportable. Then *Eleazar* beſought them not to deſpiſe him, who was now to die a moſt miſerable death: and moreouer to prouide for their owne ſafety in yeelding the Caſtle vnto the Romans vertue and fortunate ſucceſſe.

The yeere of the world, 4037. after chriſts birth, 75.

The Iews that were forainers dwelt in the lower Citie. The conflict of the Iewes with the Romanes.

Eleazar a Iew ſtrong in hand, and fierce in bold attempts.

Eleazars calamity moueth the Iewes to ſubmit themſelues.

Then they moued with his words, and many alſo within the City intreating for him (for he came of a great parentage and had many kinsfolks) though contrary to their natures, compaſſion tooke place in them: and ſo ſending ſome of their company ſpeedily, they deſired to parley, affirming they would yeeld their Caſtle vpon condition that they might ſafely depart away, and *Eleazar* might be likewiſe reſtored vnto them. Which offer of theirs the Romans accepted; and the Iewes in the lower part of the City hauing intelligence of this couenant, reſolued themſelues to flie away in the night: but ſo ſoone as they had opened their gates, thoſe that had agreed with E *Baſſus*, gaue him intelligence thereof; either enuying that their countrimen ſhould eſcape, or elſe fearing that *Baſſus* would puniſh them for their flight: yet for all this, the moſt valiant of them that fled, eſcaped, who were gone before the reſt, and the reſt were ſlaine to the number of 1000. and 700. men, for the women and children were made bondſlaues. And *Baſſus* thinking it meet to keepe his promiſe vnto them of the Caſtle, permitted them ſafely to depart, and reſtored *Eleazar* vnto them.

1000. 700. Iewes ſlain by the Romans.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Iewes that BASSVS *ſlew: and how he ſold Iudæa.*

F

THIS done, hee prepared to carry his armie into the paſture called Iardes, for he had notice that many Iewes were there aſſembled together, who had eſcaped from Ieruſalem and Machæra during the ſiege. So comming vnto the place, and finding it to be as it was reported vnto him: he firſt of all enuironed it with horſemen, that if any of the Iewes ſought to eſcape, the horſemen might withſtand them, and he commanded the footmen to cut downe the wood, into the which they fled to hide themſelues. And ſo through neceſſity they

Iardes a wood inuironed by the Romanes.

The yeere of the world, 4037. after Christs birth, 75.

they were constrained to fight, hoping by a courageous fight to finde opportunity to flie: where- G
fore they altogether with a cry violently assaulted them by whom they were inuironed, and
they did valiantly withstand them, and by their valour, and the Iewes desperation the fight en-
dured a long time: yet the euent of the warre was not like vnto the rest of the fight, for onely
twelue Romans were slaine and very few wounded, and all the Iewes were slaine in that fight,
being in number three thousand; and their Captaine *Iudas* the sonne of *Iairus* (of whom we haue
already made mention, who during the siege of Ierusalem was Commander of a company
there) hid himselfe in a certaine caue, and secretly escaped from thence. At that time *Cæsar* writ
vnto *Liberius Maximus* his Gouernour, and vnto *Bassus*, to sell Iudæa: for he did not build in
all the countrey any City but appropriated it vnto himselfe, leauing there onely eight hundreth H
souldiers, and giuing them a place to dwell in called Emaus, thirty stounds distant from Ieru-
salem, and he imposed a tribute vpon all Iewes wheresoeuer they liued, commanding euery one
of them euery yeere to bring two drachmes into the Capitol, according as in former times they
were wont to pay vnto the Temple of Ierusalem: and this was the estate of the Iewes at that
time.

3000. Iewes slaine.

A tribute imposed by Cæsar on all the Iewes.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of the death of King ANTIOCHVS: *and how the Alanes inuaded Armenia.* I

IN the fourth yeere of *Vespasians* raigne, it hapned that *Antiochus* King of the Comagenes
with all his family fell into great misery vpon this occasion: *Cesennius Petus* Gouernour of
Syria (either for enuy, or for that indeed it was so, for it is not well knowne) sent letters
vnto *Cæsar*, declaring vnto him that *Antiochus* was determined to reuolt from the Romanes,
together with his sonne *Epiphanes*, and had made a league with the King of the Parthians, and
that therefore it was necessary to preuent them in time, lest that if they first began to reuolt o-
penly, they might trouble all the Roman Empire with warres. *Cæsar* did not neglect these
newes, for that the neerenesse of both the Kings countries one to another, seemed to require
that they should be quickly preuented: for Samosata the greatest Citie of Comagena is situate K
vpon Euphrates, which might both easily receiue the Parthians, and be a strong hold for them,
and also there they might easily passe ouer the riuer. Wherefore *Vespasian* beleeuing it, per-
mitted him to doe what he thought expedient: and he forthwith, *Antiochus* thinking nothing,
suddenly entred into Comagena, with the sixt legion, and certaine other companies of footmen
and troupes of horsemen, accompanied with *Aristobulus* King of Chalcidis, and *Sohemus* King
of Emesa, who came to assist him. So they entred the countrey without any fight, for none of
the inhabitants offered to resist. *Antiochus* daunted with these vnexpected newes, did not so
much as thinke of any warre against the Romanes, wherefore he determined to leaue the whole
kingdome in that estate that then it was in, and with his wife and children depart from thence,
hoping hereby to cleare himselfe vnto the Romans, from that which they suspected of him: and L
going almost a hundreth and thirty stounds from the City into a field, there he placed a taber-
nacle. And *Petus* sent men vnto Samosata to take it, and left them to keepe the City, and hee
with the rest of the souldiers purposed to goe against *Antiochus*. But for all this the King though
by necessity vrged thereto, yet would he not fight against the Romanes, but bewailing his mis-
fortune, endured patiently all whatsoeuer: but his sons being lusty strong young men, and skil-
full in martiall affaires, could not easily abstaine from fight in that their distresse. Wherefore
Epiphanes and *Callinicus* his two sonnes had recourse vnto their forces, and in a great fight that
endured a whole day, they shewed their valour, and departed receiuing no losse. But *Antio-*
chus after this fight would not any longer abide in his countrey, but taking his wife and daugh-
ters he fled into Cilicia, and thereby discouraged his souldiers, who despairing to keepe the king- M
dome for him, reuolted vnto the Romans. But *Epiphanes* and the rest were forced to seeke to
saue themselues, before such time as they were left destitute, and so accompanied with ten horse-
men, they passed the riuer Euphrates: and thus being out of danger they came to *Vologesus*, of
whom they were receiued, not as fugitiues, but with great honor, and according to their degree,
as though they yet possessed their ancient dignitie. And *Petus* comming to Tarsus of Cilicia, he
sent a Centurion to carry *Antiochus* bound vnto Rome. But *Vespasian* permitted not a King
to

Cesennius Petus President of Syria, accuseth Antiochus before Cæsar.

Antiochus is suddenly inuaded by Cesennius.

Antiochus chuseth rather to depart out of his countrey with his wife and children, then to fight with the Romanes.

Antiochus flieth with his wife into Cilicia.

Epiphanes flieth to Vologesus the King of Parthia.

Antiochus taken.

A to be ſo brought vnto him, thinking it meeter to conſider the old friendſhippe betweene them, then to perſeuer in danger, and not to be pacified by reaſon of warre. Wherefore he commanded that in the way as he came, he ſhould be vnbound, and a while to liue at Lacedemon, and leaue his iourney towards Rome, allowing great ſtore of money, ſufficient to maintaine a Kingly dignity. *The yeere of the world, 4037. after Chriſts birth, 75.*

Epiphanes, and they with him hearing this, were eaſed of the great care they tooke for their father, whom they greatly feared to be fallen into ſome danger, and now they alſo conceiued ſome hope to be reconciled vnto *Cæſar*. Whereof *Vologeſus* writing vnto *Cæſar* (for they were contented to liue out of the Roman Empire, notwithſtanding that they were honourably enter- Antiochus reconciled to Cæſar.
B tained) *Cæſar* courteouſly gaue them leaue, and they came to Rome, and their father was preſently ſent for vnto them frõ Lacedemon, and ſo they remained at Rome in great honor. The nation of the Alans being Scythians, inhabited about Tanais, and the mariſhes of Mæotis, as in another place we haue recounted. Who conſpiring with the King of the Hyrcans to paſſe into Media, and ſack it (for he was King of that paſſage) which King *Alexander* had made in ſuch wiſe, that it was ſhut vp with yron gates, obtained leaue to paſſe, and ſo came into Media, the Medes nothing fearing any ſuch matter, and ſacked and ſpoiled all their populous and wealthie borders, being full of cattell, none daring to reſiſt them: for *Pacorus* King of that country, for feare fled into the ſtrongeſt hold he had, and left all his goods behind him, and with much ado redeemed his wife and concubines whom they had taken, for 100. talents. Hauing therefore licence to rob and Armenia waſted.
C ſpoyle, for that no man reſiſted them, they came into Armenia, and waſted all the country thereabout: and *Tyridates* was then King of that country, who with an army comming to fight againſt them, was almoſt by them taken aliue in the battell; for one caſt a halter about him, and began to draw him amongſt the enemies: and ſo had done, but that he with his ſword did quickly cut the rope and fled: and they being more enraged, by reaſon he fought againſt them, waſted all the countrey, and carrying with them a huge multitude of men and cattell out of both countries, they returned into their owne. The Alans enter Media to ſpoile the ſame.

CHAP. XXVIII.

D *How Maſſada a moſt ſtrong Caſtle was taken.*

Beginning of the yeere of the world, 4038. after chriſts birth, 76.

BAſſus dying in Iudæa, *Flauius Silua* ſucceeded in his place, and now perceiuing that all the countrey elſe was conquered ſaue one onely Caſtle, he with all the forces he could make went againſt it. This Caſtle is called Maſſada. The Captaine of the Sicarians named *Eleazar*, who firſt inuaded it, was a very ſtrong and valiant man, borne of the tribe of Iuda, who perſwaded a great many Iewes as is before ſaid, not to enroule themſelues when *Cyrenæus* was Cenſor, and ſent to taxe Iudæa. For at that time the Sicarians had conſpired againſt them that obeyed the Romans, and in all things vſed them like enemies, taking and driuing away their goods, and firing their houſes, affirming that they did not any thing differ from ſtrangers, who betrayed
E the liberty of their countrey, rather then they would fight for it, and that they had rather haue them war on the Romans ſide. But that was onely an excuſe to hide their auarice and iniurious dealing, as the proofe made manifeſt, for they themſelues reuolted and bare armes againſt the Romans, and their enterprizes againſt the Romans were worſe then the reſt, and when their firſt forged pretence was knowne and confuted, they did rage more then before againſt thoſe that vpbraided them with it. For that time amongſt the Iewes abounded with all manner of iniquity, The time among the Iewes which was moſt fruitful in all manner of impiety
ſo that none was left vndone: yea though one indeauoured to inuent ſome new villanies, yet could he deuiſe none that was not then practiſed: all laboured with this maladie, both in particular and in common, and euery one did ſtriue with other, to ſurpaſſe his fellow in impiety againſt God, and iniuſtice towards his neighbour. The mighty vexed the weaker ſort, and the meaner ſort de-
F ſtroyed the Potentates, and tooke their riches away from them; they gaped after rule and dominion, theſe after miſchiefe.

The Sicarians were the firſt that were ſo cruell and iniurious againſt their neighbours: for not prouoked thereunto, neither by deed nor word, they ſlew and iniured all men without cauſe, but Iohn Giſcala.
Iohn ſhewed them to be very moderate. For he did not onely ſlay all that counſelled that which was good and profitable, as his greateſt enemies, and eſpecially dealing thus with the citizens, but alſo many waies iniured his country, like one who had impiouſly alſo contemned God himſelfe.

The yeere of the world, 4038. after Christs birth, 76.

Simon sonne of Giora.

selfe. For he did eate forbidden meats, and violated his countries temperance: so that it was no G
wonder to see him obserue no iustice nor fidelity towards men, who had now infringed the laws
of God. Againe, what villanie did *Simon Giora* leaue vndone, or what iniurie did he abstain from
to offer vnto their bodies, who had chosen him for their ruler? What did kinred and friendship
then preuaile any man? saue onely this, that it made them be more cruelly vsed, and euery day
to be more tyrannously butchered, then otherwise. For they thought it a hainous offence to
abuse strangers, and a glory to exercise cruelty vpon their most familiar friends. The Idumæans

The Idumæans. The Zealous.

were followers of this fury, who killed the high Priests, and left not any one of note in the City,
whereby God might be honoured; and induced all iniustice possible, wherein the Zealous excelled. For they committed all mischiefe, leauing nothing vnattempted that had euer before that H

The end of the Iewes answerable to their liues.

time bin practised: yet they tooke their name from them that imitated good and godlinesse, but
in truth it was to mock and flout them that did well: so sauage and cruell was their nature, or else
accounting the greatest impiety to be goodnes. But their end was as they deserued, and God punished their desert with his iust vengeance. For euen vnto the latter end of their liues, they endured all the miseries that is possible for mans nature to abide, being killed with diuers sorts of
torments. Perhaps one will say that their punishment was not so great as they deserued: but
what punishment could bee deuised sufficient for their deserts? But I cannot now stand to
lament those who perished by these mens crueltie: Wherefore I will returne to that where I
left.

Silua the captaine of the Romans besiegeth Massada.

The Roman Captaine came against *Eleazar*, and them that kept Massada with him, who were I
Sicarians, and he brought an army with him, and presently subdued all the confines and borders
round about, and he placed in euery fit place garrisons, and enuironed the Castle with a wall,
lest any of them that were besieged should escape, and that they that besieged them might
there keepe a continuall guard. Moreouer, he placed his campe in a fit place for the siege, euen
there where the rock, that the castle was built vpon, ioyned vnto the other mountain, which was
an vnfit place to get necessaries in. For not onely victuals were fetcht farre off by great labour of
the Iewes who were commanded to doe it, but also water for the whole army somewhere else,
for there was no fountaine neere that place. This done, *Silua* attempted the siege, wherein it

The situation of Massada.

was requisite for him to vse both art and labour, by reason of the strength of the Castle, which is
thus situate. It is enuironed round with a huge stone very high on euery side, and the vally vn- K
derneath is so deepe, that one cannot see the bottome, all rockie, and inaccessible to all liuing creatures, saue onely that in two places there is a difficult passage vnto it, one of them is from the
lake Asphaltites towards the East, and the easiest of the two is the West side: the first is called a

The iourney by the rocke called the Snake.

Snake; taking his name of the straitnesse and crooked turnings, for the rocke that is eminent,
seemeth as it were broken in sunder, and by little and little often returneth againe vnto it selfe,
and it is by little & little extended in length, so that he that goeth that way, can make no haste, but
must step with one foot first vpon them, and the other vpon another, & must stand vpon one foot
whilest he remoueth the other, and he that falleth is sure to be slain in the fall: for there is such a
hollow place on either side betweene the rocks, that it is able to terrifie the boldest man aliue.
When thou hast gone thirty stounds by this way, then thou commest to the toppe of the hill, L
which is not steepe at the top, but hath a Plaine about it, and *Ionathas* the high Priest was the first
that built a castle in this place, & called it Massada: & *Herod* after him bestowed great labour and
cost in building that place, for he enuironed it with a wall, seuen stounds circuit, all of white
stone, twelue cubits high, and eight cubits broad, and placed vpon it seuen and twenty towers

The top more fruitfull and fatter soile then the plaine.

that were fifty cubits high, by the which men passed into the houses that were round about the
wall within: for the King appointed the top of the hill for tillage, because it was a more fertile
and fatter soyle then any ground else, so that if at any time they within the castle wanted prouision from other places, yet they might not be famished, hauing this to finde them. He also builded in this place a Palace for himselfe, the way to which was on the West side within the castle

Herods Palace.

wall, whose prospect was toward the North, and enuironed the same with a most strong wall, M
and in the corners thereof he built foure most firme towers threescore cubits high, very sumptuous within, hauing diuers roomes and galleries and baths, supported in euery place with pillars,
euery one of which was one onely stone, the wals thereof were of solid stone of diuers colours:
and to euery house, and in the top of the hill, and round about the Palace, he hewed certaine
cisternes out of the rocke for to beare water; so that by this meanes water was as plentifull, as
though they had fountaines within the castle. There was a way vnto the castle vnder the ground

and

A from the Kings Palace, which they that were without could not perceiue, the way aboue ground was inacceſſible, for as we haue already ſaid, the way on the Eaſt ſide no man could paſſe, and as for that on the Weſt ſide, it was ſtopt vp with a tower built in the ſtreict thereof, diſtant 1000. cubits from the Caſtle, by which is was impoſſible to paſſe, and it was not eaſie to get it by force, and the more leiſurely they went, the neerer they were to danger. And thus was this Fortreſſe ſtrengthned both by art and nature.

The yeere of the world, 4038. after Chriſts Natiuitie, 76.

A tower to the Weſt ſide.

The prouiſion within the Caſtle was admirable both for the magnificence thereof, and alſo for the long time it had continued, for there was Corne ſufficient for many yeeres, and Wine and Oyle and diuers other prouiſion and heapes of Dates. All which *Eleazar* found ready there, B hauing deceitfully obtained the Caſtle with his Sicarians, which prouiſion was all as ſound and as freſh, as though it had newly beene layd vp in ſtore: notwithſtanding, that from the time it remained there, vnto the time that the Romans tooke it, were a hundreth yeeres, and the Romans found the reliques of the fruit incorrupted: and one may iuſtly thinke that the cauſe hereof is the ayre about the Caſtle, which by reaſon of the height of the place is moſt pure, and free from all earthly corruption. There was alſo found all manner of Armor in great quantity, which *Herod* made, and would haue armed ten thouſand men, alſo vnwrought iron, braſſe, and lead, ſo that one may iudge that prouiſion to haue beene reſerued for ſome great cauſe. It is reported that *Herod* prepared that Caſtle for his refuge, when hee doubted two great dangers, firſt, that the people of the Iewes would depoſe him; and make them Kings whoſe anceſtors had before C raigned.

Great ſtore of prouiſion in the Caſtle.

Fruit for a hundreth yeeres kept vncorrupt.

The other which was more dangerous then the firſt, was, for that he feared *Cleopatra* Queene of Egypt, who not concealing her intent, did often requeſt *Antonius* that *Herod* might bee ſlaine, and that ſhee might haue the Kingdome of the Iewes giuen vnto her. And it was a great maruaile that *Antonius* doting ſo vpon her, did not fulfill her requeſt. *Herod* for theſe occaſions hauing builded Maſſada, left it vnfurniſhed at the laſt bulwarke for the Romanes to make warre againſt the Iewes. For the Generall of the Romanes, hauing now compaſſed all the place without it with a wall, (as is before ſaid) to the end that none might eſcape, hee did very wiſely, and ſo began to aſſault the Caſtle, finding one onely place that would beare a mount. For behind the Tower that on the Weſt ſide ſtopped vp the paſſage into the Caſtle and Palace, there was a great D rocke very large and long, yet not ſo high as Maſſada by three hundreth cubits. The rocke was called Leuce, which ſignifieth white. When *Silua* had gotten this rocke, and aſcended it, hee commanded his ſouldiers to build a mount thereupon; and they chearefully labouring, raiſed a ſudden mount two hundreth cubits high: by reaſon of the height it ſeemed not firme nor ſufficient enough to beare the engines, but vpon it was built a Tribunall with great ſtones fifty cubits high, and as many cubits broad, and the engines were ſuch as firſt *Veſpaſian*, and after him *Titus* deuiſed to batter wals with, and ſo they made a Tower threeſcore cubits high, all plated about with iron.

Herod ſuſpecting a double perill, builded the place for a refuge.

There was but one place about Maſſada to raiſe a mount to batter on.

Now the Romans with many ſhot did driue the Iewes from off the Caſtle wals, not ſuffering them to lift vp their heads. And *Silua* hauing builded a mighty Ramme, cauſed the wall E to be continually battered therewith, but it could ſcarcely enter vpon it: and the Sicarians quickly preuented that, building another wall within, which could not bee broken with the Ramme being yet ſoft, and ſo would breake the force thereof, for they did ſawe timber in pieces, and as it were made two railes, and then filled the ſpace betweene the two railes with earth, and with other plankes they kept the earth from falling downe, ſo that they made a worke like the wall of a houſe, and for that it yeelded vnto the blowes of the Ramme (being ſoft earth) the Ramme could not preuaile againſt it, but rather made it more ſtrong then before, by ramming the morter together.

The City battered with a large Ram, and by Siluas appointment.

Silua perceiuing this, iudged that hee might ſooner deſtroy the wall with fire then with his engine: and ſo hee commanded the ſouldiers to caſt vpon it many burning firebrands, and the fire did quickly take hold of the wall, becauſe it was for the moſt part built with wood, and eaſily alſo pearced thorow it, by reaſon it was not cleane wrought together, and there was a great flame.

Firebrands darted againſt the walles.

At the very beginning of the fire, the North winde did greatly annoy the Romans, for the fire blowing furiouſly from aboue againſt them that were Romans, it did driue it extremely vpon them, ſo that they were in great deſpaire; fearing their engines would bee burnt, and preſently

The North winde diuerting the flame turneth it on the Romanes.

The yeere of the world, 4038. after Christs birth, 76.

the winde changing and blowing from the South, (as it were by Gods prouidence) it turned the fire againe vpon the wall, and now all of it euen vnto the foundation thereof, was there most cruelly on fire. And the Romans hauing Gods assistance, returned againe vnto their campe ioyfully, purposing the next morning betimes to assaile their enemies, and that night to place stronger watches, lest any of the enemies should escape. But *Eleazar* thought not to flie, neither would he permit any one of his company so to doe. And seeing now the wall was fiered, and not knowing any way else to helpe himselfe, considering likewise what the Romans would doe vnto their wiues and children if they should take them, he deliberated of all their deaths, which he in that extremity iudged to be the best way they could take. And so he assembled the most valiant of all his company, and exhorted euery one thereunto, after this manner: G H

Eleazars oration to his companions.

Valiant Champions, we long agoe resolued our selues neither to serue the Romans, nor any other saue onely God, for he alone is the true and iust Lord of all men. Behold, the time is now come, that exhorteth you to shew your resolute mindes: let vs not therefore dishonour our selues, and besides our slauery, suffer also intolerable torments if wee be taken aliue by the Romans. For we were the first that reuolted from them, and the last that warre against them. And I verily thinke that God hath giuen vs this benefit, that wee may dye well in our owne libertie, which hee denyed to others who were ouercome contrary to all expectation. Wee are certaine to be conquered as soone as it is day-light: but to die valiantly with our deerest friends, is a glorious resolution vnto valiant men, and of this our enemies cannot debarre vs, who doe labour to take vs aliue, and carry vs away captiues, and we are not able to vanquish them in fight. For truely at the first (when we who coueted liberty, suffered all misery at the hands of our owne countrimen, and worse at the hands of our enemies) we should haue considered that God, who was sometime fauourable vnto the Nation of the Iewes, had now condemned them vnto perdition: for had hee yet beene fauourable vnto vs, or had hee beene but lightly offended at vs, hee would not haue permitted so many men to haue perished, and haue deliuered his holy Citie into the hands of the enemies to bee consumed with fire. And wee onely amongst all our Nation, hoped to liue in liberty, as though wee had no waies offended the diuine Maiesty, nor beene guilty of any offence, who indeed taught others iniquity. So you see how we are checked for longing after vaine hope, being brought into greater extremity then wee expected. Neither hath our Castle by nature inexpugnable, any thing profited vs to our preseruation, but wee hauing store of victuals and armour, and all other necessaries, haue lost all hope of safety, God himselfe openly taking it from vs. For the fire that once was carried against our enemies, did not of it selfe returne against vs and vnto the wall wee built. But it was the punishment of our offences, who furiously raged against our owne Nation. For the which I request you, let vs not bee punished by the Romanes; whose forces are inuincible, but by our selues let vs satisfie the ire of God, and so it will be more tolerable for vs; euen by that meanes our wiues shall die vndefiled, and our children shall not taste of seruile captiuitie. After whose deaths, wee will one helpe another to die with credit, conseruing our liberty, which is the best sepulture of all: yet let vs first fire our Castle, and burne our treasure: for it will be no small griefe vnto the Romans, if they neither get our bodies aliue, nor can finde any one iot of our riches for recompence of their labour. Let vs onely leaue our victuals as a sufficient testimony, that famine did not at any time cause vs to be conquered, but that we, as at first we resolued, preferred death before bondage. I K L

Eleazar confesseth Gods wrath to be kindled against the people.

The punishment of those crimes which the Iewes in Iury attempted against the Gentiles.

The best graue is when liberty is maintained.

Eleazar hauing thus spoken, they that were present did not all accord vnto him, for some ioyfully hasted to execute his aduice, thinking it so glorious a death. But they who mooued with compassion towards their wiues and families, were something effeminate, or else abhorred to kill themselues, one looking vpon another with teares, did shew his mind to disagree from that which *Eleazar* perswaded. Which when *Eleazar* perceiued, and that his counsell through feare was defeated, fearing also that they who courageously had accorded thereunto, would be withdrawne by the teares of others, he did not so end his exhortation; but standing vp, and with a vehement spirit, hee began to speake vnto them of the immortality of the soule, and fixing his eyes vpon them that wept, he vsed a vehement exclamation, saying: M

Eleazars oration as touching the immortality of the soule.

How much am I deceiued, who thought that valiant men fighting for their libertie, would rather choose to die then to liue, but yee doe shew your selues nothing to excell any ordinary men, who feare to die, notwithstanding that thereby you may escape great miserie, and calami-

A calamity, when in this point you ought not to haue expected any admonition thereunto, nor to haue made any delay to doe it. The ancient cuſtomes which haue endured euer ſince men had reaſon, the diuine doctrine of our nation, which hath continually beene confirmed by the deeds of our predeceſſors, doe inſtruct vs, that it is miſery to liue, and not to die. For death freeth our ſoules from priſon vnto their moſt pure and proper place; where neuer after they ſhall be touched with calamity. Which whileſt they are bound in a mortall bodie, and doe participate of his miſeries, may probably be affirmed to be dead. For it is an vnſeemely coniunction for that which is diuine, to be coupled and connexed vnto that which is mortall. True it is, that our ſoules can doe much being ioyned to our bodies, for they vſe the bodies as their inſtruments, ſecretly producing in them motion, and many other actions paſſing the nature of mortall things. But when the ſoule is looſed from that heauy burthen which doth weigh it down euen vnto the earth, which hangeth vpon it, and hath receiued his proper habitation, then it enioyeth free and perfect felicity, and remaineth inuiſible to our mortall eies as God himſelf is, neither is it viſible in our bodies. For it commeth ſecretly into them, and ſo departeth from them againe, that no man can perceiue it, hauing onely a nature incorrupt, and cauſing a change in our bodies. For whatſoeuer the ſoule toucheth, that preſently liueth and flouriſheth; and what it forſaketh, that incontinently withereth and dieth: ſo much doth it participate of immortality. The ſleepe may bee an euident argument vnto you of this which I ſpeake, where the ſoule not diſtracted taketh a moſt pleaſant and ſweete repoſe; and communicating with God, it is with him preſent in euery place by reaſon of affinity, and foretelleth many future euents. Wherefore ſhould we then feare death, who loue the reſt that we haue in ſleep? were not he a mad man that for a ſhort life would hinder himſelfe of eternall life? It were neceſſary that we who are inſtructed in the law of our nation, ſhould giue example to others to deſpiſe and contemne death. But if we ſeeke confirmation hereof from ſtrangers, let vs ſee the example amongſt the wiſer ſort of the Indians: for they being iuſt men do tolerate this life as a neceſſary office of nature for a certaine time, though againſt their wils; yet do they haſten to vnlooſe the ſoule bound in this mortall body, though not vrged thereunto by any calamity or neceſſity, but onely for deſire of immortality, telling others that they will depart out of this life; neither doth any one ſeeke to hinder them, but all men eſteeming them moſt fortunate, ſend by them commendations and other meſſages vnto their friends departed: ſo firm is their beliefe that the ſoules of them that are dead haue communion and conuerſation together: And ſo they hauing all inſtruction what to ſay to the ſoules departed, doe with great applauſe leap into the fire, that thereby their ſoules may be purified from their bodies. And their friends go more ioyfully with them when they go to their deaths, then any doth that bringeth his friend on the way when he is to goe a great iourney; and they bewaile themſelues, not thoſe who are dead and haue attained immortality. Shall not we then be aſhamed not to beleeue ſo firmely as the Indians doe? deſpiſing through our own ſloath our country lawes which are to be emulated of all men? Nay, ſuppoſing that by our law we had bin inſtructed contrariwiſe, to wit, that to liue in this life is bliſſe, and to die is calamity: yet notwithſtanding this preſent neceſſity, this preſent time had beene a ſufficient motiue to cauſe vs to embrace death rather then life, ſeeing that by Gods appointment, and of neceſſity we muſt now die. In times paſt it appeareth God ſo prouided, that he ſhortened their daies of our own nation, that would not vſe their life as they ought to haue done. I dare not aſcribe it vnto the Romans, nor report of our ſelues that their wars conſumed vs all. For this did not happen through their forces, but a more potent cauſe hereof there was which made them conquerors. Which of the Romans ſlew the Iewes that inhabited at Cæſarea? whom the inhabitants therof vpon the Sabbath day, they being aſſembled in one place together with their wiues and children, did maſſacre, notwithſtanding that they had no intent to reuolt from them, nor neuer lifted vp their hands in their owne defence, nothing fearing the Romans, who only accounted them of our nation their enemies that reuolted from them. But ſome may obiect, the Iewes at Cæſarea, and the inhabitants thereof were alwaies at variance, and that now they reuenged their old quarrell, hauing gotten opportunity. What then ſhall we ſay of the Scythopolitans? who bare armes with the Græcians againſt vs, and denied to aſſiſt their owne kinred againſt the Romans. What profit did they receiue by this their good will and fidelity? for they were altogether with their whole families cruelly ſlaine, and this was the reward they had for their labour, for hauing withſtood vs to haue done the like vnto them; it were too long to recount all things ſeuerally to this effect. For as ye know there is no city in all Syria that hath not maſſacred the Iewes there inhabiting,

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A ſoule tied in a mortall body.

The power of the ſoule.

Sleepe the argument of the immortality of the ſoule.

The profeſſors of wiſedome among the Indians burne themſelues.

An exhortation to cõtemn death, drawne from the time and place.

Example taken from the Iewes that were ſlaine in Cæſarea.

The calamity of the Iews in Scythopolis.

biting, being more our enemies then the Romanes were, where they of Damaſcus, although they could not deuiſe any probable cauſe for it, yet did they maſſacre all the Iewes liuing among them, who amounted to the number of eighteen thouſand, beſide their wiues and families. And as we haue heard it reported, the number of the Iewes ſlaine by the Egyptians, were aboue three-ſcore thouſand: It may be that finding no aduerſity in a ſtrange country, they were put to death by their enemies: but they that in their owne country fought againſt the Romans, wanted nothing that might haue cauſed a perfect hope of a full victory ouer the Romanes, they had weapons, armour, wals, and ſtrong holds inexpugnable; their valorous courage in fighting for liberty ſhunned no danger, and encouraged men to reuolt: which all, hauing a while ſerued their turnes, at laſt was a cauſe of their greater miſery. For all were taken and ſubdued by the enemies, as though they had been built and made to make their enemies victory more famous, and not to doe them ſeruice. And we may iuſtly deeme them happy who were ſlaine in the warre, for they died in liberty. Yet who doth not pity the multitude of them that fell into the Romans hands; or who would not haſten to die, rather then endure the like miſery that they ſuffered? Some of them being tortured, and ſome with fire and ſtripes periſhed; and others halfe eaten of wilde beaſts, were reſerued aliue for their ſecond food: and they are moſt miſerable of all that are yet aliue, who often wiſh for death and cannot finde it. Where is now that gorgeous City? where is it that was once the mother City of all the nation of the Iewes? ſo ſtrengthned with ſuch ſtrong wals, ſo fortified with towers and caſtles to defend the wals, ſcarcely able to contain the prouiſion made for warre, hauing in it ſo huge a multitude of men to fight for it; what is it now become, wherein God himſelfe was thought to dwell? It is now razed downe euen vnto the very foundations; and no other memory or reliques therof is left ſtanding; their camp is deſtroied, onely a few old men and vnhappy ſuruiue, who ſate among the aſhes of the Temple, and a few women whom the enemies reſerued to ſatisfie their filthy luſt. And will any amongſt vs, conſidering all theſe things, deſire to behold the light of the Sunne, although he could liue without moleſtation? Who is ſuch an enemy to his natiue ſoyle? who is ſo effeminate or deſirous of his life, that doth not grieue to haue liued till this time? Would God we had been all in our graues before we had ſeene that ſacred City fired by a hoſtile hand, before we beheld the holy Temple deſtroyed by impiety: and ſeeing that the hope we had to be reuenged vpon our enemies is now vaniſhed away, and that we are left alone in miſery and neceſſity, let vs haſten to dye well, and take compaſſion vpon our ſelues, our wiues and children, and that whileſt we haue time, to compaſſionate our ſelues. For both we are borne to dye, and all that are begotten by vs, and the ſtrongeſt men liuing cannot auoid it: but iniury, and bondage, and to ſee our wiues and children abuſed before our faces, is no neceſſity proceeding from mans nature, but they onely are forced to endure it, who when they might haue died without it, did refuſe for feare. We firſt of all truſting to our ſtrength, rebelled againſt the Romans; now laſtly they exhorting vs to obedience, we denyed: which of them then will not be enraged againſt vs, if they can take vs aliue? Moſt miſerable ſhall thoſe young men be, whoſe ſtrength will endure many torments, and thoſe old men will mooue compaſſion whoſe aged yeers cannot ſuffer tortures; one ſhall ſee his wife carried away from him, and another his ſonne hauing his hands bound behind him, cry out vnto his father for helpe: who now whileſt they are free from the thraldome of their enemies, may glorioufly aſſiſt vs with their ſwords. Let vs with our wiues and children die freemen, let vs altogether depart out of this life. This our religion commandeth, this our wiues and children perſwadeth; God himſelfe hath driuen vs vnto this neceſſity for this purpoſe. The Romans would haue it otherwiſe, who feare leſt any of vs ſhould periſh, and not fall into their hands aliue. Let vs therefore haſten, that in ſtead of their expected hope, whereby they verily perſwaded themſelues to take vs aliue, we may contrary to their expectation daunt them with a ſudden admiration of our glorious deaths.

Whileſt *Eleazar* was yet ſpeaking, and deſirous ſtill to continue his exhortation, they all interrupted him: euery one now in a fury bent to follow his aduice, made haſte to effect it; and as though they had beene vrged by ſome ſpirit thereunto, euery one laboured to preuent one another in the execution thereof, iudging him to ſhew moſt valour and fortitude, that firſt diſpatched himſelfe. They were alſo deſirous to kill their wiues and children with themſelues. And which is moſt ſtrange, their mindes were nothing altered when they came to effect this bloody worke; but with the ſame reſolution they had, when they heard *Eleazars* ſpeech, euery one retained his good affection towards his friends: yet permitting reaſon to take no place, and

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18000. Iewes ſlain in Syria, and 60000. in Egypt.

The calamity of thoſe Iewes who were taken by the Romanes.

Ieruſalem the Metropolitan City razed from the foundations.

We are borne to dy, and the moſtſtrongeſt cannot auoid the ſame.

Eleazar tels the Iewes of the Romanes tyranny.

It is a happineſſe among the Iewes to die free.

A and perſwading themſelues that thus they had well prouided for their children, they all at once embraced their wiues and children for their laſt farewell, and tooke their leaues of them, kiſſing them with teares, and then at once ſlew them, as though it had been done by the hands of other men, and not their owne, comforting themſelues being forced ſo to doe, in that hereby they ſhould eſcape the tyranny and cruelty of their enemies. Finally, no man was ſo cowardly, who durſt not preſume to this action; ſo euery one of them killed his deareſt friends. O miſerable people! whom neceſſity forced to ſlay their wiues and children, accounting the action thereof to be the very leaſt of all their miſeries? Wherefore now not enduring the griefe that enſued vpon this fact, and thinking that in liuing any while after them, they ſhould iniure them whom they B had ſlaine, they with all ſpeed poſſible gathered all their riches together and ſet them on fire: which done, they elected ten by lot, who ſhould ſlay the reſt, euery one proſtrating himſelfe vpon his wife and children, and embracing them in his armes, and was ſo ſlaine willingly by them that executed that wretched office: who hauing without feare diſpatched them, they caſt lots whoſe fortune it was to kill all the reſt, and he vpon whom the lot ſhould fall, ſhould kill the other nine, and laſtly himſelfe vpon them all, euery one ſo encouraging one another, that there was no difference betweene them that were to be killed, and them that were to kill, and ſo the reſt offered themſelues to death: which done, one who was the laſt of all, being yet aliue, went amongſt the dead bodies, and ſearched to ſee if none liued that needed his hand in ſo great a multitude of ſlaine people; and finding all of them diſpatched, he went and fired the Palace: which done, he C with all his force thruſt his ſword into his owne body vp to the hilts, and ſo fell downe by his deareſt friends.

The yeere of the world, 4038. after Chriſts birth, 76.

The Iewes gathering all their goods together, caſt them into the fire. Ten choſen by lot to kill the reſt of the Iewes.

In this manner they died, thinking they had left no one aliue to haue fallen into the Romans hands, but one certaine old woman, and another that was *Eleazars* couſin, who in learning and wiſedome ſurpaſſed all other women, and fiue children, who all hid themſelues in a caue wherein water was reſerued to drink, whileſt the reſt were buſied in this maſſacre, who were in number 900. and 60. beſide women and children. This calamity hapned the fifteenth day of April. In the morning the Romans expecting that the Iewes would fight with them, made bridges from their mounts vnto the wals, and ſo aſſaulted the wals: and ſeeing none of their enemies appeare, but all the wals waſted and on fire, and deep ſilence in euery place, they could not coniecture D what was done, and at laſt they made a cry at once, as though they had beene beating the wals with a Ram, thereby to ſee if they could make any enemies come out. The women in the vaults heard this cry, and comming forth, they declared vnto the Romans all that had hapned, one of them relating vnto them the euent of all the whole matter: yet for all this the Romans did not eaſily beleeue her words, by reaſon of the greatneſſe of that fact, but they endeuoured to quench the fire, and paſſing thorow it, they preſently came into the Palace, where they beheld all the dead bodies, yet they did not inſult ouer them as their enemies, but admired that ſo many ſhould be ſo obſtinately minded to deſpiſe death.

The Romans expect the fight.

The Romans admire the Iews fortitude and obſtinate contempt of death.

CHAP. XXIX.

E

Of the death of the Sicarians that were fled vnto Alexandria and Thebes.

THe Caſtle being thus taken, the Generall of the Romans leauing a garriſon there, went vnto Cæſarea, for there was no one enemy left in all that countrey, but now all Iudæa was deſtroied through continuance of long wars, and many of that nation though farre diſtant from it, taſted of thoſe troubles: for it ſo fell out, that afterward many Iewes periſhed in Egypt at Alexandria: for thoſe Sicarians who had eſcaped thither, were not content to bee ſafe and free from danger, but there alſo they attempted alteration, and to defend their liberty againſt the Romanes, eſteeming themſelues nothing inferiour vnto them, and that onely God F was their Lord. And ſome of the nobler race of the Iewes, ſeeking to withſtand that their enterprize, were by theſe Sicarians ſlaine: which was no ſooner done, but they exhorted the people to reuolt. The chiefe and elders of the Iewes ſeeing this, and that they could not repreſſe them without danger, they aſſembled all the Iewes together, and declared vnto them the temerity of theſe Sicarians, ſhewing them to be the authors of all the miſery that had befallen the Iewes, and that now notwithſtanding they were eſcaped, yet they were not certaine of their liues; for that if they were knowne, the Romans would preſently put them to death, and draw them alſo

The murtherers, authors of new calamity.

The Iewes aſſemble and conſult about the murtherers.

The yeere of the world, 4038. after Christs birth, 76.

into the like misery, who were not partakers of their wickednesse. Wherefore they admonished the multitude to beware lest they drew themselues into the same danger, wherein they were, and to make satisfaction vnto the Romans for themselues, by deliuering such people vnto them. The Iewes were perswaded by these speeches: and foreseeing the danger that might ensue, they furiously assaulted the Sicarians, and tooke of them 600. and shortly after those who there escaping, fled into Egypt and Thebes, were taken and brought backe againe; whose hard-hearted obstinacy was so great, that none can without admiration, heare of. For notwithstanding that all torments and tortures that could be deuised were inflicted vpon them, onely to force them to confesse that *Cæsar* was their Lord, yet no one of them would say so, nor make any shew therof, but all persеuered in their former opinion, as though the bodie tormented had beene dead, and not aliue. Moreouer, their children were most to be admired, for not one of them could be constrained to call *Cæsar* Lord. So much did their boldnesse ouercome the torments inflicted vpon their bodies.

Diuers sorts of torments and tortures inflicted on them who refuse Cæsars soueraignty.

CHAP. XXX.

How the Temple of ONIAS *at Alexandria was shut vp.*

AT that time *Lupus* was Gouernour of Alexandria, who with all speed by letters gaue *Cæsar* notice of these troubles. And *Cæsar*, seeing that it was necessary to beware of the Iewes, who were naturally enclined to sedition and vnquietnesse, fearing also that they would once againe gather themselues together, and cause some to ioyne with them, he commanded *Lupus* to destroy the Temple, which *Onias* erected in Egypt, which was builded and named vpon this occasion: *Onias* the son of *Simon* one of the high Priests, being driuen out of Ierusalem, *Antiochus* King of Syria then warring against the Iewes, he came vnto Alexandria, and was courteously entertained by *Ptolomæus* who was then also enemy vnto *Antiochus*, affirming that he would annexe vnto his countrey the people of the Iewes, if he would agree to that which he required. The King according to all that could be granted, he requested him to permit him to build a Temple in some place of his countrey, and that he might worship God therein according to the custome of their countrey: for so the Iewes would hate *Antiochus* the more, who had destroyed their Temple at Ierusalem, and be friendly vnto him, and many of them did flie vnto him for religion sake. *Ptolomæus* agreed so to doe, and gaue him a piece of ground for that purpose, a hundreth and fourescore stounds from Memphis, in that place which was called the way to Heliopolis: where *Onias* building a Castle, made also a Temple vnlike to that of Ierusalem; but he erected a tower like that of Ierusalem, with stones, that was threescore cubits long, and he built an altar after the fashion of that of his countrey, and adorned it with all manner of gifts (saue onely a candlesticke) which had in stead thereof a lampe to giue light, which he caused to be hung before the altar in a golden chaine, and he inuironed all the Temple with a wall made of bricke, and the gates he made of stone, and the King granted vnto it great reuenues of money and ground, to the intent that the Priests might haue aboundance of all things which they required.

Onias by Ptolomies cõsent, buildeth a city and temple in Egypt.

Onias temple built in Egypt

But *Onias* did not this with a good conscience, but for that he was at variance with the Iewes of Ierusalem, for that they forced him to flie: and he perswaded himselfe that by the building of this Temple, he might withdraw all men from Ierusalem thither; and of this, there was a prophecy 970. yeers before, and *Esaias* foretold that a certain Iew should build a Temple in Egypt. And thus that Temple was built, and *Lupus* hauing receiued the Emperors letters, went vnto the Temple, and taking away certaine gifts from it, he shut it vp: And after him *Paulinus* who succeeded in his stead, left not one gift there (for hee threatned the Priests if they did not bring forth all) and permitted not any that came thither for to sacrifice, to come neere it; but shutting vp the gate thereof, he left no signe of diuine seruice there, and from the time it was built, till the time it was shut vp, were 333. yeeres.

Lupus shuts the Iewes out of the temple.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the Maſſacre of the Iewes at Cyrene.

The yere of the world, 4038. after Chriſts birth, 76.

THE boldneſſe of the Sicarians, like ſome infectious diſeaſe, infected alſo the townes about Cyrene. For one *Iohn*, a Weauer, and a wicked man hauing eſcaped, perſwaded many ſimple people to follow him, and led them into the wilderneſſe, promiſing to ſhew them ſignes and viſions, and thus he deceiued the ſimpleſt ſort of the Iewes: but the nobleſt of them of Cyrene vnderſtanding his deceit, gaue *Catullus* notice of his preparation and departure, who was then Gouernour of Lybia; who ſending horſemen and footmen, did eaſily ſurprize them being vnarmed, and the moſt part of them were ſlaine, yet ſome were taken aliue, and brought to *Catullus*. But their Leader *Ionathas* at that time eſcaped: yet being diligently laid and ſought for ouer all thoſe countries, hee was at laſt taken, and being brought vnto *Catullus*, hee ſought to delay his owne puniſhment, in offering an occaſion of iniquitie vnto *Catullus*. For he accuſed the richeſt among the Iewes, to haue bin his aduiſers to doe this matter. *Catullus* was glad of thoſe allegations, and exaggerated his accuſations very much with tragicall termes, ſo that he ſeemed to haue made an end of the wars againſt the Iewes, and which was worſt of all, to be content to credit whatſoeuer was maliciouſly ſpoken: hee himſelfe inſtructed the Sicarians to frame ſcandalous accuſations; and commanding them to nominate one *Alexander* a Iew, whom hee had long hated, and his wife *Berenice*, hee put them firſt of all to death, and after them all that were well monyed, who amounted to the number of 3000, and this he thought he did without controule, becauſe he confiſcated their poſſeſſions vnto *Cæſar*. And leſt any Iew liuing in any other place ſhould complaine of his iniuſtice, he extended his malicious lyes againſt others further off, and perſwaded *Ionathas* and certaine others that were taken with him, to accuſe the moſt truſty and faithfull Iewes at Rome and Alexandria: one of them who were thus falſely accuſed, was named *Ioſeph*, who writ this Hiſtory. But this deuice of *Catullus* had not ſucceſſe as hee hoped: for he came to Rome, and brought *Ionathas* and the reſt bound with him, thinking that no more inquiry would be made of the falſe accuſations inuented by himſelfe.

A part of Ionathans companions were taken and ſlaine, the reſt kept captiue aliue, and brought to Catullus.

Three thouſand Iewes ſlaine by Catullus.

Ioſeph by Catullus perſwaſion is accuſed by Ionathas.

But *Veſpaſian*, ſuſpecting the matter, made diligent inquiry to know the truth: and finding theſe crimes iniuriouſly impoſed vpon thoſe men, at *Titus* intreaty, he acquited them, and puniſhed *Ionathas* according to his deſert; who being firſt whipped, was afterward burned aliue. And *Catullus* at that time, by reaſon of the mildneſſe of the Emperour, had nothing ſaid vnto him: but not long after he fell into a grieuous diſeaſe, and was cruelly tormented, not onely in body, but alſo in minde. For he was greatly terrified, and ſtill imagined to ſee the ghoſts of them whom he had ſo vniuſtly ſlaine, ready to kill him; ſo that he cryed out, and not able to containe himſelfe, leapt out of his bed, as though hee had beene tortured with torments and fire. And this diſeaſe daily increaſing on, his guts and bowels rotting and iſſuing out of him, at laſt hee dyed in this manner, leauing behind him an euident argument, that the Diuine Iuſtice doth puniſh impious malefactors. And this is the end of the Hiſtory, which wee promiſed to bee ſet downe with all fidelitie, for them that are deſirous to know the euent of the warres betweene the Iewes and the Romanes. And as for our ſtyle, we leaue it to the iudgement of the Reader: but touching the veritie of the Hiſtory, it is ſuch, as no man need to doubt of; for I doe affirme that to be the onely ſcope, which I aymed at in this whole worke.

Ionathas, being firſt beaten, is burnt aliue.

The concluſion of the ſeuen bookes of the warres of the Iewes.

The end of the ſeuenth and laſt Booke of FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS, *of the Warres of the Iewes.*

THE

THE FIRST BOOKE OF FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS THE SONNE OF MATTHIAS, WRITTEN AGAINST APION, AS TOVCHING THE ANTIQVITIE OF THE IEWES.

I Suppose (O thou worthiest amongst worthy men, *Epaphroditus*) that I haue sufficiently testified vnto them, who shall reade those bookes which I haue written, as touching the Authentique History of the Iewes, that our Nation is most ancient, and that they haue had their originall from themselues, and haue from the first beginning inhabited that Countrey, whereof they are now possessed at this present. To which effect I haue gathered out of our Sacred writings, and publisht in the Greeke tongue, a History containing the occurrences of fiue thousand yeeres. And for that I see there are diuers, who (beeing too much addicted and seduced by the scandalous blasphemies and reports which some of those who are lewdly affected towards vs, haue published against vs) haue misconceited and misbeleeued that which I haue written of our Antiquitie, and labour to approoue our Nation to be moderne, because none of the most ancient and most renowned Historiographers among the Grecians haue thought our ancestors worthy to be enrowled in their writings: I haue for these causes held it a part of my duty to write some short Treatise hereupon; both to reprooue the euill intent and affected lying of those our calumners, as also to correct their ignorance, by teaching those who are desirous to know the truth, what the originall of our nation is. For proofe whereof, I will produce no other testimony then those, who from antiquitie haue beene iudged worthy of credit among the Greekes; laying open before their eyes, that they, who haue slanderously and falsely written against vs, are conuicted by their owne mouthes: I will also enforce my selfe to expresse the causes, why very few Grecians haue made mention of vs in their Histories: and moreouer, I will make it knowne to those who are ignorant (either in effect or in pretence) who they haue beene that omitted not our History. First of all therefore, I doe not a little maruell at those, who (in respect of antiquitie) suppose that the truth ought onely to be gathered from the Greekes: and that they iustly may claime the honour and knowledge of faithfull writing, whereas they neither vouchsafe either vs, or any others, the credit or truth in that we set downe, although I am able to prooue, that all things haue falne out quite contrary. For which cause it behoooueth vs not to looke to mens various opinions, but to examine that which is right, and gather the same by the effects. For whatsoeuer is set downe by the Greekes is new, and of late memory, and hath beene brought to execution, in a manner but yesterday: I meane the foundations of Cities, the inuentions of Arts, and the descriptions of Lawes, and the latest practice among them hath beene, and is, the diligent trauell in History.

The History of the Antiquity containeth the euents of fiue thousand yeeres.

The causes that moued him to write this booke.

All things among the Greekes are moderne, but such things as were done among the Ægyptians, Chaldees and Phœnicians, are of happy memory and venerable antiquitie.

But amongst the Ægyptians, Chaldees and Phœnicians (for I presume not to compare my countreymen with them) as they themselues confesse, the memory of their writings is most ancient and infallible. For all these nations dwell in such countries as are not subiect to the corruption of ayre; and haue carefully prouided, that none of those things that haue bin done by them should

A ſhould ſleep in obſcuritie, but ſhould be kept in memory in the publike writings of the learnedſt men: whereas innumerable corruptions haue crept in among the Greekes, by which the memory of things ſo repaſſed, is defaced. But they alwaies who haue eſtabliſhed new eſtates, haue each of them ſuppoſed in their owne behalfe, that whoſoeuer was of theirs, hee was the firſt of the world. Yet notwithſtanding they haue had the knowledge of the nature of letters very late, and haue attained the ſame with very great difficultie. For they that ſpeake of the moſt ancient vſe of the ſame, do boaſt and glorifie themſelues, that they haue receiued the knowledge therof from the Phœnicians, and *Cadmus*. Yet notwithſtanding, there is not any one of them that can ſhew any record of that time, either in their Temple, or in their publike Regiſters: whereas, after, there B aroſe a great doubt and queſtion, whether thoſe letters were in vſe during their time, who ſince haue for the ſpace of many yeeres continued the ſiege before Troy. And in ſooth, their opinion who affirme that they were ignorant of the vſe of thoſe letters, which are at this preſent allowed and accuſtomed among vs, is not to be refuſed. For it is moſt manifeſt, that there is not any writing extant among the Greekes that is more ancient then *Homers* poeſie, which as it is moſt manifeſt, hath beene in allowance and continuance ſince the time of the ſiege of Troy: and yet it is reported, that he left no part of that his poeſie in writing, which was compoſed of diuers ſongs, and onely ſung by roat; by which meanes it came to paſſe, that there are ſo many contradictions in the ſame. And as touching thoſe who haue vndertaken to write hiſtories among them, I meane *Cadmus* the Mileſian, and *Acuſilaus* the Argiue, and after him if there were any others; they were C not aliue, but very little time before the paſſage of the Perſians into Greece. Furthermore, they who among the Greekes were the firſt that introduced Philoſophy, and the knowledge of celeſtiall and diuine things, that is to ſay, *Pherecydes* the Syrian, *Pythagoras* and *Thales*, theſe all of them confeſſe with one accord, that being inſtructed by the Ægyptians and Chaldees, they haue publiſhed ſome few writings, which are ſuppoſed to be the moſt ancient among the Greekes, and it is hardly beleeued alſo that they were written by them. What reaſon therefore haue the Greeks to be ſo proud, as if there were none but themſelues onely who knew the affaires of antiquitie, and could exactly expreſſe their truth and veritie? Or who cannot eaſily coniecture by their owne Writers themſelues, that their writings were onely vpon heareſay and ſuppoſition, and that their ſtyle was onely tyed to their vaine coniectures? Hence commeth it to paſſe, that in D their bookes they cauill and reprooue one another, and make no conſcience to maintaine and write contradictions in one and the ſame thing.

Innumerable corruptions inuaded Greece.

The Phœnicians and Cadmus, the firſt inuenters of letters.

Among the Greeks there is not any writing more ancient then Homers poem.

But it may be ſaid, that I taske my ſelfe to a fruitleſſe labour, if I ſhould goe about to informe thoſe who are better experienced then my ſelfe; in how many points *Hellanicus* differeth from *Acuſilaus* as touching the Genealogy: in how many places *Acuſilaus* hath corrected *Herodotus*; or how *Ephorus* hath approoued that *Hellanicus* was a lyer in the greater part of that which hee reciteth. *Ephorus* hath bin reproued by *Timæus*; and in generall, all they haue taxed *Herodotus*. Neither hath *Timæas* vouchſafed to accord with *Antiochus*, or *Philiſtus*, or *Callias*, in the Hiſtories of Sicily. Neither haue they who haue written the Hiſtories of Athens, or thoſe who haue entreated of the Argoliques, followed others. What need I reckon vp thoſe who in particular E haue entreated of cities, or of ſuccinct and ſhort matters? whereas in the deſcription of the Perſian warre, and thoſe exploits that were performed therein, thoſe of greateſt authoritie are moſt at oddes. *Thucydides* is accuſed by ſome for a lyer in diuers places, notwithſtanding that hee ſeemeth to haue deſcribed the Hiſtory of his time moſt exactly. But the cauſes of this diſcord are diuers, and it may be that they who ſhall narrowly pry into them, ſhall finde more. For mine owne part, thoſe two which I ſhall here ſet downe, in my opinion are of greateſt waight. The firſt, and in my iudgement the chiefeſt, is, that amongſt the Greekes, from the beginning they haue not beene induſtrious to keepe publike Regiſters of ſuch matters as happened in any time or place: which hath made them erre, and giuen thoſe a priuiledge to lye, who afterwards would looke to write any thing of ſuch matters as were acted long ſince. Neither are the other Greekes onely to F be touched with this negligence for not making account of ſuch Regiſters, but amongſt the Athenians alſo (who are reputed to bee glorious for the antiquity of their countrey, and who are exerciſed in Sciences) there is no mention of them. For it is ſaid, that the moſt ancient and publike writing which they haue, are thoſe capitall lawes which were ſet down by their Lawmaker *Draco*, who liued but a little time before *Piſiſtratus* tyranny. What need we ſpeake of the Arcades, who vaunt themſelues of their antiquities? For they haue learned the vſe of letters with very great difficulty, and ſome time after this: whereas therefore there was not any writing publiſhed

Thucydides writ a moſt exact hiſtory of his time.

The cauſes of diſcord among the Iewes. Greekes.

liſhed before that time which might inſtruct thoſe that would learne, or reprehend thoſe that publiſhed vntruths: from thence it is, that ſo many differences haue happened amongſt Hiſtoriographers. A ſecond cauſe is, for that they, who addicted themſelues to compoſe Hiſtories, did not buſie themſelues about the inquiſition of the truth (notwithſtanding that each of them did ordinarily promiſe no leſſe) but they laboured to expreſſe how eloquent they were, and fixed their whole ſtudy thereon, as the onely meanes whereby they hoped to obtaine reputation aboue the reſt. Some of them therefore addicted their ſtyles to fables, otherſome by flattering praiſes thought to currie fauour with Kings and Cities. The reſt inforced their ſtudies to accuſations, by obtrecting the worke of the writer thereof, vnder truſt to get the more credit thereby. In effect they haue followed that courſe in compoſing their Hiſtory, that was euery way different from the true nature thereof. (For the aſſured ſigne of a perfect and true Hiſtory is, whereas all men accord both in word and writing in ſetting downe the ſame thing:) and they who haue written diuerſly, made men beleeue that they were the trueſt amongſt all the reſt. Wee ought therefore to grant the ſuperioritie to the Grecians in all that which concerneth eloquence, and the ornament of language, but not in that which appertaineth to antiquitie or truth of Hiſtory, and eſpecially when the queſtion is, what each man writ as touching his owne Nation.

Another cauſe of their diſcord recorded by the Grecian Hiſtoriographers.

The ſigne of a true hiſtory.

Seeing therefore that both the Ægyptians and Babylonians long time ſince vſed all diligence in writing, inſomuch as their prieſts were hereunto enioyned, who did moſt curiouſly intreat of all ſuch points: the ſame alſo did the Chaldees amongſt the Babylonians, and the Phœnicians alſo (inhabiting amongſt the Greekes) vſed lawes (both concerning priuate and publike affaires) which, becauſe all men confeſſe it, I will omit to ſpeake of. I let paſſe alſo to recount what care our nation had of this point (no doubt greater then thoſe nations aboue mentioned had) charging our high prieſts and prophets to execute this office, which cuſtome hath beene obſerued euen vntill this our age: yea (and if I may preſume ſo far) will be obſerued in all ſucceeding ages, as by the ſcope of my ſpeech enſuing I will endeuour to make manifeſt. For our nation did not onely depute this office to the moſt iuſt men amongſt them in the beginning, and vnto ſuch as were alwaies ready to appeaſe the heauy diſpleaſure and wrath of God kindled againſt them; but they alſo prouided to preſerue the line and deſcent of prieſts from all impurity, and from being intermingled with others. For no man amongſt vs can be a prieſt, who is not borne of a woman deſcended from the prieſts line; neither in this caſe is any reſpect made either of riches or honours: but the partie who claimeth the dignitie of prieſthood, muſt by many witneſſes proue his Genealogy, and that he is deſcended from prieſts. This cuſtome is not onely of force in Iewry, our owne country, but whereſoeuer elſe any of our nation inhabit, as in Ægypt and Babylon, and in any other place, where continually the prieſts in their marriages haue this reſpect, not to marry with any woman that is not of their owne line, and they ſend vnto Ieruſalem the name and pedigree of the woman whom they haue married, and all teſtimony hereof which they can deduce from her anceſtors. Now if warres moleſt our nation (as often they haue) in the time of *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *Epiphanes*, of *Pompey* the great, *Quintilius Varo*, and eſpecially in this our age, then thoſe Prieſts who ſuruiue make new Genealogies, and pedigrees out of our holy writ for the foreſaid women, that are not deuoured by the fury of warre. For they come vnto theſe women, not fearing the company of ſtrangers amongſt whom they liue: yea, this is an euident token of the Prieſts integritie, that euery prieſt during the reuolution of two thouſand yeeres, are regiſtred together with the names of their fathers, and if any one doe erre or falſifie any of the things before-ſaid, he is then interdicted from the altar, and from exerciſing any prieſtly function. So that in the writings of ſuch men, all things muſt of neceſſitie bee true, and as they ought to be, for that neither all men are permitted to write, nor yet any diſſonance and diſagreement is found in their writings. For ſuch things as paſt in ancient times quite beyond the memory of men, were only written by our Prophets, who had the knowledge thereof by inſpiration from God himſelfe: but other things of later time are onely recorded by thoſe who liued in the age, wherein the things they writ of were done. The bookes amongſt vs, containing the Hiſtories of all ages, are neither infinite, nor one repugnant to another: for all our Chronicle is contained in 22 bookes, to which bookes it is impietie to deny credit.

A cuſtome which the Prieſts obſerued.

The Prieſts amongſt the Iewes are euery one regiſtred with the name of their fathers: and this cuſtome hath continued two thouſand yeeres.

Two & twentie bookes of holy writ.

Fiue of theſe books were written by *Moſes*, comprehending Genealogies, and the beginning of mankind, and ſuch notable euents as hapned euen from the beginning of the world vntill his death; which is little leſſe then three thouſand yeeres. After the death of *Moſes* vntill the time wherein

A wherein *Artaxerxes* liued, who was King of the Perſians, and ſon to *Xerxes*, the Prophets of our Nation euery one writ the Hiſtory of his time wherein hee liued, ſo that of theſe mens wrrtings we haue thirteene books: the foure other books, which make vp the number already mentioned, are knowne to containe holy Hymnes dedicated vnto God, and wholſome precepts for mans life and conuerſation. All things, which from *Artaxerxes* vntill our time haue hapned, are alſo ſet downe in writing: yet the bookes wherein they are regiſtred, doe not deſerue ſo much credit as the former of ancient times, for that there was no certaine ſucceſſion of Prophets in this age. Moreouer, it is euident, that to the former workes we gine as great credit as to the things we our ſelues write; and notwithſtanding they haue bin ſo long written, yet in all that time no man durſt
B preſume either to alter or blot out any thing therein contained. For all Iewes euen from their cradle doe beleeue theſe bookes to be ſacred, holy, and diuine, and therefore doe giue all credit poſſible vnto them, and ſo would willingly ſuffer death, rather then to doe the contrary. Many captiues of our Nation haue already bin cruelly tormented, and diuers waies put to death in open Theaters, onely for that they would not commit any thing either in word or deed againſt their Lawes, nor violate the writings of their forefathers. Now who amongſt the Greeks did euer ſuſtaine the like? Nay, they are ſo far from doing it, that none can be found among them who would ſuffer any loſſe in his goods or fortunes, thereby to preſerue all the writings of their Nation from perdition: and the reaſon hereof is, that euery one eſteemeth the verity of their Hiſtories to depend vpon the will of the Writer. And this they do alſo of their moſt ancient Hiſtoriographers,
C and not without cauſe: for they euery day ſee men of their owne times, writing Hiſtories of matters long paſt before in former ages, wherein neither themſelues were preſent, neither yet vouchſafe they to credit the writings of ſuch as were then eye-witneſſes thereof: yea ſome among them haue diuulged Hiſtories of ſuch things as of late befell our Nation, when themſelues neuer haue beene in the place where ſuch matters paſt as they did write of were, nor haue liued in any neighbour place, where they might haue probable report how matters paſt, but onely making a few centones or broken newes, they moſt impudently arrogate to their patcht ſtuffe, the name of a Hiſtory.

The Iewes and Greciams are compared together.

Some others haue written of the warres of the Iewes.

I my ſelfe haue compoſed a moſt true Hiſtory of thoſe warres, and of euery particular thing there done, as well I might, hauing beene preſent in all thoſe affaires. For I was Captaine of the
D Galileans amongſt our Nation, ſo long as any reſiſtance could be made againſt the Romans: and then it ſo fell out, that I was taken by the Romans, and being priſoner vnto *Titus* and *Veſpaſian*, they cauſed me to be an eye-witnes of all things that paſt. Firſt, in bonds and fetters, and afterward freed from them, I was brought from Alexandria with *Titus*, when he went to the ſiege of Ieruſalem. So that nothing could then paſſe whereof I had not notice. For beholding the Roman army, I committed to writing all things with all poſſible diligence. My ſelfe alſo did only manage all matters diſclozed vnto the Romans by ſuch as yeelded themſelues, for that I only did perfectly vnderſtand them. Laſtly, being at Rome, and hauing now leiſure, all buſineſſe being paſt, I vſed the helpe of ſome (for the priuity of the Greek tongue) and ſo I publiſhed a Hiſtory of all that had hapned in the foreſaid wars: which Hiſtory of mine is ſo true, that I feare not to call *Veſpaſian*
E and *Titus*, Emperors in thoſe wars, to witneſſe for them. I firſt gaue a copy of that booke to them, afterwards to many noble Romans, who alſo were preſent in thoſe warres, I ſold alſo many of them to our owne Nation, to ſuch as vnderſtood the Greek language, amongſt whom were *Iulius, Archelaus, Herod* the honeſt, and the moſt worthy King *Agrippa*, who all doe teſtifie, that my Hiſtory containeth nothing but truth: Who would not haue beene ſilent, if in any thing either for ignorance or flattery I had changed or omitted any particular. Yet notwithſtanding all this, ſome ill-diſpoſed perſons endeuour to diſcredit my Hiſtory, as though they were diſputing *pro* and *contra* amongſt children in ſchooles, being ſometimes on a ſudden to forge a feigned accuſation, and otherwiſe to faine a ſlanderous and ſudden detraction, neuer conſidering that hee who promiſeth other men a true relation of things paſt, muſt either bee priuy vnto them by his
F owne knowledge, as hauing beene preſent in the affaires, or elſe haue that which hee ſpeaketh from other mens mouthes by report of them who know them: both which I haue done. For I gathered my other books of Antiquity out of holy Scripture, being my ſelfe a Prieſt, and skilfull in our Law, and the Hiſtory of our warres I haue written, my ſelfe being an agent in many matters therein contained, and an eye-witneſſe of the reſt; ſo that nothing was ſaid or done whereof I had not notice. How then can any one excuſe them from impudency and malice, who labour againſt mee to prooue my relation falſe? They perhaps alleadge, that they haue read the commentarie

Ioſeph was preſent in all the wars of the Iewes.

Ioſeph writ the Hiſtory of the Iewes warres being at Rome.

Ioſeph ſold his bookes to many.

Some do derogate from Ioſephs Hiſtory.

mentarie containig the Emperours acts, yet for all this, they were not present in any action, repugnant to that, which my History recounteth. G

Thus haue I (as I thought it necessary) made a digression to shew how they are able to performe their word, who discrediting my History, promise to set down truth in writing. I haue also sufficiently (as I think) demonstrated, that the registring of things is more ancient amongst other Nations, then amongst the Greeks. I will now first of all dispute against those, who with all might and maine labour to proove our Nation of no antiquity, for that (as they say) no Greeke Writer maketh any mention of it. This done, I will bring foorth proofe and testimony of the antiquitie hereof out of other Writers, and so I will shew that their tongues are no slander, who seek to discredit our Nation. First therefore, our Nation neither inhabiteth a country bordering vpon the Sea, neither are we delighted in Merchandise, nor for this cause wearied with pilgrimages from place to place. But our Cities are situate far from the Sea in a most fertile soyle, which we till with all industry, and our whole endeauours are how to get food for our children, and to keepe our countrey Lawes, and how to leaue vnto our posterity the knowledge of piety, which work we thinke all our age ought to be imploied in. Beside all this before mentioned, we haue a forme of liuing, different from all other Nations: all which concurring together, we had no need to trafficke with the Greeks, as the Egyptians and the Phœnicians doe, who giue themselues to bargaining and merchandise onely for the couetousnesse of money. Neither were our ancestors delighted in thefts and robberies, nor did our fathers make warre vpon any Nation for desire of larger possessions, notwithstanding our countrey was furnished with many thousands of strong warlike men. Wherefore the Phœnicians sailing vnto the Greeks to traffick with them, they were thus made knowne vnto them, and by them the Egyptians, and all other Nations, who sailing vpon the Seas, brought merchandise into Greece. The Medes also and Persians were knowne vnto them, after such time as they openly raigned ouer Asia, and the Persians warred euen to the other opposite continent. H I

Two things which Ioseph intendeth.

The Iewes care to bring vp their children.

The ancient Iewes had no need to trafficke with the Grecians.

Moreouer, the Greeks knew the Thracians, because they were their neighbours, and the Scythians by sailing to Pontus, and finally all that were disposed to write, knew all the Nations bordring either vpon the Easterne and Westerne Seas; but such as dwelt farre from the Sea and seacoast, were long time vnknowne, as also appeares in Europe: for neither *Thucidides*, nor *Herodotus*, nor any other of that time, maketh any mention of Rome, notwithstanding that so long since it was so mighty, and made so great wars: yet at last, with much adoo the Greeks heard of it. Yea, their most curious Writers, and namely *Ephorus*, were so ignorant of the Frenchmen and Spaniards, that they thought the Spaniards to bee a people onely denominated of one City, wherein they inhabited, whereas the whole world now knoweth them to inhabit a vast countrey, and a great part of the Westerne world. Likewise, the said Greek Writes relate the maners of the foresaid people to be such, as neither are, nor were euer vsed among them. And the onely cause why they were ignorant of the truth, was the distance of the place, and these Writers would seeme to tell something which others of former time had not spoken of. No maruell therefore though our Nation was vnknowne, and none of them in their writings made any mention of vs, being both so farre from the sea, and liuing after a different manner. K L

The Romans were lately knowne to the Greeks.

Certaine Historiographers report Spaine to be onely one Citie.

Put case therefore that I denied the Greeks to be of any antiquitie, and to proove my assertion should conclude their Nation to be moderne, for that our Histories made no mention of them, would they not laugh at this reason, and vse the testimony of their neighbour Nations to proove their antiquitie? I therefore will do the like, and vse the testimony of the Egyptians and Phœnicians, whose records the Greeks cannot deny. For all Egyptians in generall are our enemies, and among the Phœnicians they especially of Tyre; Which I cannot iustly say of the Chaldees, who haue beene Princes ouer our Nation, and because of their affinity and alliance with our countrimen, haue in their Chronicles made mention of the Iewes. Yet when I haue prooued what I now auerre, and refell the slanderous reports against vs, I will then also shew who amongst the Greeks spake of vs, that so the Greeks may also be depriued of this shift and refuge, to excuse their malicious lies falsely forged against our Nation. And first of all I will begin with the writings of the Egyptians, who, as they well know, doe nothing at all fauour vs. Wherefore *Manethon*, an Egyptian borne, skilfull in the Greeke tongue, as by his workes appeares (for hee writ in Greeke) compiling a History of the customes and religion of his forefathers, collected (as himselfe reporteth) out of the Egyptian holy writings, often reprehendeth *Herodotus*, who being indeed ignorant, did much helpe the Egyptians. This *Manethon*, in his second booke of the M

Arguments to proove the Iewes of more antiquity then the Greeks.

Manethon an Egyptian writer.

Egyptian

A Ægyptian cuſtomes ſaith thus (I will ſet downe his owne words, becauſe I vſe them as a witneſſe.) We haue a King (quoth he) named *Timæus*, in whoſe raigne God being angry with vs, contrary to all expectation, an obſcure people taking courage, came from the Eaſt, and pitching their tents in our countrey, conquered it by force, no man reſiſting them; and committing our Princes to bonds, did finally burne our cities, and deſtroy the temples of our gods, and behaued themſelues moſt cruelly againſt the inhabitants, killing many of them, and making ſlaues of the reſt with their wiues and children: finally, they choſe a King amongſt themſelues, who ſhould be then of our countrey, his name was *Saltis*, who comming to Memphis, made both the higher and lower Prouince tributaries, leauing garriſons in ſtrong holds, and fortifying thoſe B places in the Eaſt: Likewiſe, foreſeeing that the Aſſyrians were more mighty then he, and would inuade his countrey, he found out in this Prouince a citie called Saite fit for his purpoſe, beeing ſituate on the Eaſt ſide of the riuer Bubaſtis, which by an ancient diuine was called Auaris, hee builded vp this citie, and compaſſed it with moſt huge wals, and placed in it two hundred thouſand armed men to keepe it. This *Saltis* came in harueſt time, to the intent that hee might both pay his ſouldiers, and be a terrour vnto other people, and after he had raigned nineteene yeeres, he dyed.

Saltis ſubdued the Ægyptians.

After him ſucceeded another King called *Bæon*, who raigned foure and forty yeeres, next to him *Aphinas*, who raigned thirtie ſixe yeeres and ſeuen moneths, then *Aphoſis*, who raigned threeſcore and one yeeres, and then *Iandas*, who raigned fifty yeeres and one moneth, after them C all raigned *Aſſis*, nine and fortie yeeres and two moneths, and theſe ſixe were the firſt Kings amongſt them, euer deſtroying and warring vpon the Ægyptians, and labouring to extinguiſh their race. This nation was called Hicſos, which ſignifieth Kings ſhepheards: for *Hic* in the ſacred tongue, ſignifieth a King, and *Sos* a ſhepheard or ſhepheards, according to the common ſpeech, and *Hicſos* is a compound word. Some ſay theſe people were Arabians: but in other copies I find that *Hicſos*, is not interpreted kings ſhepheards, but ſhepheards that were captiues: for *Hic* and *Hac*, alſo when it is pronounced, doth in the Ægyptian tongue ſignifie a captiue, and this latter expoſition ſeemeth to me to be the trueſt, for it is more agreeable with the Hiſtory. Wherefore *Manathon* reporteth theſe foreſaid kings and ſhepheards to haue ruled Ægypt fiue hundreth and eleuen yeeres: and after theſe, the King of Thebes, and the King of the reſidue of Ægypt, vniting D their forces together, inuaded the ſaid ſhepheards, and held on great and long wars againſt them, and that the ſaid ſhepheards were ouercome by the King *Aliſfragumthoſis*, alſo that then they loſt all Ægypt which he had in their power, and that they were ſhut vp in a place called Auaris containing ten thouſand acres of ground, which as *Manathon* reporteth, theſe ſhepheards enuironed round about with a huge wall, to the end that all their whole prouiſion might be fortified, and all the preys which they got, defended. Moreouer, that *Themoſis* ſon of the ſaid *Aliſfragumthoſis* endeuoured by force to ſubdue them, and for this cauſe beſieged them with foure hundreth and 80000. armed men: and at laſt deſpairing to take them by ſiege, he couenanted with them that they ſhould ſafely depart out of Ægypt whither they would; and that they vpon theſe conditions together with all their families and goods and cattell, departed out of Ægypt into the E wilderneſſe, and ſo into Syria, being in number two hundreth and forty thouſand, and that fearing the puiſſance of the Aſſyrians, who at that time raigned in Aſia, they builded a citie in the countrey now called Iudæa, which they made ſo large that it might receiue them all, and this citie they called Ieruſalem. Further, the ſaid *Manathon* in another booke of the Ægyptian affaires ſaith, that in the holy writings, hee findeth the foreſaid ſhepheards called captiues, wherein hee ſaith moſt true. For our anceſtors were wont to feed cattell, and ſo leading a paſtorall life, were called ſhepheards, neither are they vniuſtly called captiues: for our forefather *Ioſeph* told the King of Ægypt that he was a captiue, and long time after hee called his brethren into Ægypt by the Kings command; but we will hereafter examine this point more ſtraightly: I will now cite the teſtimony of the Ægyptians concerning this point, and alſo relate the words of *Manathon* touF ching the time when this befell, who ſaith as followeth.

Kings ſhepheards.

After that the nation of ſhepheards were departed out of Ægypt vnto Ieruſalem, King *Themoſis* who draue them out of the Land, raigned twenty fiue yeeres and foure moneths, and then dyed: and his ſonne *Chebron* ſucceeded him, who raigned thirteene yeeres, and after him *Amenophis* twentie yeeres and ſeuen moneths, next, his ſiſter *Ameſſes* one and twentie yeeres and nine moneths, then raigned *Mephios* twelue yeeres and nine moneths, and *Mephamuthoſis* twentie fiue yeeres and ten moneths, *Themoſis* nine yeeres and eight moneths, *Amenophis* thirty yeeres and

ten moneths, *Orus* thirtie ſixe yeeres and fiue moneths, after him his daughter *Achencheres*, twelue yeeres and one moneth, and the brother of *Rathotis* nine yeeres, *Achencheres* twelue yeeres and fiue moneths, another *Achencheres* twelue yeeres and three moneths, *Armais* foure yeeres and one moneth, *Armeſis* one yeere and foure moneths, *Armeſeſmiamus* threeſcore and ſixe yeeres and two moneths, *Amenophis* nineteene yeeres and ſixe moneths. Moreouer, that *Sethoſis* hauing made ready a huge armie both of foote and horſe, and alſo a Nauy at Sea, left the gouernment of Ægypt vnto his brother *Armais*, and permitted vnto him all other kingly authoritie, onely forbidding him to weare a Diadem, and to oppreſſe the Queene, mother to his children, commanding him alſo to abſtaine from the reſt of the Kings concubines. And *Sethoſis* himſelfe went to Cyprus and Phœnicia, againſt the Aſſyrians and Medes, and ſubdued them all, partly by the ſword, partly by the feare of his power and greatneſſe: and being proud of all this his fortunate ſucceſſe, he bent himſelfe againſt the Eaſterne countrey, and deſtroyed with fire and ſword the cities of that place, with whole Prouinces: and ſpending much time in theſe warres, his brother *Armais* whom he left in Ægypt, did without feare commit all that hee forbade him to doe: for hee oppreſſed the Queene violently, and daily lay with the reſt of the Kings concubines, and being thereto counſelled by his friends, he put a Crowne vpon his head and rebelled againſt his brother. Alſo that he who was then chiefe of the Ægyptians holy cuſtomes, ſent letters vnto *Sethoſis*, containing all that had hapned, and how *Armais* had rebelled againſt him; who returning to Peluſia, came and enioyed againe his owne kingdome which by his name was cald Ægypt: for *Manethon* writeth that this *Sethoſis* was named *Egyptus*, and his brother *Armais Danaus*.

Sethoſis King of Ægypt, made his brother Armais Gouernour of his countrey.

Whereupon Egypt tooke his name.

Thus farre *Manethon*: out of whom it is euident by computation of the foreſaid times, that our nation was deliuered out of Egypt, three hundreth ninety and three yeeres before *Danaus*, and inhabited this countrey of Iudæa ſo long, before *Danaus* came vnto Argos: notwithſtanding the inhabitants of Argos boaſt their Citie is moſt ancient. Wherefore *Manethon* recounteth two things for vs out of the Egyptian letters: firſt, that we came from another place to them, afterwards went out of their country again, and that ſo long agoe, as it was almoſt a thouſand yeeres before the Troian warres. Touching thoſe things which *Manethon* profeſſeth himſelfe, not to haue gathered out of the writings of the Egyptians, who did write out of certaine tales and reports, I will hereafter ſhew, how they are alledged without any reaſon for them. For I will once againe leaue theſe, and go to the teſtimony of the Phœnicians, which they writ concerning our nation. The Tyrians therefore haue Chronicles of very great antiquitie, which they haue kept with all diligence, concerning that which hath bin done among them, and indeed they are worthy of memory. Amongſt theſe Records it is written, that King *Salomon* built a Temple at Ieruſalem, a hundreth forty three yeeres and eight moneths, before the Tyrians erected Carthage. So they haue regiſtred the building of our Temple, for *Hircanus* King of the Tyrians, was our King *Salomons* friend, obliged vnto him for his fathers ſake, who for this cauſe alſo of his owne liberality, gaue *Salomon* a hundreth and twenty talents of gold towards the building of the Temple, and cut downe the moſt goodly wood called Libanus, which hee beſtowed vpon him, to make the roofe of the Temple withall: for which bounty, *Salomon* gaue him againe many liberall gifts, and among the reſt a country of Galilee named Zabulon: but *Salomons* wiſedome was the chiefe cauſe of this kings friendſhip towards him. For they ſent Problemes one to the other to bee anſwered, and *Salomon* in his anſwers appeared moſt witty, as alſo he did in many things elſe; and euen vntill this day, many of the Epiſtles ſent one vnto another, are kept among the Tyrians. And that I doe not feare the authority amongſt the Tyrians, I will prooue by the teſtimonie of *Dius*, a man who by common conſent hath faithfully written the Phœnician Hiſtorie, wherein he writeth as followeth.

Manethon ſheweth the Iewes cõming into Egypt & their departure.

Salomon built a Temple in Ieruſalem 143 yeeres and 8. moneths, before the Tyrians builded Carthage. The friendſhip of the Tyrian king and of king Salomon.

Problemes of Hircanus and Salomon.

After the death of *Abibalus*, *Hircanus* his ſon raigned in his ſtead, who encreaſed the number of his Eaſterne Cities, and inlarged Ieruſalem, he alſo ioyned the Temple of *Iupiter Olympius*, ſituate in an Iland, vnto it, filling vp the water with earth, adorned it with golden gifts. After this aſcending into Libanus, he cut down the wood to build temples, and that the king of Ieruſalem named *Salomon*, ſent vnto him certaine riddles to be expounded, and hee againe the like vnto him, couenanting together, that he who could not tell the meaning of one anothers riddles, ſhould pay vnto the other a ſumme of mony, and that *Hircanus* confeſſing he could not expound *Salomons* riddles, did pay vnto him much money: Laſtly, that one *Abdemonus* a Tyrian did expound the ſaid riddles, and writ more vnto *Salomon*, which if *Salomon* could not interpret, hee ſhould

A should pay vnto *Hircanus* a summe of money, and this testimony *Dius* beareth vs concerning the foresaid matter. But I will now recount the words of *Menander* an Ephesian, who hath registred the acts of all kings both at home and abroad, endeuouring to make a true Historie out of the writings of euery countrie. This man writing of the Tyrian kings, and comming to *Hiramus*, he saith thus of him: *Abibalus* dying, there succeeded in the kingdome his son *Hiramus*, who liued 34. yeeres: and this king with a rampire conioyned Eurichorus, & erected there a pillar of gold in *Iupiters* temple, and went into the woods, and cut downe the Cedars of Libanus to make couerings for the temples; of which, pulling downe the olde, hee erected new, and dedicated the temple of *Hercules* and *Astartus*: but that to *Hercules* in the moneth of Peritius, and then the other B to *Astartus*, when he with an army went against the Tyrians, who did not pay him tribute, whom when he had subdued, he returned againe.

The testimony of Menander the Ephesian.

The Genealogie of King Hiramus.

At this time also liued *Abdemonus* a seruant vnto the king, who was wont to expound the parables, which king *Salomon* of Ierusalem sent vnto king *Hiramus*: now how long it was from this kings time till the building of Carthage, we may thus calculate. After the death of *Hiramus*, his son *Beleastartus*, succeeded him, who liued forty and three yeeres, and raigned seuen: after him his sonne *Abdastartus*, who liued twenty yeeres, and raigned nine; but this king was treacherously slaine by the foure sonnes of his nurse, the eldest of whom raigned twelue yeeres. Next whom, *Astartus* the sonne of *Feleastartus*, who liued fifty and foure yeeres, and raigned twelue: after him ruled his brother *Astarimus*, who liued fifty and foure yeeres, and sate in the king- C dome nine, then hee was slaine of his brother *Phelletes*, who raigned eight moneths, and liued fifty yeeres, and was slaine by a Priest of Astarta named *Ithobalus*, who liued threescore and eight, and raigned thirty two yeeres: him succeeded his sonne *Badezorus*, who liued fortie fiue yeeres, and raigned sixe yeeres, to him succeeded his son *Mettinus*, who liued thirty two yeeres, and raigned nine. After him *Pigmalion* who liued fifty sixe yeeres, and raigned forty; in the seuenth yeere of whose raigne, his sister *Dido* builded a City in Africa, and named it Carthage: so that from the time of king *Hiramus* vnto the building of Carthage, is by this computation a hundreth fifty fiue yeeres, and two moneths: and for as much as the temple of Ierusalem was built in the twelfth yeere of *Hiramus* his raigne, the computation of the time since that yeere vntill the building of Carthage is 143. yeeres, and eight moneths. What need we alledge D more, seeing this testimonie of the Phœnicians? The truth is now sufficiently made manifest: for our ancestors must needs haue come into this countrey we inhabit, before such time as they built a temple in it, as I haue also made manifest in my Books of Antiquitie, collected out of our holy Scripture.

Carthage built in Africk by Dido Pigmalions sister.

I wil now speak of that which the Chaldees writ of vs in their Histories; which do much agree in all other matters with those of our nation. And first let *Berosus* be my witnes, who was a Chaldean borne, yet a man famous & knowne vnto all that loue learning, for he in the Grecian tongue did write Astronomie, and the Chaldees Philosophy. *Berosus* imitating the most ancient Histories writeth of the Deluge, and how mankind was therein extinguished, and he in all things imitateth *Moses*. He also speaketh of the Arke wherein our forefather was preserued, and affir- E meth that it was carried into the tops of the mountaines in Armenia: after this hee prosecuteth the Genealogy of all that raigned from *Noe*, vntill *Nabulassarus* king of the Babylonians and Chaldeans. He likewise setteth downe how long euery one raigned, and in prosecuting the deeds of this king he recounteth how he sent his sonne *Nabuchodonosor* into Egypt, and to our country with great power, who finding them rebels, subdued them and burnt the temple at Ierusalem, and so departed, carrying with him all our nation into Babylon: whereupon our City was desolate seuenty yeeres vntill the raigne of *Cyrus* king of the Persians. Moreouer, he affirmeth that the Babylonian kept Egypt, Syria, Phœnicia, and Arabia, exacting more of his subiects then euer any king of Babylon or Chaldea had done before his time. And the words of *Berosus* must needs be to this effect: *Nabulassarus* his father hearing that his substitute in Egypt, Cœlosyria, F and Phœnicia had rebelled, he himselfe not being able to take such paines, committed these affaires vnto his sonne *Nabuchodonosor*, and gaue vnto him a part of his army, for that he was in the flower of his age, and sent him against him: and *Nabuchodonosor* fighting with the said Champion, ouerthrew him, and subdued the countrey which of olde belonged vnto them, and at the same time his father *Nabulassarus* fell sicke in Babylon, and died, hauing raigned twenty nine yeeres. But *Nabuchodonosor* long after vnderstanding his fathers death, he disposed of Egypt and other Prouinces as hee thought good, and taking the captiues of Iudæa, Phœnicia, and

Berosus the Historiographer a Chaldean.

Nabulassarus father to Nabuchodonozor the king of Babylon and Chaldea.

Nabuchodonozor conquered the rebels.

Nabuchodonozor succeedeth in his fathers kingdome.

the Syrians that liued in Egypt, hee committed them to certaine of his friends, to bee brought with other carriage and his army to Babylon; and ſo he himſelfe accompanied with a very few, took his iourney to Babylon thorow the Deſart: and finding that the Chaldees ruled all, and that their Nobilitie reſerued the Kingdom for him, he was made King, and commanded houſes to be built for the captiues that were comming, in the moſt conuenient places of Babylon, and hee of the ſpoile beautified the Temple of Belus and other places moſt richly, and built a new Citie without the wall of the old: and prouiding leſt hereafter the enemies might turne the riuer and ſo haue acceſſe vnto the Citie, he inuironed the inner Citie with three ſeuerall walles, and the outmoſt Citie likewiſe. The wals whereof were made of brick, but the wals of the inner Citie were of brick and bytumen: this done, he builded moſt ſumptuous gates which might haue become Temples: and moreouer, neere vnto his fathers Palace he builded another farre greater, and more coſtly then it was, the pompe whereof it were hard and perhaps tedious to expreſſe. Yet this we will rehearſe worth the noting, that this ſo ambitious and aboue all credit gorgeous Palace was builded in fifteene daies: in it he erected rocks of ſtone like mountaines, beſet with all ſorts of trees; hee alſo made a famous garden, all ſupported with pillers, for that his wife being brought vp in the countrey of the Medes, deſired to haue a proſpect into the fields and mountaines.

Nabuchodonoſor builded a Palace.

Semiramis did not build Babylon.

This hee relateth of the forementioned King, and many things more in his booke of the affaires of the Chaldees, wherein he reproueth the Greeke writers, who falſely affirme that *Semiramis* the Aſſyrian Queene built Babylon, and that they falſely report thoſe wonderfull works about Babylon, to haue beene by her made and finiſhed. Wee muſt needs thinke that the Chaldean Hiſtory is true, ſeeing it agreeth with that of the Phœnicians, which *Beroſus* writ of the King of Babylon, who ſubuerted both Phœnicia and all Syria: with them alſo accordeth *Philoſtratus* in his hiſtory of the ſiege of Tyria, and *Magaſthenes* alſo in his fourth book of the affaires of India; where he laboureth to prooue, that the ſaid King excelled *Hercules* in ſtrength and valour, affirming that he ſubdued the greateſt part of Africk, and Spaine, and that the Temple of Ieruſalem was burnt by the Babylonians, and againe reedified by *Cyrus*; and we may proue it out of *Beroſus*, who in his third book ſaith as followeth: *Nabuchodonoſor* hauing begun the third wall, fell ſicke and died, when he had raigned forty three yeeres, and his ſonne *Euelmeradochus* ſucceeded him, who for his iniquity and luſtfull liuing, was treacherouſly ſlaine by his ſiſters husband, named *Nirigliſſoroor*, after he had raigned two yeeres. He being dead, the traitor *Nirigliſſoroor* vſurped the Kingdome, and raigned foure yeeres, whoſe ſonne then a childe was made King, called by name *Laboroſardochus*, and he raigned nine moneths; who for that he ſeemed to be of very corrupt manners, was ſlaine by his owne friends: after whoſe death, they who ſlew him conſulting together, did make one *Nabonidus* a Babylonian, King. At this time the wals of brick and bytumen about the riuer of Babylon were built. In the eighth yeere of this Kings raigne, *Cyrus* comming with an army out of Perſia, conquered all Aſia, and came with his forces againſt Babylon: but the King of Babylon hauing notice of his comming, leuied an army meeting him in the way, and ioyned battell with him; but being ouercome in the fight, hee accompanied with a very few of his men, was forced to flie into Borſippa. *Cyrus* now beſieged Babylon, and purpoſed to deſtroy the outward wals thereof: but by reaſon that it was too ſtrong and too hard to win, he returned to Borſippa to beſiege *Nabonidus* the King of Babylon who was fled thither. But *Nabonidus* not abiding the euent of warre, yeelded himſelfe vnto *Cyrus*, who dealt mercifully with him and gaue him a Territory in Carmania, but expelled him out of Babylon: ſo *Nabonidus* led the reſt of his life in that Prouince. This Hiſtory agreeth with ours; for in our writings we find that *Nabuchodonoſor* in the eighteenth yeere of his raigne did deſtroy our Temple, and that it ſo remained threeſcore and ten yeeres: Alſo that in the ſecond yeere of King *Cyrus*, the foundations thereof were laid againe, and that it was finiſhed and reedified in the ſecond yeere of King *Darius* his raigne. This done, I will alſo relate the Hiſtories of the Phœnicians, that we may abound with proofe of that we ſay, for they make a computation of the yeeres after this manner: In the raigne of King *Ithobalus*, *Nabuchodonoſor* beſieged Tyre thirteene yeeres, after whom *Baal* raigned ten yeeres, next him Iudges were appointed, to wit, they that follow; *Ecnibalus* the ſonne of *Balachus* iudged two moneths, *Chelbis* the ſonne of *Abdæus* ten moneths, *Abbarus* the high Prieſt three moneths, *Myttomus* and *Geraſtus* ſonnes of *Abdilimos* iudged ſix yeeres, after whom *Balatorus* raigned one yeere, and after his death the Tyrians called *Merbalus* from Babylon, and made him King, and he raigned foure yeeres: and he then dying, they ſent alſo to Babylon for his brother

The King of Babylon excelled Hercules in ſtrength and noble valorous death.

The wals of Babylon built of brick and bytumen.

Cyrus expelled Nabonidus from Babylon.

The teſtimony of the Phœnicians touching the Iewes Antiquity.

A ther *Iromus*, who raigned twenty yeeres, in whoſe raigne *Cyrus* obtained the Perſian Empire, ſo that this whole time is fifty foure yeers and three moneths: for *Nabuchodonoſor* began to beſiege Tyre in the ſeuenth yeere of his raigne, and in the fourteenth yeere of King *Iromus* his raigne *Cyrus* was made Emperour of Perſia.

Nabuchodonoſor beſieged Tyre.

Wherefore both the Chaldees and Tyrian Hiſtoriographers agree with vs concerning our Temple. So that the antiquity of our nation aboue mentioned is now made manifeſt, and without all controuerſie. And that which is already alledged to this end, may be ſufficient for them, who are not vpon purpoſe contradictious. It is therefore requiſite (to ſatisfie them who giue no credit to the writings of other nations, and contend that the Grecian Hiſtories onely are to be
B beleeued) to bring many teſtimonies from the Greeks themſelues, who haue as opportunity ſerued, made mention of our nation and knowne it. *Pythonis* a Samian borne, both of great antiquity, and excelling all other Philoſophers in holineſſe towards the gods, is not only conuinced to haue knowne the cuſtomes of our nation, but he did alſo as it plainely appeareth imitate them in many things. His writings are in no place extant, but diuers haue recorded many notable things of him, and eſpecially *Hermippus* a man moſt diligent in ſearching of Hiſtories. This *Hermippus* recounteth in his firſt booke of *Pythagoras*, that the ſaid Philoſopher (hauing one of his familiar friends named *Calliphon* dead, who was a Crotonian borne) reported this mans ſoule to be perpetually with him, and that the ſaid ſoule commanded him not to paſſe the place where his aſſe fell, and that he ſhould abſtaine from vncleane water, and that he ſhould with all dili-
C gence eſchue blaſphemie: and then it followeth, this he did and ſaid, imitating the opinions of the Iewes and Grecians, and applying them to himſelfe. For it is certainly reported, that this man gathereth much of his Philoſophie out of the Iewes lawes. Our nation in times paſt was well knowne to diuers cities, ſo that many of them doe now obſerue our cuſtomes, and others eſteeme them worth the imitation, as *Theophraſtus* doth witneſſe in his booke entituled *De legibus:* for he ſaith that the Tyrian lawes forbid to ſweare by any ſtrange Sacrament, and amongſt theſe ſtrange and forraine Sacraments, he reckoneth the oath called Corban, which oath is vſed onely amongſt the Iewes, and in our language ſignifieth the gift of God. *Herodotus* of Halicarnaſſa knew our nation alſo, and in a manner maketh mention of it: for ſpeaking of the Colchians, he ſaith thus in his ſecond booke: The Colchians, Egyptians, and Æthiopians onely a-
D mongſt all other nations did vſe circumciſion in the beginning: for the Phœnicians and Syrians liuing in Paleſtina doe confeſſe themſelues to haue learned this cuſtome from the Egyptians, and the Syrians liuing neere vnto Thermodoontes, and the riuer Parthenius and their neighbours the Macronians, are reported lately to haue learned it of the Colchians: and theſe are they onely, that vſe circumciſion, and they doe like vnto the Egyptians, but I am not able to ſay, whether the Egyptians or Æthiopians learned it of the other. *Herodotus* therefore affirmeth the Syrians in Paleſtina to vſe circumciſion. and it is manifeſt that of all that inhabit Paleſtina, the Iewes onely vſe it, which hee knowing writeth ſo of them. *Chærilus* alſo an ancient Poet maketh mention of our nation, and affirmeth that our countrimen warred vnder *Xerxes* againſt the Greekes, and numbring them of the countries that followed him, hee laſtly ſpake thus of our
E nation.

Theophraſtus. Corban the gift of God. Herodotus the Halicarnaſſian touching the Iews circumciſion.

Chærilus an ancient Poet his teſtimony of the Iewes.

A people ſtrange followed this royall throng.
Their language was th'vnknowne Phœnician tongue:
In th'hils of Solymus their dwelling was,
Neere to a lake for greatneſſe which did paſſe:
Their heads were ſhau'd, and for the heads attire,
They ware an horſ-skin dryed at the fire.

It is euident as I thinke that he ſpeaketh of the Iewes: for the mountaines of Solymus are in our country, and that lake alſo called Aſphaltites, which is the greateſt and vaſteſt of all lakes that are in Syria, and thus *Chærilus* maketh mention of vs. And that the Iewes were not knowne only
F of the Greekes, but alſo admired of them, it is eaſie to prooue not out of the obſcureſt writers, but by the teſtimonie of their wiſeſt Philoſophers: For *Clearchus* diſciple vnto *Ariſtotle*, and the beſt amongſt all the Peripatetickes in his firſt booke *De ſomno*, ſaith, that his maſter *Ariſtotle* ſpake thus of a certaine Iew, and reporting *Ariſtotles* words, he ſaith thus: It were too tedious to recount all things elſe which he alledgeth, but I will ſet downe that only that may cauſe the man to be admired. *Hyperochides* anſwered that they were all very deſirous to heare it: then quoth *Clearchus*, according to *Ariſtotles* precepts in his Rhetoricke I will firſt recount of what

Aſphaltites the lake.

The teſtimony of Clearchus diſciple of Ariſtotle touching the Iewes.

nation the man was, leſt I ſeeme to oppoſe my ſelfe to him, that ſet downe the foreſaid precept. G
Do ſo quoth *Hyperochides*, if ſo you pleaſe. Then he ſaid, This man before mentioned was by nation a Iew (borne in Cœloſyria) one of the ſect of the *Indian* Philoſophers, and they are called (as I heare reported) among the Indians, Calani, and among the Syrians, Iewes, taking their name from the place where they inhabit, called Iury; the name of their City is hard to pronounce, for they call it Ieruſalem. This man entertained many ſtrangers, and he came from out of the higher country down vnto the ſea-coaſt, and he was very eloquent and of great courage. We at that time liued in Aſia, when this diuine man came vnto the place where we were, and began to conferre with vs, and with other Philoſophers, making triall of their knowledge: and for that many learned men were aſſembled about him, he at laſt for this cauſe more willingly imparted ſome of his H
knowledge vnto them. Thus farre *Ariſtotle* in *Clearchus:* recounting moreouer at large the admirable abſtinence of the foreſaid Iew from meate, and his chaſtity: all which they that are deſirous to know may reade in *Clearchus*, for I am loth to write any thing ſuperfluous: So now it is euident how *Clearchus* by the way of a digreſſion ſpeaking of another matter, maketh mention of vs. But *Hecatæus Abderita* a Philoſopher, and one brought vp with King *Alexander*, and dwelling with *Ptolomæus* of Lagus, did not onely briefely make mention of vs, but alſo writ a whole book
Hecatæus Abderita brought vp with King Alexander. of our Nation the Iewes, out of which I will briefly note ſome few points that occurre, but firſt I will ſhew of what antiquity he is. For he recordeth the time when *Ptolomæus* neere vnto Gaza fought with *Demetrius*, which hapned the eleuenth yeere after *Alexanders* death, in the hundreth and ſeuenteenth Olympiade, as *Caſtor* writeth: who ſpeaking of this Olympiade ſaith, that in I
this time *Ptolomæus Lagus* ouercame *Demetrius* the ſonne of *Antigonus* at Gaza in fight: which *Demetrius* was called *Poliorcetes*, and all men confeſſe that *Alexander* died in the hundreth and fourteenth Olympiade: ſo that it is euident that at that time wherein *Alexander* liued, our Nation flouriſhed. And *Hecatæus* ſaith, that after that battell fought at Gaza, *Ptolomæus* was made Lord of the places bordering about Syria, and that many men hearing of the clemencie of *Ptolomæus*, followed him into Egypt, and conuerſed with him: amongſt the which one was called *Ezechias* the Iewes high Prieſt, a man about threeſcore and ſix yeeres old, and of chiefe notice and dignity of all his Nation, and moſt prudent and eloquent, one alſo who in all affaires had
A thouſand and fiue hundreth Prieſts receiue the Iewes tenths. more experience then any man elſe. He likewiſe reporteth that the number of the Iewes Prieſts who receiue their tenths, and rule all in generall, is a thouſand and fiue hundred or thereabout: K
and againe making mention of the ſame *Ezechias*, he ſaith, This man being in this reputation and honour, and conuerſing with vs, by the help of ſome about him, declared all things wherein we and this Nation differ, and ſhewed vnto vs the place of his dwelling, and the manner of his conueruſation, which he had in writing.

After this, *Hecatæus* ſheweth what manner of people we are, and how religious in our lawes, and how that we rather will ſuſtaine all torments and death it ſelfe, then violate them in any thing, and that we account it a worthy thing ſo to doe: adding moreouer, that being much hated of our neighbours, and hauing ſuffered all contumelies both at the hands of the Perſian Kings and their
The Iewes conſtancy againſt Alexander. officers, yet that we could not be forced to change our opinions, but that we are continually exerciſed to giue a reaſon thereof. He alſo recordeth an example of our conſtant minds: for *Alexander* (quoth he) being at Babylon, and purpoſing to reedifie the temple of Bell, he commanded all his ſouldiers to carry timber to the building hereof, and the Iewes onely diſobeyed his command, for the which they endured many ſtripes and torments, till ſuch time as the King freed them from it: and they (quoth he) returning to their owne countrey, deſtroyed all the temples and altas that they found there, and ſome of them were by the officers therefore puniſhed, other eſcaped fire; adding that we may iuſtly be admired for theſe things, and that our nation is exceeding populous; likewiſe that many of vs were carried captiues into Babylon, and there ſerued the Perſians. Moreouer, that many more were diſperſt into Ægypt after *Alexanders* death, for a tumult begun in Syria: He alſo recordeth the greatneſſe of our countrey, and the fertilitie M
thereof; they inhabit (quoth he) a countrey that hath almoſt thirtie hundreth thouſand acres of moſt fertill ground; for Iury is of this largenes, and that in time paſt we inhabited a large & very great city, which was very populous; he ſpeaketh alſo of the building of our Temple in this manner: The Iewes haue many other townes and villages in euery Prouince, but they haue one moſt
The largenes of Iury. Fifty ſtounds are almoſt ſix Germaine miles. ſtrong Citie, the compaſſe of whoſe walles is fifty ſtounds, and in it inhabit a hundred and fifty thouſand men, and this Citie they called Ieruſalem, in the midſt of it is a building of ſtone with foure Porches a hundreth cubits about, it hath alſo double gates wherein is a foure ſquared

Altar

A Altar made of vnhewne ſtones ioyned together, and it is twenty cubits ſquare euery way, and ten cubits high, and about it is a moſt huge building, wherein is an Altar and a Candleſtick both of gold, weighing two talents, and there is kept a continuall light night and day, which neuer goeth forth. Therein is no image nor gift, no trees nor wood growing there, nor any thing of this ſort. Therein inhabit Prieſts both night and day, celebrating certaine purifications, and they drinke no wine in the Temple. *The Prieſts doe dwell in the Temple and drinke no wine.*

Moreouer, he ſhewed how our Nation warred vnder *Alexanders* ſucceſſors, and he reporteth that which he heard of a certaine Iew in the army, and I will ſet down the Authors owne words. As I went (ſaith he) to the red Sea, a certaine Iew, one of the horſemen that conducted vs, named *Moſollamus*, who was a courageous man, and one who excelled all archers elſe, both Greeks and other Nations; This Iew (euery one haſting on forward of his iourney, and being willed by a Southſaier to ſtand) asked for what cauſe the multitude ſtaied and went not forward? Preſently the Southſaier ſhewed him a bird which he diligently viewed, and told the Iew, that if that bird did ſtand ſtill in the place, then it was expedient for them to ſtand, and if the bird did mount vp and flee, that then they ought to march on forward; but if it flew towards the place from whence they came, that then it was wiſedome to retire. The Iew hereat was ſilent, yet drawing his Bow, he ſhot an arrow and killed the bird; whereat the Southſaier and certaine other were offended, and curſed him. But he, taking the vnhappy bird in his hand, ſaid vnto them: Are yee ſo mad, as to thinke that this bird, not hauing the foreſight to preſerue her ſelfe from this death, is able to direct vs in the ſucceſſe of our iourney? Had this bird foreknowne future euents, ſhee would haue eſchewed this place, for dread, that *Moſollamus* a Iew ſhould haue ſtrucken her with an arrow. But we will now leaue the teſtimony of *Hecatæus:* for euery one that liſt may read his book, and there vnderſtand this more at large. I will not omit the teſtimony of *Agatarchides*, a man of no euill in his owne opinion, yet indeed one who hath vſed detraction to our owne Nation. This man ſpeaking of *Stratonice*, how leauing her husband *Demetrius*, ſhee came into Syria, and how *Seleuchus* would not marry her as ſhee hoped (who hauing an army at Babylon, warred againſt Antioch, and had taken the City) and that ſhee fled into Seleucia, whereas ſhe might haue made a ſpeedier eſcape by water, but that ſhee was forewarned in a ſleepe ſo to doe, and that ſhe was there taken and died, &c. *Agatarchides*, hauing vſed this preface, and inueighed againſt *Stratonices* ſuperſtition, vſeth an example of our Nation on this manner: The people that are called Iewes, inhabit a moſt ſtrong City, which they call Ieruſalem; theſe people are wont to reſt vpon the ſeuenth day, and doe neither beare armes, nor till their grounds, nor doe any other buſineſſe on that day, but their cuſtome is to remaine in their Temple, and there with ſtretched out armes continue in praier till night. And ſo vpon a time they perſeuering in that foolery, whileſt they ſhould haue defended their City, *Ptolomæus Lagus* entered it with many people and a great army: who greatly tyrannized ouer them; and ſo they found by experience, that the ſolemnity appointed by their Law, was preiudiciall vnto them: ſuch like Churches as this, did teach them and all Nations elſe to flee vnto dreames, which their law teacheth; neuer conſidering that humane policy cannot preuaile againſt that which muſt neceſſarily happen. *Agatarchides* thought this which he reports of vs to be ridiculous: but they that weigh it with indifferency, ſhall perceiue, that it is greater commendation to our Nation, who rather ſuffer their countrey and our ſafety to be loſt and endamaged, then to violate the Lawes of God.

B C D E *Agatarchides his teſtimony of the Iewes.* *The Iewes Sabbath.*

I thinke, I am thus able to ſhew, that many Writers omitted to make mention of our Nation, not for that they knew vs not, but for enuy. For *Ierome*, who writ a booke of ſucceſſion, in the ſame time that *Hecatæus* liued, who was a friend vnto King *Antigonus*, and being Preſident of Syria, neuer mentioneth vs in all his Hiſtory; notwithſtanding he was brought vp almoſt in our countrey. But *Hecatæus* writ a booke of vs; ſo different are the mindes of men: for one of them thought our Nation worthy to bee diligently recorded, the other through malice was hindered from ſpeaking the truth: yet the Hiſtories of the Chaldees, Egyptians and Phœnicians, may ſuffice to prooue our antiquitie, together with the Greeke Writers: for beſides thoſe before mentioned, *Theophraſtus* alſo, *Theodotus*, *Manaſeas*, *Ariphanes*, *Hermogenes*, *Euemeus*, *Conon*, *Zopyrion*, and many others, no doubt (for I haue not peruſed all mens bookes) haue manifeſtly teſtified of vs. For many of the foreſaid men were blinded with errors, as not hauing read our holy Scriptures, yet they all ioyntly teſtifie our antiquity, for which I now alledge them. Truly *Demetrius Phalerius*, *Philon* the elder, and *Eupolemus*, did not much erre from the truth, and therefore reaſon it is they ſhould be borne withall: for they were not ſo skilfull as to teach our writings

Why certaine Writers omit to ſpeake of the Iewes.

F with

with ſo much curioſitie. Being come thus farre, it reſteth that I now preſent one point more, G
whereof I made mention in the beginning of this book: to wit, that I declare the detractions and
The laſt part, againſt certaine detractions and ſlanders. ſlanderous reports of diuers, concerning our Nation, to be falſe and void of truth; and I will vſe
the teſtimony of thoſe writers, who record, that the lying Hiſtoriographers, at ſuch time as they
commited to writing the foreſaid detractions, did alſo euen againſt themſelues regiſter ſuch like
ſlanders as they did againſt vs. And I doubt not, but that all thoſe who are conuerſant in Hi-
ſtories can teſtifie, that the like hath beene done by moſt writers for certaine priuate hatred, or
ſuch like reſpects. For ſome of the Gentiles haue attempted to deface the honour and reputation
of the moſt renowned Cities, and to defame the manners of their inhabitants. Thus did *Theo-*
pompus to Athens, and *Polycrates* to Lacedæmon; and the Author that writ *Tripoliticum* (for it H
was not *Theopompus* as ſome ſuppoſe) vſed the City Thebes very hardly: and *Timæus* in his Hi-
ſtories of the foreſaid places, doth many times detract both them and others. And this they do,
calumniating the moſt excellent that are, in ſomething or other; ſome for enuy and malice; others,
that their fond babbling may make them famous, and ſo indeed it doth among fooles, that are
knowne to haue no ſound iudgement, but wiſe men will condemne their malice. To bee ſhort,
The cauſe of malice betweene the Egyptians and Iewes. this is the cauſe of ſo many ſlanderous reports forged againſt our Nation: Some to gratifie the
Egyptians haue attempted to depraue the truth, and ſo haue neither reported the verity concer-
ning our anceſtours comming into Egypt, nor touching their departure from thence, and they
haue had many cauſes of malice and enuy vrging them heereto. And chiefely for that our pro-
genitors in their countrey waxed mighty, and ſo departing to their owne countrey, were made I
happy and fortunate. Secondly, the diuerſitie of our two Religions made great diſcord and va-
riance amongſt vs, our Religion ſo farre excelling theirs in piety, as the diuine eſſence of GOD
The Egyptians idolatry. excelleth vnreaſonable creatures (for they commonly worſhip ſuch brute beaſts for gods, and
euery one worſhippeth diuers kindes: vaine and fooliſh men, who from the beginning haue bin
accuſtomed to ſuch ſottiſh opinions, as would not permit them to imitate vs in our diuine Reli-
gion, and conformable to reaſon: and yet ſeeing many fauour and follow our Religion, they were
heereby incited to ſuch hatred, that to derogate from vs, they feared not to falſifie their own an-
cient records, not conſidering that in ſo doing they were led through a blinde paſſion, to write a-
gainſt themſelues. Moreouer, I will prooue all I haue ſpoken, to bee true, by one mans words,
whom a little before (being a famous Hiſtoriographer) we haue produced as a witneſſe of our K
antiquitie.

Manethon an Egyptian Hiſtoriographer. *Manethon* therefore, who confeſſeth himſelfe to haue gathered the Egyptian Hiſtory out of
their holy writings, hauing by way of a Preface recounted how our predeceſſors came into E-
gypt with many thouſands, and there conquered the inhabitants, hee afterward confeſſeth that
loſing all their poſſeſſions in Egypt, they got the countrey which is now called Iewry, and in it
builded a Citie named Ieruſalem, and a Temple; and thus farre hee imitateth ancient Writers.
Manethons fabulous reports of the Egyptian lepers. And then vſurping to himſelfe authority to lie, proteſting that hee will inſert into his Hiſtory
certaine reports diuulged amongſt the common people, hee reports things of the Iewes altoge-
ther incredible, intending to mixe with our Nation the lepers of the Egyptians, and other ſicke
people of other countries, who (as he ſaith) being abominable to the Egyptians, made an eſcape L
from thence; affirming alſo that they had a King named *Amenophis*, which is a fained name,
and therefore he durſt not preſume to ſpeake determinately of the time of his raigne: whereas he
ſpeaketh exactly of the raigne of all other Kings. Hereupon alſo he addes certaine fables, forget-
ting himſelfe that he reported the ſhepheards departure out of Egypt to Ieruſalem, to haue bin
almoſt fiue hundred and eighteene yeeres before his time: for King *Themuſis* raigned when they
departed out of Egypt, from whom the time that other Kings did raigne, vntill the two brethren,
Sethon and *Hermeus*, accompliſhed the terme of three hundreth foureſcore and thirteene yeeres.
Hee alſo ſaith, that the eldeſt of theſe two, *Sethon*, was called *Egyptus*, and the other *Hermeus*,
was called *Danaus*, whom his brother *Sethon* expelled, and afterward raigned fifty nine yeeres;
and after him *Rampſes*, his eldeſt ſonne, raigned threeſcore and ſixe yeeres. Hauing therefore M
confeſſed, our anceſtors to haue departed out of Egypt ſo many yeeres before, now laſtly hee
addeth, that *Amenophis* was their King, who was a contemplator of the gods, as *Orus* their
King before him was, and that one *Amenophis* a Prieſt, the ſonne of *Papius*, did in all things moſt
excellently accompliſh his deſire: which prieſt ſeemed to participate of ſome diuine nature, for
he exceld in wiſedom, and could foretell things to come, and that he gaue the King his ſurname,
that he might alſo ſee the gods, if ſo be he would endeuour to cleanſe the countrey from lepers,

and

A and other vncleane people. Wherat the King reioycing, gathered together all the impotent people of his land, amounting to the number of 80000. and ſent them, and other Egyptians appointed to this worke, into the Eaſt part of Nilus, there to hew and ſquare ſtones. And that amongſt them there were alſo certaine learned Prieſts infected with leproſie, alſo that this diuine Prieſt, *Amenophis*, greatly feared, leſt the indignation of the gods would fal vpon the King and himſelfe (who had perſwaded and counſelled the King to do violence to the foreſaid lepers) likewiſe that he ſaid, that becauſe he vſed the helpe of vncleane perſons, they ſhould obtaine dominion ouer Egypt for 13. yeeres; yet durſt he not preſume to ſignifie this to the King, but he kild himſelfe, leauing this written in a booke, where men might finde it: and the King, hauing notice hereof, fell
B into great ſorrow and heauineſſe. This done, he ſpeaks as followeth: So the King, being requeſted for their quietnes and defence to aſſigne them a city to inhabit, appointed vnto them a deſolate place called Auaris, which had beene the ſhepheards city (this city the ancient Diuines call Triphonis) but they, hauing got the poſſeſſion of this place fit for rebellion, made choice of one of the Prieſts of Heliopolis to be their Captaine, whoſe name was *Oſarſiphus*, and bound themſelues with an oath to obey him in all things: and he preſently made a law, that they ſhould neither worſhip the gods of the Egyptians, nor that they ſhould abſtaine from thoſe beaſts which the Egyptians count holy, and that they ſhould marry with none but ſuch as they iudged to be their friends.

Oſarſiphus, Captaine of Auaris.

Hauing ordained this and many things elſe contrary to the Egyptians religion, he com-
C manded them with great labour to enuiron their city with a wall, and to make preparation to war againſt King *Amenophis:* and he himſelfe making choice of ſome Prieſts, and a few other vncleane perſons, ſent to Ieruſalem to the ſhepheards which were driuen out of Egypt by King *Themuſis*, declaring vnto them their owne and their fellowes iniuries, and requeſted them to leuie an army to fight with them againſt Egypt, promiſing them free entrance into Auaris, the countrey where their fore-fathers inhabited, and that hee would furniſh them with all neceſſaries; telling them that they ſhould now fight in ſo happy a time, as that without all doubt they might conquer the countrey. The ſhepheards heereat reioycing, all of them armed themſelues, to the number of two hundreth thouſand, and leauing their city, they came to Auaris. But *Amenophis*, King of Egypt, hearing of their inuaſion, and remembring what *Amenophis*, the ſon of the Prieſt *Pa-*
D *pius*, had left in writing, was in great feare; and preſently aſſembling together the people of Egypt, and conſulting with the Princes of his countrey, he ſent all holy beaſts, and all that the Prieſts eſteemed, before him, giuing the Prieſts eſpeciall charge to hide their idols: and he commended his ſonne *Sethones* (who alſo by his father *Rampſes* was called *Rhameſſes*) being but fiue yeers old, vnto the cuſtody of a friend of his: and then accompanied with 300, fighting men, he met his enemies, but would not fight with them, fearing leſt he ſhould fight againſt the pleaſure of the gods; and ſo he retired himſelfe to Memphis: and taking *Apis* and the reſt of the Egyptian gods, he, with all his troups of Egyptians, tooke ſhip, and fled into Ethiopia. For the King of Ethiopia vpon courteſie obeyed him, and for this cauſe he entertained him and his followers, and prouided all neceſſaries for them, for that fatall thirteene yeeres baniſhment, and this was
E done in Ethiopia. In the meane time, the inhabitants of Ieruſalem came down into the country with the vncleane Egyptians, and did ſo tyrannize ouer the inhabitants, that all their beholders iudged their victory to be full of cruelty: for not content to fire the cities and townes, and to commit all maner of ſacriledge, and to deſtroy the Idols of the gods, they did alſo moſt cruelly teare in pieces the ſacred Beaſts, and forced the Prieſts and Prophets to lay violent hands vpon them, and kill them: after which deed they draue them out of the country naked. It is therefore reported, that a Heliopolitan Prieſt, *Oſarſiphus* by name, made lawes for them, and ſtatutes to gouerne them. This Prieſt was called *Oſarſiphus*, taking his name from the god of Heliopolis, called *Oſiris*, who, being now thus conuerſant with this people, changed his name, and called himſelfe *Moſes*.

The warre of the baniſhed againſt the Egyptians.

The Egyptian King fled into Ethiopia, and was by the Ethiopian king courteouſly entertained.

Oſarſiphus was afterwards cald Moſes.

F Thus the Egyptians report of the Iewes, and many things elſe, which for breuity ſake I omit. *Manethon* furthermore writeth, that afterward *Amenophis* the King came with a great power out of Ethiopia, and his ſon *Rampſes* with him accompanied with a great army; and that ioyning battell with the ſhepheards and polluted perſons, he gaue them an ouerthrow, and purſued them vnto the borders of Syria. And this is *Manethons* report: but for as much as he writeth old wiues tales, dotages and lies, I will by manifeſt reaſon conuince him; firſt, diſtinguiſhing that whereof I am to ſpeake hereafter. He of his owne accord granteth and confeſſeth, that our anceſtors at firſt

Manethons lies are confuted.

first were not Egyptians,but ſtrangers that came thither from another place,and conquered the G
country,and againe departed from thence.I will now out of his own writings endeauor to ſhew,
that the weak people of Egypt were not mixed with vs,and that *Moſes*,who indeed was our con-
ductor out of Egypt,and liued many ages before, was no leper. He therefore firſt of all ſetteth
downe a ridiculous cauſe of this fore-mentioned faction, which was, that King *Amenophis* was
deſirous to ſee the gods. Which gods trow yee? he could already ſee the Oxe, the Goat, the
Crocodile and the Munky,but the God of heauen how could he ſee? And why had *Amenophis*
this deſire? Forſooth, becauſe a certain King one of his predeceſſors had ſeen them;he therefore
knowing by him what things they were, and how he came to the ſight of them, needed no new
deuice to accompliſh his deſire: but perhaps the foreſaid prophet was a man of great wiſedome, H
by whom the King had confidence to attaine his deſire:but if ſo he had bin,how chanceth it that
he was ſo vnwiſe he could not perceiue,that it was an impoſſible thing to ſatisfie the Kings de-
ſire?for that which he promiſed was not brought to paſſe. Or what reaſon moued him to thinke
that the gods were inuiſible, becauſe of lepers and weake people? The gods are offended with
mens impieties,not with the defects of their bodies. And how was it poſſible that at one inſtant
ſo many thouſand lepers and infirme perſons ſhould be gathered together? or wherein did not
the King obey the Prophet? He commanded that the lepers and infirme perſons ſhould be exi-
led the country, and the King did not baniſh them the country, but ſent them to hew ſtones, as
though he had needed workmen, and not purpoſed to cleanſe the countrey from lepers. Laſtly,
he ſaith,that the Prophet foreſeeing that Egypt was to ſuffer,and fearing the wrath of the gods,
killed himſelfe, and left his minde in a booke written vnto the King. How chanced it then that
the Prophet did not at firſt foreſee his owne death,and ſo oppoſe himſelfe to the Kings deſire to
ſee the gods? or wherefore did he feare ſuch calamities as were not to fall in his life? or what
great miſery hanged ouer his head, which might worthily cauſe him to kill himſelfe to preuent
it? But let vs heare that which followeth, more ſottiſh then all the reſt.

Manethons words repeated.

The King(quoth he) hearing this, and ſtricken with feare,did not for all this expell thoſe le-
pers he ought to haue exiled, but at their requeſt gaue them (as he ſaith) a City,wherein before-
time the Shepheards did inhabit, called Auaris;whereinto they being come, they made a Prieſt
of Heliopolis their Prince, who deuiſed lawes for them: commanding them neither to adore K
the gods, nor to abſtaine from offering violence to ſuch beaſts as amongſt the Egyptians are ſa-
cred,but that they ſhould kill and ſpoile all things,that they ſhould marry with none but ſuch as
were their confederates,that he bound the people with an oath to keep thoſe lawes,and that they
fortified Auaris to fight againſt the King. Adding moreouer,that he ſent to Ieruſalem for help,
promiſing to yeeld Auaris vnto them, being a place ſometime poſſeſſed by their anceſtors, and
that they from that place leading their forces, might eaſily ſubdue all Egypt: he then ſaith, that
the Egyptian King, *Amenophis*,came againſt them with 300000. and yet for that he would not
ſtriue againſt the decree of the gods, he fled into Ethiopia, and carried with him Apis and other
holy beaſts,and that the inhabitants of Ieruſalem comming downe, inuaded the land, fired the
townes and cities,ſlew their Nobles,vſed all ſorts of cruelty poſſible, and that the Prieſts name, L
who made lawes and ſtatutes for them to liue vnder,was one of Heliopolis, *Oſarſiphus* by name;
deriuing the ſame from *Oſiris*, the god of Heliopolis: and that this man, changing his name,was
afterward called *Moſes*.

Moreouer, that *Amenophis*,hauing liued in baniſhment thirty yeeres,came with a ſtrong pow-
er out of Ethiopia; and fighting with the ſhepheards and polluted, he ſlew many of them, and
put the reſt to flight,purſuing them vnto the borders of Syria. *Manethon* remembreth not, that
here againe he telleth a very vnskilfull tale: for although the lepers and impotent perſons were
offended with the King,for appointing them to hew ſtones; yet it is to be thought, that they re-
ceiuing their owne deſire at the Kings hands,to wit,a City to dwell in, that now they againe be-
came the Kings well-willers. Suppoſing alſo their hatred ſtil continued towards him,they rather M
ſhould haue attempted reuenge by treaſon againſt him, then towards all their nation, wherein
they had many deare friends and alliance. And although they had purpoſed to war againſt theſe
men, yet would they not haue been ſo impious as to haue rebelled againſt the gods, and to haue
violated the lawes wherein they were brought vp.

A confutation of Manethons words alleaged.

We haue therefore cauſe to thanke *Manethon*, in that he cleareth vs, and affirmeth his owne
countrimen(yea a Prieſt) to be authors of this impiety,and that by oath they bound themſelues
ſo to do. But is it not againſt all reaſon, that neither any of their countrimen nor kinſmen rebel-
led

led with them,but that the poore diſtreſſed people were glad to ſend to Ieruſalem for ſuccour? But what ſociety of friendſhip had they with the people of Ieruſalem,of whom they came to demand help? Why? they were more their enemies then the reſt of their countrimen, and were all of quite different maners from vs. They of Ieruſalem (as he ſaith) preſently did as they were willed to doe,in hope that,according as they were promiſed, they might ſubdue Egypt. Were they ignorant of that countrey out of which they had been driuen by force? Had they liued in pouerty or miſery, perhaps they might haue bin induced to haue done it: but ſeeing they inhabited a fortunate and rich city,and poſſeſſed a goodly fertile ſoile farre better then Egypt, what might mooue them thereto? What reaſon had they,at the requeſt of their ancient enemies (and they alſo ſo diſeaſed, as they of Ieruſalem could not abide their owne friends among them that had the like diſeaſes) to thruſt themſelues into danger? they could not fore-know the Kings intent to flee; as for *Manethon* himſelfe ſaith,he met them at Peluſia with 300000. men. And this they that went to war well knew. But what reaſon had they to coniecture that the Kings minde would change,and he flee? Then he ſaith,the army of Ieruſalem getting the granaries of Egypt into their hands,did much harme: and this he vpbraideth them withall,as who ſhould ſay,they were not requeſted to come as enemies? or as though theſe matters be to be caſt in ſouldiers teeths,that are ſtrangers and ſent for from out of another country; when as the Egyptians themſelues before their comming had done the like, and bound themſelues with an oath to performe the ſame. But ſhort time after, *Amenophis* fought with his enemies, and got the victory of them, and put them to flight, and purſued them vnto the borders of Syria. As though that Egypt were a country ſo eaſily to be won by any man, that at any place or part thereof inuadeth it? and that the ſouldiers of Ieruſalem,hauing now by the lawes of armes poſſeſſed that, and knowing *Amenophis* to be yet aliue,would not haue fortified that part of the countrey,whereby he might haue inuaded them,hauing all opportunity to doe it? or at leaſt they would haue gotten more helpe from one place or another. *Amenophis*,as he ſaith,purſued them euen vnto Syria,thorow the ſandy and dry places: as though it were eaſie for an army that had nothing elſe to do, but to march on forward,to paſſe leaſurely thorow them. To conclude therefore, our nation neither came of the Egyptians,as *Manethon* confeſſeth, neither was it mingled with the diſeaſed of that country: for it is probable,that many of thoſe ſick people periſhed in the ſtone workes,many in the great fight and battell,and the reſt of them in the flight. It now remaineth that I refute that which he ſpeaks of *Moſes*.

The Epilogue that the Iewes came not of the Egyptians

The Egyptians do all agree that this man was a diuine perſon,and one to be admired,but they commit great impiety in labouring to challenge him for their countriman, ſaying that he was a Prieſt of Heliopolis, baniſhed with the reſt for leproſie. For he is recorded to haue liued fiue hundreth and eighteene yeeres before this time, and to haue guided our anceſtors out of Egypt, into that countrey wherein we now inhabit;and his owne words teſtifie his body to haue beene cleane from that diſeaſe of leproſie: for he commandeth all lepers to be expelled out of the townes and villages, and to liue apart by themſelues, alſo to be clothed in ſome torne garment, and that whoſoeuer toucheth them, or commeth vnder the ſame roofe with them, is to be accounted an vncleane perſon. And if ſo be a leper happen to be cured of that diſeaſe,he appointed certaine purifications, cleanſings, and baths of fortunate waters, and all his haire ſhould be ſhaued off; and that then after many and ſundry ſacrifices, he ſhould be admitted into the holy city. But contrariwiſe, had he beene vrged with that misfortune and calamity himſelfe, he would ſurely haue beene more prouident, and more mercifull to ſuch as ſhould haue been afflicted with that diſeaſe.

An anſwer to Manethons ſlanders touching Moſes.

Moſes was not a leper.

He did not onely make theſe ſeuere lawes againſt lepers, but he alſo interdicted all that wanted any ioynt or parcell of the body,from being Prieſts, or exerciſing any office at the Altar: yea he alſo appointed, that if any Prieſt ſhould haue any of theſe defects betide him after he was a Prieſt, that then he ſhould be depriued of the dignity. How can it then be probable, that to his owne preiudice and diſcredit he would haue enacted ſuch lawes? Alſo the changing of his name is incredible: for he was called (as he ſaith) *Oſarſiph*, which nothing agreeth with the tranſmutation of his name,but his true name betokeneth that *Moſes* was ſaued from the water. For, Moy in the Egyptian tongue ſignifieth water. But I haue now ſufficiently,as I think,declared how *Manethon*, whileſt he followed the ancient writers, did not much erre, but when he fell to old wiues tales, he then either abſurdly fained them of his owne head,or elſe for hatred he bare to our nation, beleeued them. I now think it not amiſſe to examine a little the words of *Chæremon*, who profeſſing

Moſes tooke his name of Moy,which in the Egyptian tongue ſignifieth water.

Against Chæremon the hiſtoriographer

feſſing himſelfe to write the Egyptian hiſtory, maketh mention of the ſame King *Amenophis* his ſonne *Rhameſſes*, as *Manethon* doth, and he reporteth that *Iſis* appeared to *Amenophis* in his ſleepe, checking him for that her Temple was deſtroyed, and that *Phiritiphantes*, a holy Scribe, told the King, that if he would expel all polluted and vncleane perſons out of Egypt, that then he ſhould not be any more terrified with theſe night viſions. Moreouer, that hereupon making ſearch for all ſick and diſeaſed perſons, he baniſht them out of his land, to the number of 250000. and that their Captaines were called *Moſes* and *Ioſeph*, holy Scribes, alſo that theſe Egyptian names were ſo, that *Moſes* was named *Tiſithes*; and *Ioſeph*, *Peteſephus*, and that they came to Peluſium, where they found 380000. left there by *Amenophis*, whom he would not permit to come into Egypt, alſo that they all entring into a league together, ſuddenly inuaded Egypt, and *Amenophis* not abiding the brunt fled into Ethiopia, leauing his wife great with childe, who hiding her ſelfe in caues and dens, did bring forth a child whom they cald *Meſſenes*, who afterward draue the Iewes into Syria, being in number 200000. and this done, he recalled his father *Amenophis* out of Ethiopia. And thus *Chæremon* ſaith. G H

Meſſenes, ſon of Amenophis.

But I imagine, that which I haue already ſaid, to be ſufficient to declare the vanity of both theſe Writers. For if that which they report were true, it were vnpoſſible that they ſhould ſo much differ: but they labour to deuiſe lies, and write not any thing agreeable to other mens writings. For *Manethon* faineth, that the cauſe of the baniſhment of the lepers was the Kings deſire to ſee the gods. And *Chæremon* ſaith, that it was for that *Iſis* after appeared vnto him in his ſleep. *Manethon* alſo ſaith, that *Amenophis* gaue the King that counſell ſo to cleanſe the countrey; and *Chæremon* ſaith, that he that counſelled the King was called *Phiriphantes:* the number alſo of lepers hath very good conſonance I warrant you. *Manethon* ſaith, they were almoſt fourſcore hundreth. *Chæremon* ſaith, two hundreth and fifty thouſand. Moreouer, *Manethon* writeth how that theſe lepers were firſt ſent to a place to hewe ſtones, and afterward came to Auaris to dwell, and that they hauing already begun wars in Egypt, that then they ſent for help from Ieruſalem. And *Chæremon* ſaith, that they hauing left Egypt, found at Peluſia two hundreth and fourſcore thouſand men, whom *Amenophis* had kept there; with whom they ioyning againe, returned and inuaded Egypt, and then *Amenophis* fled into Ethiopia: and which is worth the noting, hee ſetteth not downe what countrimen, or to what purpoſe this great army was, whether Egyptians or ſtrangers, neither doth he ſhew any reaſon why the King would not carry them into Egypt. Moreouer, *Chæremon* faineth a dreame of the lepers and *Iſis*, and reporteth that *Ioſeph* together with *Moſes* was expelled, whereas *Ioſeph* liued foure ages before *Moſes*, euery age containing at leaſt a hundreth and ſeuenty yeers. *Rhameſſes* alſo, *Amenophis* ſonne, according to *Manethons* hiſtory, being a young man fled into Ethiopia, and was baniſhed with his father, and afterwards aſſiſted him in the wars: whereas *Chæremon* reporteth that he was borne in a caue after his fathers departure, and that hee getting the victory did driue the Iewes into Syria, who were in number two thouſand. O felicity in lying! for he neither told what nation thoſe three hundred and foureſcore thouſand were, nor yet how a hundreth and foureſcore thouſand of them periſhed, neither were they ſlaine in the fight, or fled vnto *Rhameſſes:* and which is moſt to be admired, one cannot gather out of his words whom he calleth Iewes, or whether he attribute this name vnto the 250000. lepers, or vnto the three hundreth and fourſcore thouſand which were at Peluſium. I K L

Manethons & Chæremons hiſtory cõpared together.

The differẽce between Manethons and Chæremons hiſtory.

But it is folly to oppoſe my ſelfe againſt them who haue ſufficiently contradicted themſelues: for had other men controlled their writings, they had been the more to be borne withall. I will adde *Lyſimachus* vnto the two former, who hath the ſame lie that they haue, yet farre more abſurd a fiction then theirs. For he ſaith, that at ſuch time as *Bocchoris* raigned in Egypt, the people of the Iewes being ſcabbed and infected with leproſie, fled into the temples to beg maintenance, and that ſo many men were with this diſeaſe infected, that a dearth and ſcarcity did fall vpon Egypt. Likewiſe that King *Bocchoris* went vnto *Ammon* to know of the Oracle what cauſed the dearth, and that anſwer was made, that if he would expell all lepers and vncleane perſons from out of the temples into the deſart, that then the famine would ceaſe, and that he ſhould drowne theſe lepers, as if the ſunne diſdained that they ſhould liue, and that then hee ſhould purifie the Temples, and ſo the earth would againe yeeld fruit: alſo that *Bocchoris* hauing this anſwer from the Oracle, he called together the Prieſts and ſacrificers, and hauing gathered lepers and vncleane people together, he deliuered them to ſouldiers to be conducted into the deſart, and that then they ſhould be lapt in lead, and caſt into the ſea. Moreouer, they being drowned M

Lyſimachus is reproued for lying.

According to Lyſimachus, the ſcabbed and leprous Iewes were to be conueied into the wildernes, & caſt into the ſea.

A drowned,other diſeaſed people were gathered together,and were carried into the wilderneſſe to be deſtroyed, and that they taking counſell one of another what to doe,the night following they made great fires and lights,wherwith they terrified and draue away the ſouldiers that kept them, and that they faſted the day following, requeſting God to be mercifull vnto them, and that the next day, one *Moſes* counſelled them to goe all one way, as thicke together as they could, till ſuch time as they came to ſome place inhabited, and that he then commanded them neuer hereafter to be friendly to any man, but alwaies rather to giue bad counſell then good, and to deſtroy all Temples,and Altars of the gods they came by: vnto which counſell they all agreeing, iournyed together thorow the wilderneſſe, and after much ſorrow came to places inhabited; v-

B ſing men by whom they paſt iniuriouſly,firing temples and robbing them : at laſt in this maner, they came vnto that place which they now call Iudæa; and there building a City, they began to dwell, and of this fact called the City Hieroſyla, and ſhortly after growing more potent, they for auoiding ſhame,changed the name thereof, and called it Ieruſalem, and themſelues the inhabitants of Ieruſalem.

When the Iewes got Iudea, and built Ieruſalem.

This fellow found not that King,which the two former ſpeake of, but he ioyned a more new name,and leauing the dreame and the Prophet, he goeth to *Ammon*, to know an anſwer of the old,touching the ſcabbed and lepers: for he ſaith, that a multitude was gathered together at the Temples : but he leaueth it vncertaine, whether the Iewes onely were infected with this diſeaſe: for he ſaith the people of the Iewes: which people,whether they were ſtrangers or ſuch as were

C borne in that country,why doſt thou call them Iewes,when they were Ægyptians? If they were ſtrangers, why doſt thou not tell of whence they were? Or how came it to paſſe that the King hauing drowned ſo many of them in the ſea,and left the reſt in the wilderneſſe,that ſtill ſo many ſhould be left? Or how did they paſſe the wilderneſſe, and get the countrey wee now inhabit, and built a City and a Temple famous thorow all parts of the world? Thou ſhouldeſt not onely haue told the name of our law-maker,but alſo what countriman he was,and of what parents, and what moued him in his iourney to make ſuch lawes againſt the gods,and againſt men. For if they were Ægyptians, they would not ſo eaſily haue forgotten the religion wherein they were brought vp:or of what place elſe ſoeuer they were,they had ſome lawes or other,which they had been accuſtomed to keep. If they had vowed to haue borne no good will vnto them by whom

D they were driuen out of their countrey, they had had ſome iuſt occaſion ſo to doe. But to vndertake war againſt all the world, and depriue themſelues from all friendſhip and helpe of mortall men, doth not ſhew their ſottiſhneſſe,but the fooliſhneſſe of him,who doth thus belie him. Who moſt impudently affirmeth,that their City tooke the name of Church-ſpoyling, and afterward changed it. For what cauſe forſooth did they change the name thereof? marry for that the former name was ignominious to their poſterity. But the Gentleman vnderſtood not, that Ieruſalem ſignifieth otherwiſe in our language, then it doth in the Greeke. And therefore what ſhould I ſtand to inueigh againſt a lie ſo impudently told?

Lyſinius his opinion confuted.

Nothing is to be ſaid againſt an impudent lye.

But my booke hath now beene long enough, making a new beginning: and therefore I will endeuour to finiſh the

E reſidue of this worke.

F

THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITY OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS, AGAINST APION OF ALEXANDRIA, AND DEDICATED TO EPAPHRODITVS.

THrice Honoured and beloued *Epaphroditus*, I haue in my former bookes ſo farre forth as I was warranted by truth, both proteſted and approued the Antiquity of our nation, out of the writings of the *Phœnicians*, *Chaldees* and *Egyptians*: and for the further confirmation thereof, I haue produced the teſtimony of diuers Greek Authors. Furthermore, I haue oppoſed my ſelfe againſt *Manethon* and *Cheremon*, and diuers others. At this time likewiſe I will vndertake to contradict all the reſt of thoſe writers, that haue publiſhed any thing againſt vs; for in reſpect of *Apion*, who pretendeth himſelfe to be learned, I grow halfe ſuſpicious, whether it be a matter anſwerable to my deſcretion and iudgement, to vouchſafe him any reply at all. For as touching the one part of that which he hath written, it ſeemeth to be one and the ſame, with that which the reſt haue written: and as touching the other, it is very cold and barren. The greater part thereof is farſed with follies and detractions, and betrayeth his ignorance, approuing him to be a man both looſe in condition, and turbulent in his life. And for as much as diuers men are ſo disfurniſhed of iudgement, that they rather ſuffer themſelues to be won by theſe follies, then to be wearied and wrought by that which is written with better conſideration, vainly doating on detractions, and growing diſcontent to giue eare to other mens well deſerued praiſes; I haue thought it neceſſary to examine ſuch a mans labours, the rather, for that he hath written againſt vs, as if he intended to accuſe vs before a Tribunall, and conuict vs by a publike triall. For I ſee that it is an ordinary courſe for the moſt part of men, to hug and take hearty pleaſure, when as he that beginneth to blame another man, is himſelfe conuicted and found guilty of thoſe defaults, which he imputeth and obiecteth againſt another.

Apion wrote ſomething very coldly.

Truely it is no eaſie matter to lay open the ambiguous and doubtfull ſpeeches which *Apion* vſeth, neither to vnderſtand perfectly what he intendeth to expreſſe. But like a man that is grieuouſly diſtracted and confuſed in his fooliſh lying, he groweth almoſt to that point, to recapitulate that, which hath beene heretofore ſet out, and ſearcht for, as touching the departure of our forefathers out of Ægypt: and afterwards he falleth to accuſe the Iewes that inhabited *Alexandria*: and thirdly, he intermixeth his blamefull blaſphemies, againſt the ceremonies accuſtomed in our Temple, and depraueth our lawes and ordinances likewiſe. Now, that our predeceſſors haue not taken their originall out of Ægypt, neither haue beene driuen from thence for any infirmity or deformity of their bodies, or for any wound, vlcer, or pollution; I ſupooſe that I haue not onely ſufficiently approued the ſame, but alſo produced far more then was requiſite. I will therefore briefly report and repeat that which *Apion* alleadgeth: For in the third booke of his Egyptian hiſtory, he writ thus: *Moſes*, as I haue heard it from moſt ancient Egyptians, was borne at Heliopolis, who being inſtructed in the faſhions of his countrey, conuerted ſuch prayers which were wont to be ſaid in open places and abroad, and cauſed them to be practiſed and accuſtomed in priuate Cloyſters, ſuch as were within the City, and ordained that in praying they ſhould turne themſelues towards the riſing Sunne. For ſuch is the ſituation of the Citie Heliopolis, and in ſtead of *Obeliſques* or *Pyramides*, he erected certaine pillars, vnder which there were certaine ingrauen Baſons, on which the ſhadow hapning to fall (the place wherein they ſtood being diſcouered and in open ayre) they obſerued the ſame courſe

Apion concerning Moſes and the Iewes

that.

A that the Sunne doth in the firmament. See here what eloquence this learned man vſed.

Apions fiction concerning the Temple and Moſes is refuted.

Now, this lye of his needeth no words to refute it, ſeeing it is clearly refelled by the effects. For when *Moſes* firſt built that Tabernacle in honour of God, hee had no ſuch intent, nor faſhioned any ſuch forme, neither ordained his ſucceſſors to doe the like: and after this when as *Salomon* builded the Temple in Ieruſalem, he neuer thought of any ſuch curioſity as *Apion* forgeth. He ſaith that he hath beene informed by thoſe of antiquity, that *Moſes* was a Heliopolitan, for you muſt vnderſtand that *Apion* himſelfe was young, and beleeued the relation of the aged ſort of his acquaintance which conuerſed familiarly with him: yet cannot this learned Grammarian iuſtifie where *Homer* was borne, neither from what countrey *Pythagoras* came, although

B in reſpect, they liued but yeſterday: and as touching *Moſes*, who liued ſo many ages, and ſo great a number of yeeres before them, he decideth the matter ſo eaſily, and giueth credit to the reports of antiquity ſo ſlightly, that it appeareth moſt manifeſtly that he is but a lyer. As touching the time wherein hee ſaith that *Moſes* led away the blinde, leprous, and lame: this diligent Author accordeth very willingly with that which he himſelfe hath ſaid. For *Manethon* ſaith, that the Iewes departed out of Egypt about the raigne of *Tethmoſis*, three hundreth ninety ſix yeers before *Danaus* fled out of Greece. *Lyſimachus*, he ſaith, that this thing hapned during King *Boccho-ris* time, that is to ſay, one thouſand and ſeuen hundreth yeeres before that time; *Molon* alſo and

The computation of the time is different among the Hiſtoriographers.

ſome others haue alledged their opinions. But *Apion*, who pretendeth to be a man of more credit then the reſt, hath preciſely and exactly ſet downe the time, auerring that our departure was a-

C bout the ſeuenty Olympiade: nay more, in the firſt yeere thereof, wherein as he ſaith, Carthage was builded by the Phœnicians. Now hath he onely and purpoſely made mention of Carthage in this place; ſuppoſing it to be an infallible argument of the truth of his allegation: yet conceiteth he not, that he maketh a rod for his owne taile, and draweth an argument againſt himſelfe, by which himſelfe may be conuinced. For if we may giue credit to the Phœnician Chroniclers as touching this Colonie, it appeareth by them that King *Hiram* liued more then one hundreth and fifty yeeres before the foundation of Carthage. The truth whereof I haue heretofore approoued out of the words of the Phœnicians, who report that *Hiram* was *Salomons* friend, who

The friendſhip betweene Hiram and Salomon, whereof wee made mention in the firſt booke againſt Apion in the beginning.

builded the Temple in Ieruſalem: and that he furniſhed him with much timber and other matter toward the finiſhing of that building. Now *Salomon* builded the Temple ſix hundreth and

D twelue yeeres after the departure of the Iſraelites out of Egypt. And after he had inconſiderately reckoned the number of thoſe which were driuen out of Egypt in like manner as *Lyſimachus* had done, namely, of one hundreth and ten thouſand men, he yeelded a moſt admirable reaſon, and ſuch as may be eaſily beleeued: from whence hee pretendeth that the name of Sabbath was deriued. For (ſaith he) after they had trauelled for the ſpace of ſix daies, there grew certaine inflamations in their groines, by reaſon whereof they reſted on the ſeuenth day, being ſafely arriued in the countrey which at this day is called Iudæa, becauſe the Egyptians call *Sabatoſis* an Vlcer that groweth about the groine.

The Egyptians doe call a diſeaſe about the priuy parts, Sabatoſis.

Who can otherwiſe chuſe but laugh at this foppery? or contrariwiſe, who would not hate ſuch an impudent cuſtome in writing and coyning lies? For he reporteth as farre as a man may

E coniecture by his writings, that all the Iewes who were to the number of one hundred and ten thouſand perſons, had theſe Vlcers in their ſecrets. Now had all of them beene hault, lame, blinde, and ſickly as *Apion* reporteth, they could not haue iournied one day: but ſince they trauelled thorow the Deſart, and vanquiſhed all armies that reſiſted them, it is no likely matter that all of them were ſicke of a diſeaſe in their priuy parts euery ſeuenth day: neither is it naturally poſſible, that ſuch a diſeaſe ſhould befall ſo many thouſand men in their iourney, and that they euery day ſhould trauell a certaine ſpace and a limited march, neither ſtandeth it with any probability, but rather a manifeſt abſurdity, that any ſuch thing ſhould befall them: but this admirable *Apion* ſayth, that they arriued in Iudæa within the ſpace of ſix dayes.

Apions fiction of the ſix daies iourney is confuted.

Againe, he writeth that *Moſes* aſcending vp the mount Sinai, which is betwixt Arabia and

F Egypt, hid himſelfe in that place for the ſpace of forty daies, and deſcending from thence, gaue Lawes vnto the Iewes. But how I pray you was it poſſible for him to remaine forty dayes in a Deſart without water? or how could all the Iewes within ſix daies trauell from Egypt, into Iewrie? As for his Grammaticall diuination of the word Sabbath, it ſauoureth too much of impudency, or at leaſt of ignorance: for theſe words *Sabbo* and *Sabbatum* doe greatly differ: for *Sabatum* in the Iewes language, ſignifieth reſt from worke; but *Sabbo* in the Egyptian tongue, betokeneth a diſeaſe about the priuie parts, as *Apion* ſaith. See heere what cauilling fictions this Egyptian *Apion* vſeth concerning *Moſes*, and our departure out of Egypt; wherein hee counterfeiteth

Apion denies his countrey and origen.

feiteth and coyneth abſurdities vnthought of by any others. Shall we then wonder if he belie our forefathers, who maketh no bones to belie himſelfe? for being borne at Oaſis, a towne in Ægypt, this high vnreputed honour of the Egyptians forſweareth both his Countrey and Nation, and counterfeiting himſelfe to be an Alexandrian, he ratifieth his Nations wickedneſſe. No maruell then though hee terme them Egyptians whom hee hateth and raileth againſt, for if hee had not beene perſwaded that the Ægyptians were wicked baſe people, he would neuer haue denied himſelfe to be their countriman: for ſuch as proudly boaſt of their famous countrey, eſteeme it a credit to beare the denomination thereof, and reprehend ſuch as without iuſt cauſe make themſelues of their Nation. Wherefore the Ægyptians are one of theſe two waies affected towards vs Iewes, for either they claime vs to be their countrimen, as glorying of vs and their countrey; or elſe for that, they and their countrey being infamous, they deſire that we ſhould be partakers of their ignominy. But indeed this worthy *Apion* ſeemeth ſo to inueigh againſt vs, as thereby rewarding the Alexandrians for beſtowing their Cities vpon him: and knowing them to be at variance with the Iewes at Alexandria, hee as it were caſteth a bone betweene them, and raileth not onely on the Iewes of that Citie, but on all whereſoeuer: but he belieth both of them moſt impudently. But let vs examine thoſe hainous and enormous matters, and (as hee ſaith) ſuch as are not to be ſuffered, of which he accuſeth the Alexandrian Iewes. Comming (quoth hee) out of Syria, they ſeated themſelues neere the Sea-coaſt, where there was no Hauen neere vnto the ſurges of the water. G H

Apion raileth againſt the Iewes, as thereby rewarding the Alexandrians.

The ſea-coaſt of Alexandria.

Now if this place which they inhabited were ignominious, yet it followeth not that the Iewes owne countrey was ſo alſo: yea herein *Apion* raileth againſt Alexandria, which he maketh his owne countrey: for the ſea-coaſt is part of Alexandria, and as all men iudge the beſt place thereof to dwell in. Now if the Iewes by force of armes ſo vanquiſhed this place, that they could neuer ſince be driuen out of it: it is no diſcredit to them, but rather an argument of their valour. But *Alexander* gaue them that place to inhabit, and the Macedonians did allot them as great priuiledges as the Alexandrians had. I know not what *Apion* would haue ſaid, if the Iewes had dwelt about Necropolis, and not about the Kings ſeat: their Tribes being euen at this time called Macedonians. If therefore *Apion* haue read the Epiſtles of King *Alexander*, and *Ptolomæus Lagus*, or others their ſucceſſors Kings of Egypt, or ſeene the pillers that are erected in Alexandria, containing the priuiledges that *Cæſar* the great granted vnto the Iewes; if I ſay hee knew of theſe, and yet did preſume to write the contrary, then hee was a bad fellow: but if hee was ignorant hereof, he was then an vnlearned perſon. The like ignorance alſo diſcouereth he, where he wonders that the Iewes that were in Alexandria were called Alexandrians. For all that are one Colonie, though very different people, yet doe they all beare the name of their founder: and that I may ſhun prolixity, the Iewes of Antioch are called Antiochians; for *Seleucus* the founder made them alſo Citizens: the like may be alſo ſaid of the Iewes of Epheſus, and at the other Ionia, who by the Kings gifts enioy the ſame priuiledges with the reſt of the Citizens. The Romans alſo of their clemency haue granted the name of their Nation, which is no ſmall gift, not only to priuate perſons, but to great Nations in generall. To be ſhort, the ancient Spaniards, the Tyrrhenes, and Sabines, are called Romans; or if *Apion* will take away this denomination of the Citie wherein men inhabit, let him ceaſe to call himſelfe an Alexandrian: for he being borne in the heart of Ægypt, can in no wiſe be an Alexandrian, if the priuiledge of the City be taken from him, as he would haue it from vs. And the Lords of the whole world the Romans, haue amongſt all other Nations onely prohibited the Egyptians from hauing the priuiledges of any Citie: and ſo this gallant gentleman being himſelfe incapable of dignity, endeuoureth likewiſe to hinder them from it, who haue true right vnto it. I K L

The liberties and priuiledges granted vnto the Iewes.

Alexander.

For *Alexander* labouring with all diligence to build that Citie, did not make choyce of vs for want of people to furniſh the ſame withall; but for that he beſtowed the liberty thereof vpon vs as a reward and teſtimony of our vertue and fidelity, endeuouring in deed to honour and credit our Nation thereby: for *Hecatæus* reporteth that *Alexander* for the Iewes good ſeruice and fidelitie, beſtowed vpon them the country of Samaria, and freed them from paying tribute for it. M

1. Ptolomæus Lagus.

The ſame good affection towards the Iewes of Alexandria, *Ptolomæus Lagus* continued after him, for hee deliuered into their hands the ſtrong holds of Egypt (for that hee iudged that their valour and fidelity would keep them) and intending to make himſelfe Lord of Cyrene and other places in Lybia, hee ſent certaine Iewes to inhabit the ſame. After him *Ptolomæus Philadelphus* did not onely releaſe and ſet free all captiues of our Nation in his countrey, but alſo did many times remit their payments of money, and (which was the principall point of all) he deſired to be inſtructed

2. Ptolomæus Philadelphus.

A inſtructed in our lawes and holy Scriptures, and for this cauſe ſent vnto vs, requeſting that we would ſend him ſome learned men to interpret them vnto him: and that this might be performed with more diligence, he committed the care hereof not to any but *Demetrius Phalerius*, *Andreas* and *Ariſteus*, *Demetrius* being the only mirrour of learning in his age, the other two being Eſquires of his owne body: neither would he haue euer deſired to haue beene inſtructed in our lawes and cuſtomes, if he had deſpiſed vs and had not rather admired vs. But *Apion* knew that almoſt all the Macedonian Kings his ſucceſſors in order, did peculiarly affect our nation. For *Ptolomæus* the third which was alſo called *Euergetes*, conquering Syria by force, did no ſacrifice vnto the gods of Egypt for his victory, but came to Ieruſalem, and there after our maner ſacrifi-
B ced many hoſtes vnto our God, and to him dedicated gifts worthy of ſuch a victory. *Ptolomæus* alſo ſurnamed *Philometor* and his wife *Cleopatra*, committed the rule of his whole kingdome vnto the Iewes, and *Onias* and *Doſitheus* both Iewes, were Generals of his army, whoſe credit *Apion* detracts: whereas he rather ought to haue admired them, and haue thanked them for deliuering *Alexandria* whereof he maketh himſelfe a citizen.

The 70. Interpreters.

3. Ptolomæus Euergetes.

4. Ptolomæus Philometor.

For when there was a rebellion in *Cleopatras* kingdome, and all was in perill to be deſtroyed, theſe two men deliuered *Alexandria* from ciuill warre: But *Apion* ſaith that after this, *Onias* came and brought a little army into the City at ſuch time as *Termus*, the Romane Embaſſadour was there preſent. True it is, and that fact of his was moſt iuſt. For *Ptolomæus Phyſcon* after the death of his father *Ptolomæus Philometor*, comming out of Cyrene, endeuoured to expell the Queene
C *Cleopatra*, and the Kings ſons, to the end that he (contrary to all iuſtice) might poſſeſſe the kingdome: and this was the cauſe why *Onias* tooke armes againſt him in *Cleopatras* behalfe, not forſaking his fidelity vnto Kings in the time of neceſſity: yet God himſelfe did manifeſtly witneſſe his iuſtice in this action. For when *Ptolomæus Phyſcon* preſumed to fight againſt *Onias* his army, and tooke all the Iewes, their wiues and children that were in the city and bound them, and ſtripping them naked, caſt them before Elephants to be deſtroyed (and to the intent that the Elephants might the rather tread vpon them, made the ſaid beaſts drunken) all which fell out contrary to his expectation: for the Elephants forſaking the Iews which were caſt before them, did fall vpon *Ptolomæus* his friends that ſtood by, and ſlew many of them; which done, there appeared vnto *Ptolomæus* a moſt horrible viſion forbidding him to harme the Iewes: and his chiefeſt beſt beloued
D concubine (alſo whom ſome cal *Ithaca*, other *Herene*) came vnto him and beſought him to abſtain from ſuch impiety: whereupon he being ſorry, did penance for that he had already committed, and that which he thought to commit; ſo that the Iewes of Alexandaia celebrate this day in remembrance that vpon it God did manifeſtly deliuer them; yet *Apion* (who ſpeaketh well of no man) accuſeth the Iewes of impiety for bearing armes againſt *Phyſcon*, whereas indeed he ought rather to haue commended them for it: But *Apion* extolleth *Cleopatra* the laſt Queene of Alexan. dria, onely for that ſhe was vniuſt, and ingratefull vnto vs; when he rather ought to haue reproued her, in whom all impiety and wickednes raigned, both concerning her owne kinred and her husbands who loued her, and alſo generally againſt all the Romans and the Emperours his benefactors, who killed her owne ſiſter *Arſinoe* in the Temple who had not any wiſe offended her: ſhe
E alſo treacherouſly ſlew her owne brother, and deſtroyed her anceſtors gods and ſepulchers: and receiuing the kingdome from the firſt *Cæſars* gift, ſhee ingratefully rebelled againſt his ſon and ſucceſſour; and infecting *Antonie* with her poyſoned drinks and amorous inchantments, ſhee made him rebell againſt his country, and to be vnconſtant to his owne friends, depriuing ſome of Kingly dignity, and compelling others to be inſtruments of her impiety. And what elſe ſhall we ſay of her, who in the battell by ſea forced *Antonius* her owne husband (who alſo had many children by her) to yeeld himſelfe, the Empire, and army vnto her, and become one of her followers? Laſtly, when Alexandria was taken by *Cæſar*, ſhe was ſo cruelly minded, that not remembring her owne eſtate, ſhe accounted this her ſafety, if with her owne hand ſhe might kill the Iewes, that ſhe might be cruell and trothleſſe to euery body.

Of Cleopatra the laſt queen of Alexandria.

Antonie the husband of Cleopatra.

F Is it not a glory thinke you to vs, that (as *Apion* reporteth) in the time of dearth and famine, wheat was plentifull in Iury, that it was not ſold by meaſure? But *Cleopatra* was puniſhed as ſhe deſerued. And we call great *Cæſar* himſelfe to witnes of our fidelity, and the ſeruice we did him againſt the Ægyptians, the Senate alſo and their decrees, and the writings of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, wherein our deſerts are teſtified. Theſe letters *Apion* ought to haue read, and to haue examined all teſtimonies of vs, which were left firſt by *Alexander*, and then by all the Ptolomees, and what the Senate of Rome decreed, and the mighty Emperours. And if ſo be *Germanicus* could not

get corne to ſuffice all the inhabitants of Alexandria, that was a token of ſcarcity and dearth, and not the Iewes fault. For what all Emperours thought of the Alexandrian Iewes, it is manifeſt enough: for the Iewes want of corne was not onely left vnſupplied, but alſo the want of other Alexandrians. But they haue alwaies kept that wherwith the ancient Princes did put them in truſt, to wit, the keeping of the riuer, and whole countrey, as not being thought vnfit for their purpoſes. But *Apion* thus vrgeth vs; If (quoth he) the Iewes be citizens; how hap they worſhip not the ſame God, nor haue the ſame religion that the reſt of the Alexandrians haue? To whom I thus anſwer; How hapneth that you Ægyptians do ſo contend and warre againſt one another onely for diuerſity of religion? ſhall we hereupon conclude that you are all Ægyptians, or not all men? becauſe you worſhip and with great diligence nouriſh beaſts againſt nature? yet our nation ſeemeth one and the ſame. If therefore amongſt you Ægyptians ſuch difference of opinions be; why doſt thou ſo maruell of this, that we in a ſtrange place, to wit, at Alexandria, doe conſtantly perſeuer in our firſt religion? But he ſaith that we are the cauſe of all ſedition: which ſuppoſe he ſpeake true of the Iewes of Alexandria, yet are not all Iewes in all places the cauſe of ſedition, for we are knowne to be peaceable amongſt our ſelues. But indeed as euery one may perceiue, the people like *Apion* himſelfe are authors of ſedition in Alexandria. For whileſt the Greeks and Macedonians held Alexandria, they and we liued peaceably together, and they permitted vs quietly to vſe our owne ſolemnities: but when the number of Egyptians encreaſed, by confuſion of time, ſedition alſo by their meanes encreaſed: but our nation remained vnpermixted. They therefore were authors of thoſe troubles, not hauing the gouernment of the Macedonians, nor the wiſedome of the Greeks; but vſing their Ægyptian manners, and renewing their old hatred againſt vs. And that wherewith all they hit vs in the teeth befalleth them: for moſt of them not hauing the priuiledges of the city themſelues, call vs ſtrangers that haue them. For none of the ancient Kings beſtowed the liberty of the city vpon the Ægyptians, neither haue any of the Emperors of Rome beſtowed the priuiledge. But *Alexander* himſelfe brought vs into the city, the Kings after him encreaſed more priuiledges, and it hath pleaſed the Roman Emperour to ratifie and confirme them. But *Apion* detracteth vs for not erecting ſtatues to the Emperors, as though the Emperors knew not hereof, or that they needed *Apion* to ſpeake for them: whereas he ſhould rather admire the Romans magnanimity, and modeſtie, who compell not their ſubiects to violate their ancient lawes and religion, but content themſelues with ſuch honours as the giuer may with piety and equity giue them. For they account not of forced honours which come of compulſion.

The Greeks and diuers other thinke it not amiſſe to erect ſtatues; for they delight to haue the pictures of their anceſtors, wiues and children, and ſome of their beloued ſeruants alſo: what maruaile then if they accord to yeeld the like honor to Princes and Emperors? But our Law-maker, not as prophecying the Romans power not to be reuerenced: but foreſeeing that it was neither profitable to God nor man, forbade vs to make an Image of any liuing creature, much more of a not liuing God (as we will prooue hereafter.) But he permitted vs to reuerence all good men, with any honour elſe not due to God, and all thoſe we giue vnto the Emperours, and people of Rome, and make our continuall ſacrifice for them; and not onely vpon workie dayes doe this, at the proper coſt of all the Iewes, but vpon ſuch daies as we offer no other ſacrifice, no not for our owne children, we then ſacrifice for the Roman Emperour, yeelding that honour to the Roman Emperour which we doe to none elſe. And let this ſuffice to anſwer that which *Apion* alledgeth againſt the Iewes of Alexandria: yet can I not but admire at them who gaue him this occaſion, namely *Poſſidonius* and *Apollonius Molon*, who accuſe vs for not worſhipping the ſame gods that other doe, although they lie all alike, ſlandering our Temple moſt abſurdly: and yet for all this they doe not beleeue that they herein commit any impiety: whereas it is a moſt ignominious thing for any free-man to lie vpon any occaſion: much more of a Temple famous ouer all the world for ſanctity. For *Apion* affirmeth that the Iewes in that ſacred Temple placed the head of an Aſſe, and worſhipped it moſt religiouſly. And this (quoth he) was manifeſtly knowne at ſuch time as *Antiochus Epiphanes* ſpoyled that Temple, who found that Aſſes head being of maſſie gold, and great value. To this firſt ſlander I firſt anſwer, that were that true which he reporteth, yet an Ægyptian ought not to haue ſpoken againſt vs for it: ſeeing that an Aſſe is of no leſſe worth then a Goate, and other brute beaſts that they honour for gods. Was it poſſible that he knew not the contrary of his owne affirmations, by our deeds and Scriptures? For we vſe the ſame lawes that at the firſt we did, and remaine in them without change, and for all

The Iewes haue been alwaies truſty to their Prince.

The Egyptiãs doe worſhip beaſts, not agreeable to mans nature.

The diſcord of the Iews & the Alexandrians in religiõ.

The cauſe of diſcord betweene the Iewes and Alexandrians.

Apions fiction touching the Iewes being authors of ſedition at Alexandria is confuted.

The Romans magnanimity towards the Iewes.

The Iewes may haue no Images.

How Emperors & Magiſtrates ought to be honoured.

The lie of Poſſidonius and Apollonius concerning the Iewes is confuted.

An anſwer to the obiection of the Aſſes head.

all that our City (as others alſo haue) hath by the variable euent of warre, beene vexed and troubled, and that *Antiochus* ſurnamed the god, and *Pompey* the great, and *Licinius Craſſus*, and now laſtly *Titus Cæſar* haue all vanquiſhed our Temple, yet did they neuer find in it any thing as *Apion* affirmeth, but ſincere piety, not lawfull for vs to diſcloſe to ſtrangers. And as touching *Antiochus*, many writers of good credit report, that he neuer had any iuſt cauſe to ſpoile our temple, but that hee was drawne vnto this fact for want of money; Not for that he was our enemy, but for that as from his friends and fellowes, he ſought ſupply, and found nothing in that place that was worthy of deriſion: and thus doe *Polybius Megapolitanus*, *Strabo* the Cappadocian, *Nicholas Damaſcene*, *Timagenes Caſtor* the Chronicler, and *Apollodorus* auow, who all doe witnes, that *Antiochus* wanting money, brake the league he had with the Iewes, and robd and ſpoiled their Temple being full of gold and ſiluer. *Apion* ought to haue conſidered this, had he not had an Aſſes heart, and a dogs impudency, which he and his Countrimen worſhip for gods. As for vs, we do neither honour nor reuerence Aſſes, though the Egyptians do their Crocodiles and Aſpes, eſteeming them that are bitten by Aſpes, and deuoured by Crocodiles, to be happy and fit for God.

But we eſteeme thoſe to be Aſſes which all our wiſemen do, to wit, them who beare burdens impoſed vpon them; and if comming into a field they fall to eat, and doe not that which they ought to doe, wee vſe to beat them with many ſtripes, and force them to till the ground, and do other drudgery. But *Apion* was either the greateſt Aſſe that euer was, in telling a lie; or elſe hauing begunne to doe it, he could not compaſſe his enterprizes, in that hee found not any iuſt cauſe of detraction againſt vs. He addeth another fable of the Greekes detracting vs: to the which I will make only this reply, that it is more commendable and agreeing to piety, and leſſe vncleanneſſe, to paſſe thorow the Temple, then for Prieſts to come and faine impious words and ſpeeches: which they not reſpecting, laboured rather to excuſe the ſacrilegious Kings, then to write the truth of vs and our Temple, endeuouring to currie fauour with *Antiochus*, and to couer and hide his ſacriledge, vſed againſt our nation, for that he wanted money, beleeuing vs euen in things that are to come. And *Apion*, as prophecying of the reſt, ſaith that *Antiochus* found a bed in our Temple, and in it a man lying, and a table ſet before him, furniſhed with all fowles that vſe either ſea or land, and that the man was hereat aſtoniſhed: And that ſo ſoone as *Antiochus* came into the Temple, he adored him as though he hoped for great helpe from the king, falling downe at his feet, and with a ſtretched out arme, craning licence to ſpeake: which the king granting, and willing him to declare what hee was, and why hee dwelt in the Temple, and the cauſe of his meats before him; the man with ſighes and teares bewailed vnto *Antiochus* his calamity, ſaying, He was a Grecian: and that trauelling in the country to get his liuing, he was ſuddenly ſeized vpon by certaine out-landiſh men, and brought vnto the Temple, and ſhut vp therein, and that no man might ſee him, and that he was there fed or fatted with all dainties that could be prouided: and that at firſt this dainty fare made him ioyful, but afterward he began to ſuſpect it, and laſtly he was heereat amazed; and then demanding of a Iew that adminiſtred vnto him, for what cauſe he was there kept, hee vnderſtood the Iewes purpoſe, and law not to be reuealed, for the fulfilling whereof hee was there nouriſhed, and that the Iewes were wont to do the like euery yeere vpon a day appointed: and to take a Grecian ſtranger, and feed him a yeere, and then to carry him to a wood, and there to kill him, and ſacrifice him according to their rites and ceremonies, and to taſte and eat of his entrailes: and in the ſacrificing of the Grecian, to ſweare to bee enemies to the Greeks, and the reſidue of the murdered man they caſt into a certaine pit. And that then this Greeke reported vnto *Antiochus*, that the time allotted vnto him by the Iewes to liue was now almoſt expired, and therefore requeſted, for the reuerence he bare to the Grecian gods, to ſaue his bloud from being ſpilt by the Iewes, and to free him out of that imminent calamity.

Who are accounted Aſſes amongſt the Iewes and otherwiſe men.

Certain Hiſtoriographers endeuor to couer and hide Antiochus his periury and ſacriledge.

That the Iews ought once a yeere to ſacrifice a Grecian

This fable is not only ſtuft full of all tragical cruelty, but alſo mingled with cruel impudency: yet for all this, the firſt deuiſers hereof do not free *Antiochus* from ſacriledge, as they hoped hereby to doe, who writ it purpoſely to flatter him. For that which they report of the Greek found in a bed, did not moue him to come and ſacke our Temple, he not knowing of it before he came and found it ſo (as they ſay.) *Antiochus* therefore was moſt impious, and not aſſiſted by Gods fauour in that enterprize, (whatſoeuer theſe lyers mutter) as it is eaſie to learne of the fact of him committed. For we doe not onely differ from the Greekes in religion, but a great deale more from the Egyptians, and other nations: and what nation in the world is there, that ſometime doth not

not trauaile thorow our Countrey? Is it then probable that we onely renue that conſpiracy a- G
gainſt the Greekes? Or how it is poſſible that ſo many thouſand people as are of our owne nation, ſhould all eate of the entrailes of one man as *Apion* reporteth? Or why did he not name this man whoſoeuer he was? Or why did not the king carry him with trumpets into his country? ſeeing that in ſo doing he might haue bin eſteemed full of piery, and a great fauorer of the Greeks, & greatly ſtrengthen himſelfe againſt the hatred of the Iewes by their aide? But I omit to ſpeake more of this: for vnſenſible people voide of all reaſon, muſt not be reprehended in word, but by deedes: for all men that haue ſeene the building of the Temple, can teſtifie what it was, and the vndefiled purity thereof. For it had foure porches about, and euery one of them by our lawes had ſeuerall keepers: and into the outward porch, all people, yea ſtrangers might enter without H
breach of our lawes, women onely excepted that haue their monethly courſe. Into the ſecond porch it was lawfull for onely Iewes to come: and all Iewes might goe into it, and their wiues alſo when they were free frō pollution of their flowers. Into the third porch, they onely of our nation that were purified and ſanctified might come. Into the fourth, might only the Prieſts enter, who were cloathed with Prieſtly Stoles, and into the ſecret part of the Temple might only the high Prieſt come, attired with a Stole proper to him onely: yea we are in all things ſo carefull of piety, that our Prieſts are appointed houres when to enter into the Temple.

The deſcription of the Temple and porches.

For in the morning when the Temple was opened, the Prieſts that were to ſacrifice the hoſtes which were giuen them, entred into the Temple; and at noone againe when it was ſhut; yea it was not lawfull to carry any veſſell into the Temple: but there was onely there an Altar, a I
Table, a Cenſer, and a Candleſticke, as is in our law mentioned, and there is no other ſecret or hidden myſtery done, neither is there in that place any eating, and all the people can teſtifie this which I haue here ſet downe, and our writings doe the like. For notwithſtanding that there are foure rites of Prieſts, and euery Prieſts tribe containeth aboue fiue thouſand men: yet euery one waiteth on certaine appointed dayes in their turne, and their time of waiting being expired, others ſucceede them in ſacrificing; and the day before they are to finiſh their waiting, they deliuer vp vnto their ſucceſſours the keyes of the Temple, and all veſſels belonging thereto, in the full number that they receiued them: and nothing is brought into the Temple, pertaining either to meate or drinke: yea, and are forbidden to be offered at our Altar, thoſe things onely excepted, whereof we make our ſacrifice. What then ſhall we ſay of *Apion*, who examining nothing K
of all theſe, hath raiſed ſuch incredible reports of vs? How ignominious a thing it is for a Grammarian, not to be able to deliuer the truth of a Hiſtory? Well, he knew the piety vſed in our Temple, but he purpoſely omitted it: yet could he remember to tell a fained tale of the ſacrificing of the Greeke, his dainty fare and that hidden food, that all men alſo that would, paſſed thorow our Temple: whereas the moſt noble amongſt our whole nation, are not permitted to come there, except they be Prieſts.

What was in the Temple.

Foure Tribes of Prieſts, and of euery tribe more then fiue thouſand men.

This therefore is great impiety, and a voluntary forged lie, to ſeduce them that will not examine the truth. For they haue attempted to ſlander vs by thoſe impieties before mentioned, not to be ſpoken of. And againe, like one full of all piety, he derideth the vanity of theſe L
fables, and reporteth that at ſuch time as the Iewes for a long time together, warred againſt the Idumæans, *Zabidus* departing out of a City of Idumæa where *Apollo* was worſhipped, came vnto the Iewes, promiſing them to deliuer vnto them *Apollo* the *Dorians* god, and bring him vnto their Temple, if ſo bee that all of them would there aſſemble themſelues together: and that afterwards *Zabidus* did make a moſt excellent kind of woodden inſtrument, and placed in it three rankes of candles, and put it vpon him, and ſo walked like a ſtarre gliding on the ground (for
» that ſhape he reſembled to them that were afarre off from him.) And that the Iewes hereat (ſeeing this ſtrange viſion) admired and were aſtoniſhed; and ſtanding afarre off, they were all ſilent, and how by this ſhift *Zabidus* eaſily got into their Temple, and tooke away the golden
» Aſſes head (for ſo he writeth plainely) and ſo to haue returned ſpeedily to *Dora*. Wherefore M
» wee may ſay that *Apion* leadeth an Aſſe, to wit, himſelfe with fooleries and lies; for he nameth
» places that are not, and ſetteth downe Cities to himſelfe vnknowne: for Idumæa is a Prouince
» neere vnto vs, and bordering vpon Gara, and there is no City in it called Dora: but in Phœnicia
» neere vnto the hill Carmelus, there is a City of that name, yet nothing conſonant to *Apions* ſlanders, for it is foure dayes iourney from Iudæa.

Another tale deuiſed by Apion of Zabidus.

Dora is a city of Phœnicia and not of Idumæa.

Why therefore doth he ſo raſhly accuſe vs for not worſhipping the ſame gods that other nations doe, ſeeing (as he ſaith) our predeceſſours did ſo eaſily beleeue that *Apollo* would come vnto them,

A them,and that he walked vpon the earth with ſtarres vpon his backe? Perhaps indeed they had neuer before ſeene a candle or lampe, themſelues hauing ſo many: or it is likely that he walking thus quite thorow our countrey,where ſo many thouſand men are,no one of them all met him? Did he in time of war finde the townes and villages,by which he paſt,without any watchmen? Well, I omit the reſt. The gates of our Temple were threeſcore cubits high, twenty cubits broad, all couered with gold, yea,almoſt all of cleane gold, and theſe gates euery day were ſhut by two hundreth men:and it was too impious a thing to leaue them open. Is it then credible that this candle-bearer could eaſily open them,who alone was iudged to haue the aſſes head? So that now it remaineth doubtfull whether *Zabidus* did bring backe againe the aſſes head,or elſe *Apion* B tooke it of him, and brought it againe to our Temple, that there *Antiochus* might finde it, and ſo *Apion* might haue another occaſion of lying. He alſo belieth vs concerning the oath which he ſaith we Iewes do take, ſwearing by the God of Heauen and Earth,and Sea, neuer to fauour any ſtranger,and eſpecially the Greeks. This lier might better haue ſaid,not to fauour any ſtranger, and eſpecially the Ægyptians,and ſo his former lies and theſe ſhould haue had better correſpondence with the beginning, if our anceſtors had beene expelled by their predeceſſors out of Ægypt,not for their wickedneſſe,but for their owne calamity. But we are ſo farre from the Greeks, that we ſcarcely euer thinke of them: ſo that no man can ſay that there is any enmity betweene vs and the Greekes. But contrariwiſe, many of them haue embraced our religion, and ſome of them therein perſeuered: others againe haue forſaken it; yet none of them will ſay that he heard C this oath ſpoken of among vs: but it ſhould ſeeme that only *Apion* heard of it,in that he himſelfe indeed forged it. Truely his wiſedome and great prouidence is worthy to be admired (as ſhall hereafter appeare:) for he, to prooue theſe his lies to be true, ſaith,that it is a certaine teſtimony that the lawes we obſerue are moſt vniuſt, and that we worſhip not God as we ought to doe, in that we were ſubiect to diuers Nations, and our City endured many calamities: Whereas touching themſelues,they are of a City that flouriſheth in abſolute authority,accuſtomed to gouerne from the foundation thereof, and not to ſerue the Romans. In effect, who can reſiſt their valour? Truely no man but *Apion* would euer haue flouted vs herewith,ſeeing that few Cities ſo flouriſh and raigne ouer other, that they againe at no one time haue beene brought into ſubiection: For many Nations are ſubiect to others: only the Ægyptians are freed from the captiuity of D ſuch as rule Europe and Aſia, for that (as they ſay) the gods fleeing into their countrey,were ſaued by entring into the bodies of beaſts. Yet haue they not indeed had any one dayes liberty ſince the beginning of the world,neither vnder the gouernment of their owne Princes,nor vnder ſtrangers.

The gates of the Temple.

Apions lie concerning the oath is confuted.

Apion vpbraided the Iewes with captiuitie.

I will not ſtand to reckon how often the Perſians haue waſted their City,deſtroied their Temples,and ſlaine their ſuppoſed gods. For it is not decent that I ſhould imitate herein *Apions* fooliſhneſſe: neither am I calling to memory what befell the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, the laſt of which, are recorded to haue beene moſt valiant, and firſt to haue beene moſt deuoute and religious:neither will I reckon vp thoſe moſt godly Kings,amongſt whom *Cræſus* was one, who notwithſtanding fell into great calamities. Moreouer, I will not recount how the Caſtle of E Athens was ſet on fire,and the temples of Epheſus and Delphos likewiſe,and many others. There is now one *Apion*, a new accuſer of the Iewes, who vpbraideth them with their calamities; forgetting quite all miſery that hath befalne his countrimen the Ægyptians: but hee was blinded with the fable of *Seſoſtris* (whom he ſaith to haue beene King of Ægypt.) We could report and boaſt of our Kings, *Dauid* and *Salomon*, who ſubdued many Nations vnto them: but it is not fit heere to ſpeake of them. But *Apion* was ignorant of that which all the world knoweth, to wit, that the Ægyptians haue ſerued firſt to the Perſians, and afterwards to the Macedonians, and that as bondſlaues: where we remaining in free liberty, raigned ouer all Cities round about vs 120. yeeres, euen vnto the time of *Pompey* the great; and when all the other Kings were ſubdued by the Romans,onely our Kings for their fidelity and friendſhip towards them, were deare vnto F them. Oh, but this ſticketh vpon *Apions* ſtomacke, that wee haue not had any famous men of our Nation, who haue inuented arts and ſciences, and beene excellent in wiſedome, ſuch as *Socrates*, *Zeno*, *Cleanthes*, and others, whom he ſetteth downe,were: and which is moſt to be admired, *Apion* puts himſelfe into the number of theſe famous men: and ſaith,that Alexandria is bleſſed and happy, that hath deſerued to haue ſuch a Citizen as he is: and great reaſon that he himſelfe ſhould teſtifie that of himſelfe, which all men elſe perceiue in him,to wit,that he is an impudent deceitfull fellow, both of corrupt life and manners. So that any Alexandrians had iuſt cauſe

Dauids and Salomons power.

Apion praiſeth himſelfe.

cause to be sorry that they euer had any better opinion of him. But that our Nation had men equall at least vnto those whom hee mentioneth, all men know that please to read the booke of our Antiquitie. The rest that his accusation containeth, it is not amisse to let passe without answer, for that it rather impeacheth the Ægyptians, his owne countrimen, then vs: for he doth complaine of vs for sacrificing ordinary beasts, and for abstaining to eate swines flesh, and greatly laughed at Circumcision. Touching the sacrificing of these beasts, wee doe as all Nations else doe: And *Apion*, inueighing against our sacrificing, sheweth himselfe to bee an Ægyptian; for were he either a Græcian or a Macedonian, hee would not be heerewith offended: for both Greekes and Macedonians doe vow to sacrifice Hecatombes to their gods, and vse Priests in the banquets; and yet for all this, the World is not desolate of liuing creatures, as *Apion* feareth. G H

Why the Iews doe sacrifice common beasts, and do not eate swines flesh.

But were all men so mad as the Ægyptians, it would indeed bee desolate of men, and filled with cruell beasts, which they (supposing them to be gods) do diligently nourish. If any man should aske of *Apion*, whom of all the Ægyptians he iudged to be a wiseman and most religious towards their gods, no doubt he would answer that the Priests are. For they say, that their first Kings in the beginning gaue them these two commandements in charge: first, to seek wisedome; and next, to worship the gods: they also are all of them circumcised, and abstaine from swines flesh, and no other Ægyptian sacrificeth with them vnto their gods. *Apion* therefore was surely blinde, when, in stead of detracting vs, he speaketh ill of them, to gratifie whom, he tooke all this paines. For the Egyptians doe not onely vse those customes which *Apion* in vs disallow-eth, but also doe teach others to circumcise themselues, as *Herodotus* reporteth. So that I verily thinke, that *Apion* was iustly punished for blaspheming his countrey lawes and religion. For being forced to circumcise himselfe to auoid a great disease, he was hereby nothing helped, but for all this, his priuy member rotting, hee in extreme griefe and misery gaue vp the ghost. For wise men ought to perseuere in their countrey lawes in all piety, and not to deride and detract others: but *Apion* forsooke his owne religion, and slandered and belied ours. And this was *Apions* end: and heere also should end this booke, but that *Apollonius*, *Molon* and *Lysimachus*, and certaine others, partly for ignorance, partly for madnesse, haue most iniuriously belied our Law-maker *Moses*, and the Lawes hee made, detracting him as a deceitfull Magician, and then as the Author of all malice and impiety amongst vs: and for such as teach no vertue nor goodnesse at all. I will therefore, as farre as in mee lieth, declare both our conuersation in generall, and in particular: for if my iudgement bee any thing, our lawes are most forcible both to piety, and to all humanity in generall, as also to iustice, paines taking, and contempt of death. I onely request this fauour of the Reader, that he will not with a preiudicate or malicious opinion, peruse these writings: for I doe not write this as a prayse and vaine ostentation of our Nation, but as a iust Apology, refuting the slanderous reports that some haue vsed against vs. I K

The Egyptian Priests circumcised, and eate no swines flesh.

Apions death.

The defence of Moses against Apollonius and Lysimachus.

Apollonius doth not continually inueigh against vs as *Apion* doth, but onely heere and there; sometime affirming vs to be somewhiles hated both of God and man, sometime to be cowards, other sometimes contrariwise complaining of our Nations boldnesse. Saying moreouer, that we are more sottish then any barbarous Nation: and that therefore wee onely haue had none of our Nation founders of Arts or Sciences, which are profitable for mans life: all which obiections are easily refuted, if we shew the contrary to all these by him reported; both that we haue obeyed our lawes, and liued in all integrity. If therefore I be forced to shew that other Nations haue made contrary lawes, not I, but they are to be blamed, who, comparing ours with them of other nations, affirme ours to be the worse: neither of which can charge vs, either that these lawes which I will briefly set down are not ours, or else that we haue not persisted in them as we ought. Making therefore this beginning, I affirme, that they who haue framed themselues to liue together vnder certaine Rules and Ordinances, and kept them inuiolate, and were the first founders of them, were more to be commended for humanity & vertue, then they who liue vnder no rule nor ordinance at all: and euery Law-maker endeuoureth so to challenge antiquity for their own ordinances, as that they may not be thought to imitate others, but to be themselues the first authors thereof, and guides to direct other mens liues. Which being so, it is the dutie of a good Law-maker to make choice of that which is best, and most conuenient for them, who are to obey their lawes, and to satisfie them as much as may be, in prooving their lawes to be good and right, and both in wealth and woe, calamity and felicity, to remaine in them, neuer changing nor altering them. L M

Wherein Apollonius accuseth the Iewes.

The louers of order and common laws are excellent in meeknesse and vertue.

A them. I therfore auerre that our lawmaker is more ancient then any lawmaker mentioned. For *Lycurgus*, and *Solon*, and *Seleucus* of *Locris*, and thoſe the Greekes admire, are moderne, of late times in reſpect of him, as it is well knowne. For the Greekes themſelues confeſſe, that in times paſt they wanted the name of law. This *Homer* can witneſſe, who in his whole works neuer mentioneth this word, law, for the people of thoſe times were not gouerned by lawes, but by indefinite ſentences, and the princes pleaſure, vſing cuſtomes but not written, and altering and changing them alſo as occaſion ſerued.

Moſes more ancient then all other lawmakers. Nomos. This word law is not in Homer.

But our Lawmaker being very ancient (for this is euery way manifeſt, euen by our aduerſaries own confeſſions) ſhewed himſelfe both a good prince and counſeller vnto his people: for ma-

B king lawes to direct and gouerne mens liues, he perſwaded them voluntarily to embrace them, and firmely to perſiſt in them with all wiſedome. And firſt of all let vs conſider the works of his greatneſſe. For he vndertaking the conduct of many thouſand of our forefathers out of Ægypt into our own country, he deliuered them from many calamities, almoſt impoſſible to be auoided: for they being to paſſe thorow a place wherein was no water, and a very ſandy ground, beeing alſo to warre and to keepe their wiues and children, and goods for the variable euent of wars, he in all theſe ſhewed himſelfe a moſt wiſe and prudent counſeller, and a true patron and guide vnto them all: For he made all the multitude ſo to depend vpon him, that he might perſwade them whatſoeuer he pleaſed, and yet in none of all theſe did hee vſurpe any authority ouer them: and in that time and place wherein all men of authority aſſume power vnto themſelues, & vſe tyran-

The life of Moſes.

C ny, at ſuch time as the people do oftentimes offend and liue in all manner of impiety; he then being in authority did contrariwiſe vſe all lenity, and mildneſſe, to the intent that he might bee a patterne of vertue and iuſtice to all the reſt, giuing all thoſe that willingly followed him moſt aſſured ſafety, vſing in all accidents moſt ſtrange workes. And for this cauſe he rightly deemed God to be his captaine and counſeller: and firſt examining himſelfe, and finding that all the lawes he had ſet down were agreeable to the will and pleaſure of God, the chiefeſt care he now had was how to perſwade his people the ſame, which he himſelfe now knew: for they who direct their liues according to the will of God, auoid all ſinne as our lawmaker did, being neither Magician nor deceiuer as his enemies iniuriouſly report, but ſuch a one as the Greekes do boaſt *Minos* and others after him to haue beene: for ſome of them affirmed their lawes to be made by

Moſes maketh God his guide & counſeller. ” ” ”

D *Iupiter*, others by *Apollo* and *Delphos* Oracle; either ſo beleeuing themſelues, or elſe thinking that the people would be eaſily ſo perſwaded. Now who of all the lawmakers made the beſt law, and who did moſt rightly thinke of God, he that compareth all their lawes together may eaſily know; for now occaſion is offered to ſpeake of them: there are therefore an infinite company of nations and lawes amongſt men, and ſome nations are ruled by Monarches, otherſome by the common conſent of the people. But our lawmaker doing neither of theſe, did as one ſhould ſay therein declare his common wealth to be diuine, chiefely aſſigning all power and principality ouer vs to God, cauſing all men to fixe their minds and cogitations on him, as the onely giuer and author of all goodneſſe, giuing them to vnderſtand, that whatſoeuer in their neceſſity they entreate him for, hee heareth their prayers, and vnderſtandeth what euery man doth in pri-

The origen of lawes amongſt the Greekes.

E uate, yea his very cogitations; and that hee is one, vnbegotten, and in all times immutable and eternall, differing in a moſt excellent ſhape from all mortall creatures: and this wee know, but wee are altogether ignorant what God is as touching his ſubſtance and eſſence.

And thus the wiſeſt Greeks that euer were, iudged of God, who how learned they were (he giuing the ground of all their knowledge) I now omit to rehearſe: & that theſe things afore rehearſed are beſt and moſt agreeable to the nature and magnificence of God, many do witneſſe, as *Pythagoras*, *Anaxagoras*, and *Plato*, and after them the Stoickes, and almoſt all other Philoſophers haue ſo thought of the diuine nature. But they deliuering this their Philoſophy in ſhort ſpeech, durſt not publiſh the truth of their doctrine among the people, already ſeized vpon by

The opinion of the wiſeſt Greekes concerning God.

Moſes compared with other lawmakers.

F ſuperſtitious opinions. But our lawmakers works & words ſo agreed, that he ſatisfied at large al his people, and they that were to bee borne of them and their ſucceſſors, inſpiring as it were a certain conſtancy into them to perſeuer in the ſame, ſtill referring the cauſe of his lawes to their profit and commodity. For he did not affirme the worſhip of God onely to be part of vertue, but he aſſigned other parts thereof, to wit, fortitude, iuſtice, and mutuall concord of all his citizens. For all our actions, ſpeeches, and what elſe ſoeuer, are all referred to diuine piety. Which hee left not touched without any more diſcourſe of it. For theſe two are the methods of all diſciplin

Two methods of morality & diſcipline.

and

and morality, whereof one frameth and directeth the ſpeech, the other the manners and actions; G
which being ſo, other lawmakers were indeed wiſe in aduice and counſell, and yet they made
choice of one of theſe methods, and left the other: For the Lacedemonians were inſtructed in
manners, and not in words, as alſo they of Creete were: but the Athenians and almoſt all the
Greeks were directed and trained vp by lawes in euery thing they were to doe, yet neuer could
they put their written lawes in practice: but our law-maker very induſtriouſly did conioyne both
theſe together, for he neither omitted the training them vp in manners and good exerciſes, nei-
ther did he ſurceaſe to leaue them written lawes. And firſt of all, making his entrance from the
very meates, and preſcribing to euery one a conuenient diet, he left no man liberty amongſt vs
to direct himſelfe in the leaſt matter concerning his meat, but he by lawes defined, both from H
what meates we were to abſtaine, and what to eate, and what ought to be our ordinary diet, as
alſo when we ought to labour, and when to ceaſe from worke; ſo that we as it were vnder the
gouernment of a father or maſter, might neither ſinne willingly, nor for ignorance: for he did
not appoint puniſhment for them that were ignorant of it, but by law enacted a moſt neceſſary
and milde chaſticement for the voluntary offenders: and for this cauſe he did not onely will, that
we ſhould once or twice or often heare the lawes, but that once euery week we all, omitting o-
ther buſines, ſhould come to heare the lawes, and ſo learne them perfectly, which things all other
Moſes commandeth all the Iewes to come & heare the law. law-makers as it is well knowne omitted: All which laudable cuſtomes all other law-makers
haue neglected, and the moſt part of men are ſo far from liuing according to their owne lawes,
that they are altogether ignorant of them: and hauing offended their lawes through ignorance, I
they then learne by other mens meanes, that they haue made breach of their lawes, yea the chie-
feſt and moſt eminent men amongſt them, doe profeſſe herein that they are ignorant, cauſing
thoſe that are learned and skilfull in their lawes, to ſit as it were in commiſſion with them to di-
rect them. Whereas euery one of our nation being demanded of our lawes, can anſwer as rea-
dily as hee can tell his owne name: for euery one of vs learning them as it were ſo ſoone as
we come to the vſe of reaſon, wee haue them as it were written and printed in our mindes,
and by this meanes both wee offend more ſeldome, and when we offend we are ſure to be
puniſhed.

The concord of the Iewes in religion. And this eſpecially is that which hath cauſed ſuch an vnity and concord amongſt vs. For to
worſhip one God all after the ſame manner, and nothing to differ in manner and conuerſation K
one from another, is the onely way to eſtabliſh amity and concord in a Common-wealth. For
only amongſt vs no man ſhall heare any different ſpeeches and opinions concerning God, which
thing amongſt all nations elſe is moſt frequent and ordinary: for amongſt them not onely euery
one of the cõmon people doth ſpeak his pleaſure in this point, but diuers Philoſophers alſo pre-
ſume to do it, ſom of them with their blaſphemous ſpeeches altogether deſtroying the nature of
God, and others with the like impudency denying him to haue any care of men: neither is there
any difference amongſt vs of affaires pertaining to mans life, but all men with vs follow one
or. Same common expreſſe labour, and we all ioyntly affirme the Son of God, and that he hath care of hu-
mane affaires, and all our actions and exerciſes: yea any one may learne of our women and chil- L
dren, that all things whatſoeuer, are to be reduced to piety. Hence it groweth that ſome detract
our nation, for that amongſt vs were no men inuenters of new matters and acts: to whom we will
thus anſwer, that other nations account it a glory not to perſiſt in any thing that their forefathers
vſed, and hold them of moſt account amongſt them, that can beſt tranſgreſſe their forefathers
wiſedome. But we contrariwiſe do account it the chiefeſt point of wiſedome and vertue, neither
to doe, nor thinke any thing contrary to that which our anceſtors haue decreed, which is a token
that our law was eſtabliſhed by as good aduice as was poſſible. For thoſe lawes that in all points
are not as they ought to be, are often by experience found faulty. But amongſt vs who beleeue
that our law was firſt eſtabliſhed by the will and pleaſure of Almighty God, nothing is pious and
vertuous which may any wiſe impugn the ſame. For who can take away any title therof, or adde M
better in the ſtead? or who is he that can transferre and carry vs from the obſeruance of them,
and ordain for vs better lawes to gouerne our Commonwealth? Or what law can be more iuſt
and better, then that which the wiſedome of God (who is the Lord of all things) hath eſta-
bliſhed? He firſt of all permitted the diſpoſing of all principall affaires to the Prieſts in generall,
and moſt wiſely conſtituted a high Prieſt as their head: neither were they choſen to this dignity
by our lawmaker, who either exceld in nobility of birth, or riches: but he appointed ſuch to ſa-
crifice vnto God, who were knowne to excell others in wiſedome and ſanctity: theſe doe both

keepe

A keep our lawes, and obſerue all other things belonging to their office with all integrity; for our Prieſts are appointed ouer-ſeers of all things, and to iudge all ſtrifes and controuerſies, and to puniſh the offenders. What monarchy then or kingdome can be more holy then this? Or how can God be better honoured then amongſt vs, where all the people are prepared to piety, and the Prieſts commanded ſo to rule and gouerne the common-wealth, as if they were celebrating ſome feſtiuity? And whereas other nations cannot celebrate their myſteries, which they tearme ſacrifices, in a few daies; we with ioy and pleaſure and immutable wils, do celebrate our ſacrifice continually without intermiſſion: It reſteth now that I ſet downe our precepts and lawes, as arguments of that which I haue ſaid. The firſt is of God: of whom our Law ſaith, God hath all things, he is moſt perfect, moſt bleſſed, he is ſufficient both for himſelfe and all things elſe, he is the beginning, midſt, and ending, famous amongſt all things for his workes and benefits, more manifeſt then any thing elſe, but his ſhape and greatnes is to vs vnſpeakeable, all matters (how precious ſoeuer) being compared with his excellent beauty are nothing worth, and all art compared with his inuention is vnartificiall, we can neither ſee, conceiue, nor imagine any thing like him. He is holy, for we ſee his works; the light, the heauen & the earth; the Sun, the moon, riuers, and ſea, ſo many different ſhapes of liuing creatures, and encreaſe of fruits: All theſe God himſelfe made, not with hands or worke, nor as one needing any to helpe him, but he ſeeing them to be good, they were preſently made. He is to be followed of all men, who ought to worſhip him by the exerciſing of vertue; for this is the moſt holy way to pleaſe him. We haue one temple, as also one God, which temple is common to all men, as hee is the common God of all men. For ſimilitude alwaies pleaſeth, him doe all our Prieſts honour with ſacrifice, and he amongſt them hath the firſt place, who by birth is the chiefeſt: and he firſt ſacrificeth to God, ſeeth the lawes obſerued, iudgeth controuerſies, and puniſheth thoſe that are conuicted by the law: whoſoeuer diſobeyeth him, ſhall be puniſhed as one that rebels againſt God himſelfe; he offereth ſacrifices not pertaining to gluttony or drunkennes, for God is not pleaſed with ſuch ſacrifices, but is rather iniured, and ſuperfluous expences are thereby made.

What ſort of people are to be made prieſts.

Of God and of the diuine prouidence.

The workes of God.

The ſacrifices of the olde teſtament.

But God loueth them that are temperate, and orderly, and of good behauiour, and eſpecially requireth in vs that ſacrifice, an inuiolable chaſtity. In our ſacrifices offered for our common good, we firſt of all pray in common, and then euery one for himſelfe, becauſe we are all fellows, and he that delighteth herein more then in his owne life, is moſt acceptable to God. Wee pray and vow vnto God, not requeſting riches of him, for he of his owne accord beſtoweth them vpon euery one, and left them amongſt vs: but we pray that we may haue part of them, and hauing gotten them may keepe them. Our law hath alſo appointed purifications both from our chamber-bed and carnall copulation, and many other things, which are too long to rehearſe: And this is our ſpeech and opinion of God, who himſelfe is our Law. And what concerning marriage? Our law onely alloweth naturall copulation between man and wife, done to the intent to get children. But that man ſhould abuſe one another againſt nature, it altogether diſſalloweth, & puniſheth ſuch offenders with death. It commandeth vs to marrie, not reſpecting the dowry, neither muſt we take women violently and by force, nor allure them by deceitfull perſwaſions, but that wee rather obtaine his good will, who may grant and vſe ordinary meanes to perſwade. It alſo appointeth that a woman ſhall be in all things inferiour to the man, neither is ſhe to obey in committing wickednes, but as one vnder gouernment. For it is God that gaue man this authority. With her the husband onely may lawfully accompany, and it is abomination for her to make triall of another man: and whoſo attempteth this, can no waies auoid death: the like penalty attendeth him, if he offer violence to a virgin deſpouſed vnto another man, or if by perſwaſions hee ouercome a married woman or other, that hath children vnder her, and all this our law commandeth: It hath alſo interdicted all women from concealing their children being borne, or otherwiſe to deſtroy them, for ſo ſhe ſhould be a child-killer, deſtroy ſoules and mankinde: Whoſo therefore vſeth carnall copulation and corruption, is vncleane by our lawes, and women after lawfull copulation muſt waſh themſelues, iudging that a part of their ſoule was by this act defiled, and ſhe being puffed vp was wounded in her body, and therefore our law ordained water of purification for them. Neither is it lawfull for them to feaſt and banquet at their childe-birth, whereby an occaſion of drunkennes may grow, but that their beginning ſhould bee temperate: they are likewiſe commanded to train vp their children in learning, that they may learne the law, and actions of their forefathers, and imitate them; that ſo being trained vp in the law they may not ſinne nor tranſgreſſe them by ignorance.

Purifications vſed in ſacrifice.

Of marriage.

The puniſhment for him that doth raiſh a virgin.

The purification for the body.

Of the funerals of the dead.

Our law hath alſo prouided for the buriall of the dead, that our funerals ſhould neither be pompeous, nor our ſepulchers gorgeous, commanding euery houſhold to performe all neceſſaries touching the buriall of their dead, permitting all men at any ones death to aſſemble themſelues together, and bewaile the dead: It alſo commandeth euery one (yea euen the dead mans owne family) to purifie themſelues after the buriall, and to goe afarre off, as ſeeming to be vncleane. It alſo appointeth puniſhment for them that haue committed murder, either wilfully or againſt their will. It bindeth euery man to obey his parents next after God, and commandeth that thoſe children that do not ſhew themſelues gratefull vnto them, or in any thing do grieue them, that they ſhould be ſtoned to death: It alſo commandeth all young men to reuerence old men, becauſe God is elder to vs all. It permitteth not friends to conceale any impiety; for God is not their friend who doth not diſcloſe them: and if friends fall out that doe know one anothers ſecrets, yet they are commanded not to bewray them. If any Iudge take a bribe, he is to be puniſhed with death for omitting iuſtice, and aſſiſting the guilty. No man muſt take any thing away that he himſelfe placed not, and no man muſt take that which is not his owne. No man for lending muſt take vſury; and many ſuch like things our law commandeth, concerning cauſe of communion betweene vs and others.

The honour due to parēts.

Againſt theft and vſurie.

It is alſo not amiſſe to recount how our Lawmaker prouided for the entertaining of ſtrangers amongſt vs: For he ſeemeth ſo to haue prouided, that to our knowledge we neither corrupt our owne lawes, nor deny to impart them to others: but he entertaineth all liberally that will come and liue vnder our lawes, iudging the community of mans life, not ſo much to conſiſt in the nation wherof we come, as in the vnity of our minds and conuerſation. He forbiddeth others that are ſtrangers, and come not with that intent to be admitted to our ſolemnities; yet he commanded vs to exhibit vnto them, all other things neceſſary: and that we ſhould giue vnto all men, fire, water, meat, and bury them being dead. He hath alſo moſt mildly determined how we ought to deale with our enemies, that we neither deſtroy their countrey with fire, not cut downe their fruit trees. We are alſo forbidden to rob and ſpoile thoſe that are ſlaine in fight, and deale iniuriouſly with our captiues; and eſpeciall if they be women: yea he ſo endeauoured to teach vs humanity and mildnes, that he prouided, that we vſe euen vnreaſonable beaſts curteouſly, and only imploy them to ſerue our lawfull need, and no further: for he forbiddeth vs to kill any tame thing bred in houſes, and that we ſhould not kill the old birds and their young together, and although many wild beaſts, enemies to mankind, doe aſſiſt vs in our labours, yet he commanded to ſpare them alſo. And in euery point he eſtabliſhed humanity and mildnes, amongſt vs, vſing (as is before ſaid) lawes to direct vs therin, enacting alſo other, how they who infringe the foreſaid lawes, may be with all ſeuerity puniſhed: for the puniſhment allotted to the violaters hereof, is for the moſt part death: as if any man commit adultery, rauiſh a Virgin, vſe the ſin againſt nature with another, or ſuffer himſelfe to be ſo abuſed. We alſo haue lawes concerning our ſeruants, and our meaſures, and waights, and vnlawfull bargaines and ſales, or deceit, if either one take any thing that is another mans, or which is not his owne; all theſe are to be puniſhed not as other nations puniſh them, but much more grieuouſly. But whoſoeuer either iniureth his parents, or committeth impiety againſt God, he ſhall preſently be deſtroyed: but they that obſerue this law, are not rewarded with gold or ſiluer, nor with a crowne beſet with precious ſtone: but euery one hauing his conſcience to witnes, doth greatly profit, and gain eternity; as both our lawmaker prophecieth, and God himſelfe doth moſt aſſuredly promiſe to them that obſerue them. And if it chance that we be forced to ſuffer death for them, yet do we ioyfully go to execution, nothing doubting but that we ſhall ſo exchange this life for a better: I ſhould be loth to report this, if our deeds did not make it manifeſt: for many of our forefathers, onely for that they refuſed to ſpeake againſt our lawes, or otherwiſe then our lawes permitted, haue moſt manfully and conſtantly indured all torments and death it ſelfe. If our nation were vnknowne to all the world, and that this our voluntary obſeruation of our lawes were not manifeſt to all people, if any man ſhould report vnto the Greeks, that either he had read this which I haue declared, or elſe that he had found people in a ſtrange land, ſuch as we be, hauing ſo pious & honeſt opinious concerning God, and who had for many ages perſeuered therein; I doubt not but they would all admire and wonder hereat, conſidering the great mutabilitie amongſt themſelues. To be ſhort, there are ſome who ſticke not to deride them who haue lately written of the gouernement of Common-wealths and lawes, as though they had written things fabulous and altogether impoſſible. And that I ſpeake nothing of other Philoſophers that haue written of this argument, that diuine

How wee ought to vſe our enemies.

A repetition of the precepts of the law.

The reward of ſuch as keepe the law.

The continuance of the laws amongſt the Iewes.

A diuine *Plato* amongſt the Greeks, a man who in honeſt life, vertuous ſpeech, and ſound Philoſophie excelled all others. This man is almoſt continually ſcoffed at by them, who in their owne conceit are skilfull in ciuill affaires, and brought in as a Vice in a Comedie. Whereas whoſoeuer conſidereth his writings with diligence, ſhall often and eaſily finde matter agreeable with moſt mens manners: yea this *Plato* himſelfe confeſſeth, that he dare not by reaſon of the common peoples ignorance ſet downe the true opinion of God. But many think *Platoes* words full of vanity, and licentiouſneſſe, and admire *Lycurgus*, and euery one commendeth the City of Sparta, for that it ſo long time perſeuered in his Lawes. It is therefore an euident demonſtration of vertue to remaine in their lawes. But if thoſe who ſo admire the Lacedemonians, doe compare them with
B vs, and the time during the which their lawes were in force, with the time of our Common-wealth: they ſhall finde that ours hath continued more then two thouſand yeeres. They ſhall alſo finde that the Lacedemonians did onely perfectly obſerue their lawes, during ſuch time as they were in proſperity and liberty, and that when their fortune changed, they then became vnmindfull of their lawes.

Plato admired amongſt the Greeks.

Lycurgus the Law-maker amongſt the Lacedemonians.

But wee, who haue felt many thouſand miſ-haps by reaſon of the often change of Princes in Aſia, haue not in theſe our laſt miſeries and euils forſaken our law. Neither can any man ſay, that liberty and licentious life is the cauſe, why wee ſo diligently obſerue them, ſeeing that whoſo pleaſe may ſee ſufficient proofe, that they tie vs to more ſtrict life and laborious, then thoſe of the Lacedemonians did them. For they neither tilled the earth, nor vſed any handy-craft, but
C ceaſing from all labours and paines-taking, liued in their Citie fat and faire-liking, hauing both their meate and all other neceſſaries prouided and prepared for them by others, and eſteemed that onely their felicity to doe or endure any thing, ſo that they might preuaile againſt thoſe againſt whom they enterprized warres: and that they failed alſo herein, I omit to rehearſe. For not onely one or two of them at once, but oftentimes whole companies of them, forgetting their owne lawes, yeelded themſelues to their enemies. And can any one tell of, I ſay not ſo many, but of one or two of vs that euer was treacherous to his owne lawes, or that feared to die for them? I meane not a common death, ſuch as ſouldiers are ſubiect vnto, but ſuch a death as is affected by all torments and tortures that can be deuiſed. Which I thinke thoſe that preuailed againſt vs impoſed vpon vs, not for hatred, but that they deſired to ſee ſo admirable a matter;
D and to ſee if wee being but men, and ſuch who eſteemed it the greateſt impiety poſſible to doe it, could bee compelled by them to ſpeake or doe any thing contrary to our lawes. Yet it is no wonder that wee for our law do die with ſuch conſtancy, rather then any other Nation: for other Nations cannot abide to endure that which we account a trifle, to wit, labour and ſimple fare, and that no man eate whatſoeuer, or what hee deſireth, to lie with them whom hee ought not, or to bee idle (except hee be of noble birth) or goe gallantly attyred: and we are alwayes carefull that when we fight againſt our enemies, we obſerue our lawes concerning our meates. And thus wee take pleaſure to obſerue and keepe our lawes, and to exerciſe fortitude in obeying them.

The Iewes compared with the Lacedemonians.

The ſtrict lawes of the Iewes.

Let now *Lyſimachus* or *Molonus* paſſe, and ſuch as they be, wicked lying writers, and Sophi-
E ſters, deceiuers of young men, and detracters of our owne Nation, as though we were the wickedeſt people liuing. As for me, I will not examine the lawes of other Nations: for it is our cuſtome to keep aud obſerue our owne, not to detract others; yea and our Law-maker openly prohibited vs from blaſpheming ſuch, as other Nations hold for gods, only for the name of God attributed vnto them: yet may wee not leaue the obiections of our accuſers vnanſwered, ſeeing that which we are to ſpeake againſt them, is not our owne deuice, but many before vs haue ſpoken it. Who then of all the wiſe Greeks will not condemne the moſt famous Poets, and eſpecially, the Lawmakers, who at firſt brought and ſettled ſuch vain opinions of the gods among the common people? affirming the number of them to be ſo many as they thought good, and to be
F borne at diuers times one of another, allotting to euery one his proper place, as vnto other liuing creatures: ſome to be vnder the earth, others in the ſea, and the ancienteſt amongſt them in hell, fettered and bound: and thoſe whom they place in Heauen, in words they doe terme him a father, but in deeds they ſhew him to be a tyrant, and for this cauſe they report that his wife, his brother, and his daughter, whom they affirme to haue beene borne of his braine; conſpired againſt him to binde him, and hang him, as they report him alſo, to haue dealt by his father. Againſt theſe vanities all excellent and wiſe men doe worthily inueigh, who beſide this already rehearſed, in deriſion adde, how ſome of the gods are young, and ſome old, and ſome

Moſes forbiddeth to deride & blaſpheme falſe gods, onely for the name of God imputed vnto them.

The number of gods amongſt the Gentiles infinite.

The fable of Iupiter and Pallas.

infants, others are gods of arts and ſciences, and one is a Smith, another a Weauer, another a Pilgrime, and is at variance with mortall men, others delight in muſicke, others in ſhooting: moreouer, that they are at variance one with another amongſt themſelues, and that they fall out one with another in mens behalfe, and that not onely one of them layeth violent hands vpon the other, but that alſo they are wounded by mortall men, and ſorrow & feele griefe for the wounds; and that which is moſt abominable of all, doe vſe carnall copulation with mankinde, and that moſt vndecently, that their vnbridled luſt is extended both to men and women. Then that their chiefe god of all, whom they call father, contemned and drowned certain women whom he himſelfe had deceiued and gotten with childe, and that he could not deliuer the children borne of theſe women from calamity, for that deſtiny had obliged him, nor ſee their deaths without teares. This is all good ſtuffe, as alſo is that which followeth, to wit, adulteries committed in Heauen, ſo openly, and impudently amongſt the gods, that ſome profeſſe themſelues to enuy their fellow gods and goddeſſes tied together in ſuch filthineſſe. And what ſhould the reſt of them do, when as their King and the moſt ancienteſt amongſt them, could not refraine his luſtfull licentiouſneſſe from the company of women? Moreouer, ſome of them became ſeruants vnto men, and ſome built houſes for money, and others became ſhepheards, others like malefactors were chained in hell. What man then that euer was accounted wiſe, would not bluſh at theſe follies, and reprooue the inuentors hereof, and the fooliſh beleeuers alſo? Others preſumed to faine both terror and feare, and madneſſe, and ſuch ſimplicity, as that they might be deceiued, and all other naughty paſſions to be found in the nature of their gods, and haue perſwaded whole cities to offer ſacrifice to the moſt Noble amongſt them. And they are in great perplexity, thinking that ſome of the gods are the giuers of all good things, others againe to be their enemies, and ſo ſeeke to pleaſe them with gifts as they would doe wicked men; and they are verily perſwaded, that they ſhall ſuſtaine great damage by their meanes, except they do daily pacifie their wrath by frequent gifts. What is the cauſe of this ſhamefull ignorance, and erroneous iniquity concerning God? Truely I am perſwaded, for that their firſt Law-makers were themſelues herein to ſeeke, and ignorant of the nature of God, and that they did not faithfully deliuer vnto their Common-wealth, ſo much as themſelues knew concerning this point: but as though it had been a thing of leaſt moment, did wilfully let it paſſe, giuing licence to Poets, and permitting them to deifie and make gods whom they pleaſed, and that the Orators ſhould write of the common-wealths affaires, and tell what them liked of ſtrange gods. Moreouer, the painters and image-makers amongſt the Greeks, had a great hand in making of gods, it being lawfull for them euery one to frame what ſhape he liſt, and how he liſt, ſome of earth, others of colours: and the chiefeſt god-makers amongſt them vſe iuory and gold to make their god of; a true argument of their mutable nouelty. And then the ancient gods whom they firſt ſo honoured and reuerenced as they could poſſibly deuiſe, being now withered with age, are out of credit, and other youngſters poſſeſſe their places and honours: their temples alſo ſome are deſolate, others newly erected, as men pleaſe. Whereas contrariwiſe, they ought moſt conſtantly to keepe their opinion of God, and his religion.

Apollonius Molon was one of theſe proud fooles: but thoſe Grecians that followed true Philoſophie, knew all that is already ſaid, and the cold reaſons of this allegory, and therefore did iuſtly deſpiſe them, and agreed with vs in the true and decent opinion of Gods nature. Which *Plato* well ſeeing, affirmeth that Poets are not to be permitted in a common-wealth, and ſendeth *Homer* away very honourably crowned and anointed, leſt that he with his fables ſhould deſtroy or depraue the true opinion of God. For *Plato* of all others eſpecially imitated our Law-maker, as hee did herein alſo, commanding all his Citizens that all of them ſhould perfectly learne his lawes, and that for no caſualty, any ſtrange forraine cuſtome ſhould be admitted into their Citie, but that their Common-wealth ſhould be pure, and they perſiſt in the obſeruation of their lawes. But *Apollonius Molon* not reſpecting this, inueigheth againſt vs, for not receiuing into our ſociety men of ſtrange opinions or religion, whereas not onely we doe ſo, but commonly all Greeks, yea and the moſt prudent amongſt them. The Lacedemonians did expell all ſtrangers, and did not permit their citizens to trauell into other countries, fearing that by both theſe wayes their lawes might be corrupted. They therefore are to be ſpoken againſt rather then we, ſeeing they neither admit ſtrangers to conuerſe with them, nor to inhabit amongſt them, no nor impart their religion vnto them; but wee, though not deſirous to learne other Nations religion, yet doe we not deny to impart ours to ſtrangers that deſire to embrace it: which if I bee not

Iupiter.

What is the cauſe of ſuch error concerning God.

Poets & painters cauſe the multitude of gods.

Plato decreed that no Poet ſhould be permitted in a Common-wealth.

The Lacedemonians did expell all ſtrangers.

A not deceiued is a token of magnanimity, and clemency in vs: but this ſhall ſuffice concerning the Lacedemonians. *Apollonius* was ignorant how matters ſtood with the Athenians, who boaſt that their city is free from all nations: for they did moſt ſeuerely and without all mercy puniſh thoſe that did but ſpeake any word againſt their God. For what was the cauſe of *Socrates* his death? he neither betraied the city to enemies, nor deſtroied their temples, but only ſwore by a ſtrange oath, which as he ſaid (whether in ieſt or in earneſt) a diuell taught him, and for this offence was he put to death, by drinking hemlocke: his accuſers alledging, that he corrupted young men, and contemned the lawes and religion of his countrey. And this *Socrates* ſuſtained being a citizen of Athens.

The Athenians manners.

Socrates a citizen of Athens.

B *Anaxagoras* was of Clazomenia: and for that he affirmed the Sun which the Athenians worſhipped for God, to be a fiery ſtone, he was by the ſentẽce of ſome few condemned to die. They alſo proclaimed, that whoſoeuer would kill *Diagoras* of Melus, ſhould be rewarded with a talent for his labour, only for that this *Diagoras* was ſaid to deride their myſteries: *Protagoras* alſo had bin by them taken and put to death, had he not made quicke eſcape, only for that they ſuppoſed him to haue written certain doubts of the Athenian gods. And what wonder is it that they ſo vſed theſe famous men, who ſpared not to vſe the like cruelty vpon women? For they killed a prieſt, for that ſome accuſed her to worſhip ſtrange gods: and their law appointed, that whoſo did introduce ſtrange gods into their city, ſhould be puniſhed with death. It is therefore euident that they who enacted ſuch ſtraight laws, beleeued not the gods of other nations to be gods: for

Anaxagoras.

A talent is 600. crownes.

C had they beleeued in them, they would not haue depriued themſelues of the benefit of many gods. The very Scythians (who delight in manſlaughter, ſo that they very little differ from brute beaſts) yet do they thinke themſelues bound to maintaine their owne lawes, as beſt, ſo that they ſlew *Anacharſis* a famous Greek, that came vnto them, only for that he ſeemed to attribute too much vnto the Grecian gods; yea thou maiſt finde many among the Perſians, who for this cauſe haue been tortured. And it is euident that *Apollonius* approoued the Perſian lawes: for when the Greekes admired their fortitude and concord of opinions concerning God, I meane the fortitude they ſhewed in burning of their temples, this *Apollonius* in all things imitated the Perſians, violating other mens wiues, and putting out their childrens eyes; whereas our lawes adiudge him to death that ſo vſeth vnreaſonable beaſts: And neither the feare and terrour of poten-

The Scythians.

The Perſians manners.

D tates, nor the fauour of them whom all men reuerence, could euer cauſe vs to forſake or abandon theſe lawes: neither doe wee exerciſe fortitude, to the end to depriue other men of their goods and fortunes by warre, but to keepe our owne lawes: and we who patiently put vp all other iniury, yet if any man do in our religion prouoke vs, we preſently ſeeke reuenge, not reſpecting our own ability, yea though thereby wee worke our owne vtter ruine, and calamity. What therfore ſhould moue vs to immitate the laws of other nations, when they that made thoſe laws (yea euen the lawmakers themſelues) did tranſgreſſe them? Or how can the Lacedemonians auoid reproach for their inhoſpitality, and neglecting marriage? Or the Elians and Thebans for accompanying with men, contrary to the law of nature, which fact moſt ſhamefull, they deemed good and neceſſary. Yea not content to doe ſo themſelues, they alſo aſcribed the like vnto

The Iewes conſtancy in their lawes.

Againſt the lawmakers of the Gentiles.

E their gods to be done by them (which the Greeks alſo now of late haue done) and for this cauſe they refuſed to marry with their owne women, iudging their ſatisfaction to be contrary to the preſcript of nature: But I will ſpeak no more of puniſhment, neither how great malefactors thoſe firſt lawmakers freed from puniſhment, being bribed with money, and how vniuſt they were in the lawes appertaining to wedlocke. It is long to examine how great occaſions of impiety they gaue. For many haue already long ago forſaken their lawes: which cannot be ſaid of vs, who for our lawes haue ſuffered loſſe of our cities, fortunes & liues, we keeping & perſiſting in our lawes euen vnto death; and if any Iew be in a ſtrange country where there is a tyrant King, yet doth not he ſo feare him, that he would for his command in any iot tranſgreſſe our lawes. If therefore we do valourouſly endure thus much for our lawes, all men muſt needs grant our lawes to be ve-

The iniuſtice of lawmakers.

The Iewes ſtrict obſeruation of the law.

F ry good: but if they ſay we ſuffer all theſe calamities for to maintaine wicked or naughty lawes, what puniſhment are they not worthy of, who hauing (as they ſay) better lawes then we, do ſo eaſily forſake them, whereas we do maintaine ours euen with our owne liues? But ſeeing antiquity of lawes is the greateſt argument to proue their goodnes, I will ſet downe of what antiquity our lawes are, together with our lawmakers opinion of the Deity; if therefore any one compare our lawes with the lawes of all nations, he ſhall finde that ours are of more antiquity then theirs by many ages. For our lawes eſtabliſhed amongſt vs, haue beene imitated of all other nati-

The Iewes lawes are of great antiquitie.

The lawes of the Gentiles.

ons: For though the firſt Greeks did colourably obſerue lawes, yet all their Philoſophers did imitate ours, and our opinions of God; and in humility taught others, communion of life, and conuerſation: yea the common people did long ſince imitate our piety: neither is there any nation either Greeks or Barbarians, who haue not after ſome manner obſerued a Sabbath as we do, and faſting daies, and candleſticks with light, all which they learned of vs, yea many do alſo obſerue our cuſtoms concerning their meats, and our vnity and concord, wherin we excell all other nations, our community alſo and induſtrie in arts and labours, and ſufferance for our lawes. And which is moſt to be admired, our law, not hauing any to force vs to obſerue it, hath ſo obliged our hearts, that as God is of all the world honoured without compulſion, ſo are our lawes amongſt vs all, we not forced thereunto: And whoſoeuer doth diligently conſider his owne nation and family, ſhall find that which I haue reported, to be true. I will now generally reprehend the voluntary malice of all men: for either they meane that we hauing theſe good lawes do yet little eſteeme them, and follow worſe, or if they do not ſo meane, let them hold their malicious tongue from any further calumniation. For I do not take vpon me the defence of this cauſe, for that I beare any hatred to any man, but for that I and all the Iewes do honor and reuerence our Lawmaker, and beleeue that whatſoeuer he prophecied proceeded from God: yea although our ſelues did not know the goodnes of our laws, yet the multitude of them that imitate them, were a ſufficient motiue to induce vs thereunto. But I haue at large and with all ſincerity diſcourſed of our lawes, and Common-wealth in my Bookes of our Antiquitie. And now I againe haue made mention of them neither in contumelie of other nations, nor in praiſe of our owne, but onely to reproue ſuch as haue moſt maliciouſly and impudently belyed vs, contrary to the known truth: And I thinke I haue already fully performed that which I haue promiſed. For I haue ſhewed our nation (contrary to their affirmations) to be moſt ancient, which I haue proued by the teſtimony of many ancient writers, who in their works haue mentioned vs.

The Epilogue of this booke.

The cauſe why Ioſeph writ theſe books againſt Apiō. A brieſe rehearſall of all that is abouesaid.

Our aduerſaries affirme vs to haue come of Egyptians: I haue ſhewed that our forefathers came into Egypt out of ſome other place. They alledge that we were expelled Egypt for their miſerie, in that they were infected with diſeaſe; I haue proued that they came from thence to their owne country, by meanes of their owne proweſſe and force, of their owne accord: Others labour to defame our Lawmaker as a wicked perſon, whoſe vertue many of ancient times, and ſo long time as hath beene ſince him, do witneſſe. It is not needfull to ſpeake more largely of our lawes: for they by themſelues appeare pious and good, and ſuch as doe not inuite or incite vs to the hatred of other nations, but rather to communion and friendſhip, being both enemies to iniquity, and commanders of iuſtice, baniſhers of luxurioufneſſe, and teachers of frugality and labour: forbidding all wars enterprized for auarice, and preparing the people to ſhew fortitude in them, and for them; inflicting ineuitable puniſhment vpon their tranſgreſſors, not eaſily to be deceiued by glozing ſpeeches; and executing in action, all that they in word command: yet amongſt vs the execution of them and obſeruation is more ready then the words of them: I therefore confidently affirme that we doe teach more pious and vertuous maners then other nations doe. For what can be better then inuiolate piety? what more iuſt then to obey the law? what more profitable and commodious, then to be at vnity and peace amongſt our ſelues, and neither to forſake one another in calamity, nor iniure one another in proſperity, to contemne and deſpiſe death in time of warre, and in peace to labour and till our grounds, and to vſe other arts and workes, and alwaies to thinke and beleeue, that God beholdeth all our actions, and ruleth and diſpoſeth all things? If this be either written or reſerued by any one before this time, wee are then to thanke them as being their ſchollers: but if they are knowne neuer before to haue beene extant, then we are knowne to be the firſt authors and inuenters of it. Let therefore all *Apions* and *Molons* goe, and all others that with them are conuicted of lying and ſlandering. And this booke is written to thee *Epaphroditus* who loueſt the truth, and to others who by thee will, or are deſirous to know the ſame.

The intentiō of the Iewes lawes.

The origen of the Iewes lawes.

DESIDE-

DESIDERIVS ERASMVS ROTERODAMVS TO THE MOST VERTVOVS AND LEARNED FATHER HELIAS MARCEVS, THE MACCABÆTAN RVLER OF THE RENOWMED COLLEDGE OF THE MACCABEES.

I Haue not grudged, vertuous Father, to dedicate vnto thee a daies labour; wherein I haue peruſed, and what in me lieth, amended the booke which Ioſeph *writ of the ſeuen Maccabees brethren: And would it had lien in my power more aboundantly to haue anſwered your expectation: I haue now (for that I counted the Greek copy) by the Latin coniectur'd the Greek, and altered ſome things, yet but very few.* Ioſeph *doth not falſly boaſt himſelfe to haue attained to the excellency of the Greeke tongue, and this booke will ſufficiently witnes the ſame; wherein he ſhewed both great vanity and Emphaſis, inſomuch as he eſteemeth to haue handled that famous work with eloquent ſtile, and the ornament of diſcourſe. S.* Ierome *for this cauſe entitleth this booke, Great eloquence;* Suidas ὑπερτρέφων; *out of them both we amend the corrupted ſtile, and call it* αὐτοκράτορος λογισμόν, *that is, the rule of reaſon: for the ſcope of this book tendeth all to prooue, that reaſon is of no force in man, except it beare ſoueraignty ouer all inordinate appetites. This is moſt euidently proued by the books of the Maccabees, in the Scripture: which books the Iewes did not receiue as Canonicall, yet do they account it among their ſacred writ. I cannot but congratulate this worthy Colledge (which though famous for many other things, yet is more happy) for that it is ſo bleſſed, as to enioy ſo worthy and vnſpeakeable a treaſure: Or rather all Colonia Agrippina, that happy and fortunate City; yet in nothing more happy, then for that it alone doth in her boſome ſhrine ſo many, ſo ſacred, and excellent pledges of piety: yet ſhould it be more happy, if it could expreſſe their vertues, whoſe ſacred relickes it ſo religiouſly keepeth, and imitate their maners whoſe bodies it poſſeſſeth, to wit, if in ſincerity of religion it imitated the piety of three Kings, and the ſacred purity of the eleuen Virgins, if it reſembled the moſt valiant young men, the Maccabees, and the inuincible courage of that woman, whoſe valorous conſtancy no miſery could conquer. And this beſt portion and part of her felicity, this worthy City might beſtow vpon her ſelfe, yea and double the ſame. Doe thou goe forward in that which thou haſt in hand, to wit, in ſpreading the praiſe of thoſe Martyrs, making that vertuous example more commendable, and your City more famous.*

variety

Farewell.

FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS OF THE RVLE OF REASON; A MOST ELOQVENT BOOKE, CORRCTED BY DESIDERIVS ERASMVS, MOST LIVELY SETTING DOWNE THE MARTYRDOME OF THE MACCABEES.

I Am at the inſtant requeſt of *Polybius* of Megalopolis, to put in writing the conſtant ſuffering of the Maccabees, worthy all admiration, not in a Rhetoricall and pleaſing ſtile, but rather after our owne country faſhion, thereby to exhort our nation to patience in their calamities. But firſt of all, it is neceſſary for vs to ſpeake ſomething of reaſon, and aſſigne vnto it the power and vertue to deliberate. For hee who hath once fully determined to ſuffer all miſery for Gods ſake, is in my opinion already a Martyr: it is therefore a great merit once to haue ſo determined; and therefore, as is aboue ſaid, reaſon beareth the rule of all inferiour paſſions; and then if deſtiny deny vs opportunity to ſuffer, yet haue we ſuffred all, becauſe we purpoſed to ſuffer all. Whoſo therefore will renounce the world, and aſpire onely to celeſtiall things, he muſt exerciſe ſobriety, baniſh gluttony, with his page laciuiouſneſſe, and all other ſuch like vices as may poſſeſſe and captiue the minde: he muſt likewiſe mount vp to the top of Vertues tower, that after, he may from thence war againſt the vices of his body, griefe and feare; the firſt whereof aſſaulteth vs when we begin, the laſt when we haue begun. There are many examples of the valiant ſouldiers of God, which I would vſe, but that the ornaments ſprung from the wombe of one woman may ſuffice me, which ſhe brought forth, not at one birth, but with the ſame piety and zeale. And firſt I will ſpeake of *Eleazar*, the cauſe and example of their paſſion, and then I will relate what tortures and torments their mother endured: yet cannot man, but only God determine, who amongſt them was firſt, and who laſt in this noble agony. They therefore, being all ſettled in one opinion, reſembling one another more in minde then they did in body, duly conſidered the frailty of this life, and therefore neither delighted in the flatteries of the world, nor any alluring enchantments thereof. They ſhewed themſelues not to eſteeme of torments, fetters, nor no other ſorts of tortures impoſed vpon them: and to returne to our firſt saying, they premeditated patience, to endure whatſoeuer the Iudges cruelty could deuiſe. I will therefore what I may, praiſe the fortitude of theſe brethren, or rather I will with all truth rehearſe the moſt worthy agony of theſe holy men, which deſerues all commendations; and ſetting all adulation apart, proſecute with a bare hiſtoricall narration the manner of their martyrdome.

Reaſon hath dominion ouer our paſſions.

The death of the ſeuen brethren and their mother.

But before I begin to declare the death of Nobility, I will a little entreat of reaſon, which as I haue affirmed, is no ſmall motiue to martyrdome. Reaſon it is, that maketh vs obſerue faſts and vſe abſtinence, it is reaſon that makes vs deſpiſe money, and by it we are taught not to account of dignities and honours, which all men generally aime at, yea reaſons gift it is that we do reſiſt the heat of luſtfull deſires. Hence commeth it, that hauing once ouercome ſuch things as the fleſh delights in, we find our ſelues a little able to reſiſt, we alſo learne to deſpiſe paines and torments, and ſo

The deſcription of reaſon and wiſedom.

A ſo reſolute to ſuffer all things that ſhall be impoſed vpon vs. Which, that it may more plainely appeare, let vs ſearch out the cauſe of this order, and wee ſhall finde wiſedome to bee the cauſe hereof. For no man can determine and diſtinguiſh good from euill, that is not endued with wiſedome; this wiſedome is alwaies accompanied with iuſtice, and iuſtice is ſtill ioyned with vertue, and vertue and temperance cannot be ſeparated; ſo that this wiſedome conſiſteth vpon foure parts. Beſides theſe, there are two things that either do cauſe or hinder paſſion, to wit, paine and pleaſure: one of which we doe alwayes refuſe, and the other we doe alwaies deſire; yet where pleaſure ariſeth, and is preſently by reaſons rule put away, the minde is there ſtrengthened; and paine compared with glory, is through hope of a greater reward contemned before it come; B and being come, our minde is aſhamed not to ſuffer that which before it was reſolued to doe. Reaſon therefore is the guide of all our actions, and by it we deſpiſe torments, and deteſt vice, which like a skilfull husbandman pruneth and cutteth away ſuperfluous branches, and killeth the heat of all corrupt and hurtfull humors, onely leauing that to remaine in vſe, which may ſome way be profitable to vs.

Griefe and paine cauſe or hinder paſſion.

Reaſon reſembleth a skilfull gardiner.

Thus reaſon purifieth vs by paſſion, encouraging to ſuffer, and in our ſuffering and agony ſtrengtheneth vs. Who is not deſirous to eat of the fleſh of wilde beaſts and fiſhes? And who luſteth not to eat of feathered foules? nay, do not the dainty diſhes got either in ſea or land inuite vs to eat of them? What then cauſeth vs to abſtaine from them? that all men deſire them, yet no man eats them? Euen in this thing the minde is taught to ouercome it ſelfe in delightfull obiects, C and to bridle all pleaſure, that when occaſion of martyrdome is offred, the minde ſetting aſide all vanities, will not for a little pleaſure forget his accuſtomed vertue.

An inſtance of Ioſephs chaſtity.

For this cauſe was *Ioſeph* iuſtly praiſed in that he was not ouercome by luſt, which raigneth in a youthfull body: this reaſon ſo worketh with ſound aduice and mature counſell, that it againe recouereth loſt friendſhip, and getteth new, and ſuffereth no cruelty to be committed. Of this we haue alſo the example of *Moſes*, who had he not iuſt occaſion to be angry againſt *Dathan* and *Abiram*, reaſon (no doubt) would haue cauſed him to haue ſmothered all griefe of mind. Did not our father *Iacob* with great vehemency reprooue his ſonnes, *Simeon* and *Leui*, that without reaſon they had vſed ſuch cruelty, ſaying, Curſed be your anger? Which anger and wrath of theirs had it beene bridled with reaſon, neither had they beene curſed, nor the other had periſhed. For this D cauſe, God, the maker of mankinde, when he faſhioned vs and our manners, hauing finiſhed all lineaments of the body, hee now placed the minde to bee in it, and to rule it, leauing it certaine precepts to obſerue and keep, to wit, temperance, and to imbrace and follow that which is good, and cleaue vnto iuſtice, and rule and bridle all paſſions in the body ſubiect vnto it, and obſerue the precepts of God.

But ſome will aske me wherefore wee offer to commit wickedneſſe, ſeeing that reaſon ruleth our paſſion? But it is a ridiculous thing to thinke that reaſon ſo ruleth, for reaſons rule cannot hinder the appetite from deſire, but onely correct deſire, and ſo preuaile, that it ſuffer with patience the loſſe or abſtinence from ſuch things as it deſired. For example ſake, reaſon cannot hinder thee from being angry, but it can ſo worke that thou commit no impiety when thou an- E gry: in like manner, it cannot hinder thee from deſiring filthy pleaſure, yet can it cauſe thee not to yeeld vnto it.

An inſtance of Dauids thirſt.

Reaſon therefore cannot vtterly extinguiſh vice, but onely bridle it. Witneſſe in this the example of holy *Dauid*, who fighting againſt ſtrangers with great ſucceſſe, and being at euening weary and faint, he came vnto his princely Tabernacle, that was guarded by his ſouldiers, where he found them all at meate: yet himſelfe being thirſty, durſt not drinke, notwithſtanding water was hard by, onely for that religion diſſwaded him, for he had vowed not to drink before he had conquered his enemies. He alſo forbade his men to drinke, ſo that they might fight more courageouſly, if not for that they were valiant, at leaſt for that ſo they might haue drinke. Whileſt thus his thirſt encreaſed, three young men of ſtrong bodies armed themſelues, and taking with F them a veſſell to put water in, they went vnto their enemies camp, and there aſſaulted the watchmen, who for feare of death fled, and ſo they paſt thorow the campe, till ſuch time as they came where the water was, and taking ſome from thence, they brought it to the King. But holy *Dauid* ſo bridled his humane appetite, that by reaſon hee quenched his deſire, and ſhewed an excellent token of patience, teaching how the feare of God was to bee preferred before all things. For taking the water he had much wiſhed for, and which had beene gotten with ſuch danger, hee preſently powred it on the ground, as a ſacrifice to God; chuſing rather to die for thirſt, then to offend

Sam. 1. 28. 23.

Dauid in his thirſt refuſed to drinke the water hee ſo deſired.

offend the diuine maiesty: yet reason is not so forcible, that it is able without due consideration to G
represse the inordinate motions of the minde, and mitigate the griefe of the body. But it is now
time to come to our history, yet is not this former discourse to be thought impertinent, for that
it is somewhat appertaining to the matter ensuing. Such was the wisedome and fidelity of our
forefathers, that *Seleucus*, King of Asia, enriched our Priests, and being a man of another religion,
did ascribe all his actions and worthy deeds to the religion and faith of our ancestors. But wic-
ked mens madnes could not herewith be satisfied. For one *Simon*, hating the high Priest *Onias*,
and finding no waies or meanes to be reuenged of him in his own country, went vnto *Apollonius*,
Gouernour of Syria, Phœnicia and Cilicia, and before him in a publike assembly told him, that
he could help the King to an infinite treasure, for (quoth he) there is hidden in Ierusalem an in- H
finite deale of gold and siluer, which by right belongeth vnto King *Seleucus*. *Apollonius* hearing
this, praised and commended *Simon*, and confiscated the gold and siluer to the treasure-house of
Seleucus; and hauing authority from the King to get it, he leuied an army, and so accompanied
with *Simon*, came vnto our countrey, purposing if any violence were offred, to vse the defence of
his souldiers.

Seleucus and Nicanor.

Simon a traitour to his countrey.

Apollonius, Captaine of Syria, came with an army to Ierusalem.

When the treasure-house of our Temple was now a sacking, *Onias* wept bitterly, and said, that
it was a heauy sight to them to whom this treasure was committed, to see it, or any part of it ta-
ken away. But *Apollonius*, neither respecting the teares and intreaties of the old men, women,
nor children, pressed into the Temple, they all praying God to punish him, and to defend their
Temple. Being now with a great guard of armed men entred into the holy Temple, there appea- I
red certaine Angels on horsebacke with weapons in their hands, and shining with a fiery flame
about them, and they daunted the courage of this Infidell *Apollonius*, who presently fell downe
flat vpon his face; and lying so a great while, at last he came a little to himselfe: and rising vp, he
leaned vpon his shoulder who kept the Temple, not being able to stand alone, he was so terrified
with the vision he had seen. When he came a little to himselfe, and was in some hope of recoue-
ry, he stretched both his hands towards heauen, and himselfe despairing to obtaine pardon for
his offence committed, he besought the Hebrews (whose Temple he came to spoile) to make in-
tercession for him, himselfe with teares crauing pardon for his offence, and not onely acknow-
ledging his fault, but also confessing himselfe to haue deserued death, and all punishment possi-
ble. Holy *Onias* seeing this, and fearing also that if *Apollonius* should then dy, the Hebrews would K
be suspected to haue made him away, he made prayers to God for him, and so obtained his ene-
mies life. *Apollonius* presently hasted to *Seleucus* to let him vnderstand what had hapned: but
when he came he found *Seleucus* dead, and *Antiochus* raigning in his stead, a man of tyrannous na-
ture, who bare an ancient grudge to *Onias* the high Priest: and therefore made *Iason* his brother
high Priest in his stead; *Iason* promising *Antiochus*, in lieu of this good turne, to pay him 3660.
talents of siluer euery yeere.

Angels vpon horses, shining with fiery brightnes.

Onias by praier obtained Apollonius his life.

Antiochus his rage against the Iewes.

This *Iason* being now made High Priest, and chiefe amongst all the nation of the Iewes, hee
presently forced all the people to impiety, and to forsake religion; so that to build baths, he hin-
dred the defence and building of the Temple, and all Doctors of our nation conspired with him L
in this iniquity. But hereat God was presently wroth: who being displeased, it was not needfull
to seeke forraine enemies, for *Antiochus* himselfe was incited to rage against them. Who war-
ring against *Ptolomæus*, King of Egypt, he heard it reported that the Iewes did deeme him to be
dead, yet was he very gallantly entertained by the inhabitants of Ierusalem: and presently after
the fight, he made an edict, that whoso amongst the Iewes refused to offer sacrifice to the gods,
hee should presently dye vpon the wheele. But the godly minded of our nation did little
esteeme this edict, yea the women circumcising their infants (as our law requireth) did afterward
cast themselues downe headlong, to the end that they might so obtaine a present death with-
out longer delay. *Antiochus* perceiuing that the seuerity of his Edict could not compell the
Hebrewes to forsake their religion, but that men voluntarily did chuse death; he sitting in an M
eminent place from whence all the Iewes might behold him, calling all of them together, he cau-
sed swines flesh to be sacrificed vpon the altar, and to be offered to euery Hebrew to eate. A-
mongst this whole multitude assembled from all places, was one *Eleazar* a Priest, well instructed
in learning, and the feare of GOD, a man of aged yeeres, and of a very reuerend countenance,
one that was knowne to all men, and famous for his vertue. To this man *Antiochus* said thus: Be
aduised by me, holy old man, to eschew those torments prepared for such as are obstinate, pre-
serue thy reuerend age, and contemne not the benefit of this life, take the sacrifice and eate of the
swines

Eleazar is brought vnto Antiochus.

2. Macc. 6. Antiochus exhortation to Eleazar.

A ſwines fleſh: for it is contrary to all wiſe mens aduice to credit the Iewes opinions, and to refuſe
that meat which nature hath as well ordained for mankinde as any other. We ſhew our ſelues
vngratefull for Gods benefits, who contemne his graces, and make difference where nature hath
made none; or what reaſon is there to ſhew that this beaſt is more abominable then others? Ei-
ther all beaſts are to be eaten, or elſe all to be eſchewed: it is ſuperſtition and idleneſſe to bar our
ſelues from any thing by a law, when we haue no other for it but our will. Set apart thoſe vaine
and ſottiſh opinions, and at leaſt in this venerable age change thy opinion into better. Or ſuppoſe
your lawes are forcible and to be obſerued, yet will they excuſe thee, ſeeing thou doſt not ſinne
voluntarily, but by compulſion.

Eleazars anſwer to Antiochus.

B *Eleazar*, being permitted to ſpeake, thus replyed to *Antiochus*, who both exhorted and forced
him to breach of his lawes. We, *Antiochus*, do not follow a vaine report, but we obſerue the veri-
ty of religion which our fathers kept, and feare of torments cannot make vs embrace another re-
ligion, and forſake our owne: yea, ſuppoſe our religion deliuered to vs by our fathers had no firme
grounds, yet would I in nothing, no not compelled by torments, forſake it. Doe not eſteeme it a
ſmall matter to eate impious meat, and to taſte of that which is ſacrificed to Idols, for it is a pro-
fane thing to touch things that are profane. Our law condemneth your Philoſophy, wherein he
is moſt ignorant that thinketh himſelfe moſt wiſe. We are taught to embrace ſobriety, to ſubdue
in vs all inordinate appetite, to keep our bodies chaſte, and to ſuffer with patience whatſoeuer for
Gods ſake is inflicted vpon vs, and not to deny the truth, iuſtice or piety, or GOD, who alone is
C true: and therefore I refuſe this profane meat, well knowing what I ought to eate, as warranted
therein by the precept of Almighty God, whoſe lawes I haue learned to obey, and eſchew all
meats ſacrificed to Idols, and embrace with all my force that which is expedient for the ſoule:
it is open tyranny to compell any one to that which religion forbiddeth, and to command that
which is contrary to iuſtice. Do what thou wilt, mock at thy pleaſure, yet ſhalt thou be more de-
rided then thou thy ſelfe derideſt. I will perſiſt in the holy ſteps of my forefathers; notwithſtan-
ding thou therefore with tyrannous hands pluck out mine eies, and with a ſharp knife rip vp my
entrailes, thou ſhalt neuer conquer me. I will dye ſafe and ſound, and patient in the loue of God;
neither flatter thy ſelfe for that I am aged, and that my body is now feeble: if need be that I
muſt be ſacrificed for Gods ſake, thou ſhalt finde me in theſe yeers as luſty as a child, as conſtant
D as a young man, yea and moſt ioyfull in torments: and prepare an extraordinary fire from me, or
what elſe ſoeuer, thou ſhalt finde me more conſtant amidſt torments, then now I am before I
come to them. O ſacred religion! I will neuer violate thee the foundation of my ſaluation, the
defence of the beleeuer, the ground of faith; neuer will I lift vp my hands contrary to thy pre-
cepts, neuer wil I beleeue any thing to be iuſt, which is repugnant to that which thou haſt taught
me: I will not loſe the merit of ſo many yeeres, nor relinquiſh the faith I haue hitherto embra-
ced. The chaſte, pure, and deuout company of fathers ſhall receiue me into their number, where
I ſhall not feare (O impious King) thy threats. But thou haſt changed the name of King to ty-
rant, yet thou ſhalt neuer alledge againſt me my deed, my conſent, my word.

Eleazars conſtancy.

Eleazar cruelly whipped.

Whil'ſt *Eleazar*, full of conſtancy and liberty, ſpake thus, the ſouldiers that ſtood thereabout
E haled him to be tortured; and ſtripping him naked, they hanged him vp, and whipped him, and
whil'ſt on either ſide he was beaten, a crier with an impious voice ſtill cried vnto him, Obey the
Kings pleaſure and command. But worthy *Eleazar* was not ouercome by torment, but ſuffered
all tortures, as though he had beene in reſt and ſleepe, and did manfully and without feare endure
all torments: and fixing his venerable eyes vpon heauen, he knew in whom he beleeued, and to
whom he ſacrificed his ſoule; and beholding the fleſh on each ſide rent and torne from his body,
and the blood iſſuing out in great aboundance, he admired his owne patience, and thanked God
the author thereof. At laſt, ſeeing in himſelfe the frailty of all fleſh (which is ſcarcely able to en-
dure ſo ſharp torments) he fell vpon his face, which with ſtripes was all rent and torne, ſtill glo-
rifying God, as he did before his fall. Then one of the ſoldiers to gratifie the King, did like a mad
F man ſpurn and tread vpon him, therby to increaſe his torments more. But *Eleazar*, both ſtrong in
body and mind, did like a right champion of the true God, neuer ſhrinke at thoſe paines, but this
patient old man did by patience ouercome the cruelty of his tormenters, ſo that euen the torturers
themſelues admired, that he endured ſo many torments. Then the Kings officers comming vnto
him, ſaid; How long *Eleazar* wilt thou neglect to obey the King, and to free thy ſelfe from tor-
ments? eate of the fleſh of ſwine, and redeeme thy ſelfe from all thou endureſt. *Eleazar*, although
in this martyrdome he had beene ſilent, yet could he not without anſwering endure to heare ſo

profane

" profane counſell, but as tormented with this ſpeech, he cried out; We ſonnes of the Hebrewes G
" are not ſo effeminate as to forſake the way of our ſaluation, wherein we haue walked euen vntill
" our old age, neither are we taught for the auoiding of contumely which will not long continue,
" to giue others example and occaſion to ſinne. It is but a while that this life is to continue: ſo that
" we forſake but a ſmall trifle, yet hope we for that which is of great moment. Wilt thou tyrant
" eſteeme of vs if we ſhould yeeld vnto thee? nay, thou mighteſt iuſtly reproue our inconſtancy.
" We will therefore die, and reſigne our ſoules (O venerable father *Abraham*) into thy boſome.

The ſoldiers ſeeing his conſtancy, did by the Kings command caſt him into the fire, and powred ſtinking and loathſome liquors into his noſtrils. All which this reuerend old man did moſt willingly ſuffer, and ſo was conſumed with the flame: yet when nature began to faile, he ſpake H
Eleazars laſt words in the fire. after this manner, lifting vp his dazeled eies to heauen: Thou art he (O God) from whom life and ſaluation proceedeth: behold, I die for obſeruing thy lawes, be mercifull to this thy nation,
" and do not forſake them whom thou haſt hitherto protected, euen in thy boſome, and vnder the
" ſhadow of the wings of thy clemency, let my death end all miſery, and pacifie thy wrath bent a-
" gainſt our whole nation for their offences, receiue me for them all, and beſtow them all vpon
" me. And amidſt theſe ſpeeches he ioyfully yeelded vp the ghoſt.

Reaſons victory. It is moſt true therefore which we at firſt affirmed, to wit, that the enduring of paines and torments is wrought by our reaſons lore: which once determined and reſolued, maketh a proſperous ſuffering of paines with all patience, which wiſely aduiſing men to that which is beſt, doth ſettle and confirme our opinions to follow it. If therefore reaſon and the inferiour powers be at I
variance, we muſt ſubiect them to reaſon if we will make a perfect victory. With this guide of reaſon our father *Eleazar* was moſt ſafely directed, neither to be ouercome with paines, nor to giue place to any vnlawfull inticements and allurements, he ſaued the ſhip of his body from all ſhipwracke that might ariſe by the tempeſtuous ſtormes of vanity, and ſuffered himſelfe with no contrary wind to be driuen from the right courſe: yea, though it was toſſed vpon the waues of tyranny, yet did it remaine ſound and vnbroken, and keeping a direct courſe, arriued in the hauen of ſaluation. Neuer any man did ſeeke ſo valiantly to defend his city from an enemy, as this holy old man did his ſoule, who amongſt ſtripes, croſſes and flames, was ſtill the ſame man
A ſimilitude taken from the Rocke. he was before. For as the top of a high rocke ſtandeth ſafe, and reſiſteth the waue without any domage vnto it ſelfe; euen ſo did the rocke of reaſon in this man beat backe the rage of thoſe K
tempeſtuous waues, that did beat againſt his body, not permitting them to breake in and pearce
Eleazars praiſe. the celeſtiall and diuine power of the ſoule. O happy old man, more bleſſed then all of thy age, O Prieſt more ſacred then all other Prieſts, who didſt not pollute thy ſacred lips with profane meats; impiety found no entrance that way, from whence ſo many prayers to God had proceeded. The tyrants cruelty could not preuaile againſt thee, thou therefore art made an example for all Prieſts of God to imitate. Such a one behooued it a Prieſt to be, more ſtrong then torments, more able to ſuffer then the torturers to inflict puniſhment, more forcible then Princes commands, yea and more potent then the fire, wherein thou didſt periſh: and finally, thou waſt ordained to be crowned with the lawrell of martyrdome for thy ſufferance. Thou haſt ſurpaſſed L
all antiquity, thou ſhalt be an example to all poſterity. If then feeble old age, wherein all ſtrength and heate of body was extinguiſhed, now vnfit to ſuffer torments (as being already broken with age) could by the aduice of reaſon endure ſo many torments, ſo many miſeries, who dare deny reaſon to be the chiefe cauſe of our ſufferance? We haue ſeene that all cruelty hath beene ouercome by a determination to perſiſt in the ſeruice and feare of God: yet many affirme, that not all men who vſe the aduice of reaſon are able to vndergoe ſuch agonies; but their aſſertion is vaine, and of no force: for moſt euident it is, that he onely is ouercome by paine, whom wiſedome hath not armed with patience. And no maruell if he, who raſhly enterprizeth ſo waighty a matter, and without due conſideration, doe at laſt forſake and repent himſelfe of that which he ſo vnaduiſedly vndertooke. But if we with due aduice and deliberation arme our ſelues, it is not an eaſie mat- M
ter to remooue vs by any misfortune from our determination; when we make account that misfortune will betide vs, we are not eaſily diſmaied thereat when it doth betide, for that nothing befell vs that we expected not.

Therefore he that is wiſe and valiant, is able to conquer his paſſions, for that he doth well deliberate, and when he commeth to his agony, can put his determination in execution. Neither is the wiſedome of this old man ſo much to be admired, ſeeing children, and as it were infants, haue ſo deſerued commendations in this point, that they did worke aſtoniſhment in their tormentors;

for

A for the courage and cruelty of *Antiochus*, being ouercome by the wiſedome of old age, was now the more increaſed, and by wicked counſell cauſed ſeuen worthy children of the Hebrewes to be brought vnto Antioch, out of their Caſtle Soſandrum, who being young in yeers, and ſo as he thought weake and vnable to ſuffer torments, his hope was that either by perſwaſions or terror or tortures, he might force them to renounce their religion. Hee therefore commanded theſe ſeuen, together with their mother *Salomona* who now grew well in yeeres, to be brought before him: ſo they according to his command were brought, being of excellent beauty, and worthy children of ſo vertuous a mother; yea they reſembled Angels, their faces ſhining like the cleare light of the Sunne, their eyes ſparkled in moſt comely and decent manner, as teſtifying that they B ſurpaſſed in vertue all other of humane race and condition. She was deſcended of moſt vertuous and noble parentage, and ſo ſhe her ſelfe had continued and liued; but that excellent feature of body, enriched with nobility of blood and dignity, was now alſo made more noble by vertue and fortitude, wherein ſhe paſſed all other things that could be ſaid in her commendations. The tyrant beholding them, and their mother amongſt them, with merry and gladſome countenance, he thus craftily ſpake vnto the children: I wiſh your good (O admirable young men) for ſo both your beauty of body and noble parentage perſwade me: doe not therefore like mad men reſiſt my command, auoid not onely torments but death alſo. For I deſire not only to exalt you vnto honour, but alſo to encreaſe your riches and poſſeſſions, contemne the ſuperſtitious and ſuper- fluous beliefe of your countrimen, and imbrace our religion: Which if you refuſe to doe (as I C hope you will not) I will deuiſe all torments, whereby I may by a lingring and painefull death conſume you. And to the end to terrifie them the more, he commanded all inſtruments of tor- ment to bee preſented vnto their view and eye-ſight. So wheeles, rods, hookes, rakes, rackes, cauldrons, cages, gridirons, were brought forth; and engines to torment the fingers and hands, gauntlets, awles, bellowes, brazen pots, and frying pans: for theſe are the names which we find. For that which I tearme bellowes, was a thin plate of iron to kindle or blow the fire with, like a fan, and farre more horrible deuices of torments were ſhewed vnto them, too long to rehearſe: whereof they hauing had a ſight, *Antiochus* ſaid:

Antiochus cauſeth ſeuen noble young men of the Hebrews and their mother to be brought to Antioch. 2 *Macc.* 7.

The kings exhortation to the 7. brethrē.

Conſent vnto me, O prudent young men: for if that I command you to commit a ſinne; yet doe not you offend in doing it, ſeeing you commit it onely vpon compulſion. But the young D youths inflamed with a diuine ſpirit and ſenſe, contemned ſo many kindes of torments, and deſpiſed the tyrants threats and flatteries; and moſt godly (for they gaue him no iuſt occaſion) they did driue the tyrant into a great rage. And by this it is euident how reaſon is maſter ouer paſſion: for if any ſlothfull man not before trained vp to it, ſhould of a ſudden come to ſuch a puſh, at the very ſight of ſuch torments, his mind would haue beene troubled, and his counte- nance appalled, his legs vnder him would haue trembled, and he with feare confounded: ſo that he would preſently haue ſtept backe from ſuch an agony, and would forthwith haue alleadged himſelfe vnable to beare ſo many and ſo grieuous torments, ſaying, My ſelfe being vnwiſe, what ſhold I haue made choiſe of? Whether to endure thoſe torments, or accept of the promiſed bene- fits? Whether ſhould I haue bin mooued to pity mine owne age, or to compaſſionate my mo- E ther? God would not haue denied pardon for this deed, I being forced thereunto: and by doing it though againſt my will, I ſhall get the Kings fauour. But where reaſon and aduice taketh place, and hath well trained the minde to perfection, the other conſequently followeth: As by the ex- ample of theſe brethren I will declare, who as it were all with one voice denied to eate of the ſa- crificed ſwines fleſh, as they were commanded. Wherefore (ſaid they) O tyrant doſt thou per- ſecute vs that are innocent? We both deſire and wiſh to die, and will vntill ſuch time as death expelleth life, firmely keep that which God commanded and *Moſes* taught vs. And thou tyrant, do not ſeeke to ſeduce vs by proteſting fained loue towards vs: thou louer of iniuſtice, maſter of cruelty, deuiſer of iniquity, the pardon which thou doeſt offer is to vs more painefull then pu- niſhment: we are armed with contempt of death, and eſteeme not thy words, as being by our F late maſter *Eleazar* taught to deſpiſe them. Why then doeſt thou eſteeme ſuch puſillanimity to be in vs young men, ſeeing of late thou foundſt ſuch courage in an old man? We follow him: thou canſt not try and know our minds, except by tearing our bodies thou ſearch them out: we will ſafely and ſecurely ſuffer for our God any thing, and leauing this earth we ſhall be entertained into heauen; and thou for ſo tyrannizing moſt cruelly vpon innocent ſoules, ſhalt be reſerued to eternall fire.

The young mens conſtancy.

The 7. bre- thren reply to Antiochus.

The tyrant greatly mooued, to ſee that he could neither preuaile by faire promiſes, nor by

threatnings, he cauſed them to be beaten with buls pizzles: and firſt of all he commanded *Maccabeus*, the eldeſt of the ſeuen brethren, to be ſtript, and ſtretched out vpon a racke, and his hands to be bound behind him, and then to be moſt cruelly beaten, who wearied his tormenters by ſuffering (ſo great the force of vertue is) ſo that they deſired more to leaue beating him, then he requeſted they ſhould leaue. This done, he was put vpon a wheele, and a waight hanged at his feet, and ſo ſtretched round about it, that his ſinewes and entrailes brake, and ſo his paines increaſed: yet he being ouercome with paine, his mouth was not for all this ſtopped or hindered from calling vpon God, who beheld all; and reprouing the tyrant who deuiſed thoſe torments for the innocents, and taking ſtrength, he is ſaid to haue cryed out after this manner; Bloudy tyrant, who perſecuteſt the Maieſty of God: I, whom thou thus tormenteſt, am no Witch, nor one who haue murdered and killed another man, but one who dies for iuſtice, obſeruing the law, and for charity. Then when the torturers, ouercome with compaſſion, willed him to ſubmit himſelfe vnto the Kings pleaſure, he anſwered: O ye wicked miniſters of tyranny! your wheels are not ſo ſharp and cruell, that I thereby will be forced to forſake heauen, whereon my mind is fixed: teare my fleſh; yea, if ſo you pleaſe, roſt it at the fire: torture and torment each parcell of my body with ſeuerall cruelty; you ſhall for all this finde your ſelues vnable to force vs young men to impiety.

Antiochus commanded Maccabeus to be racked.

As hee thus ſpake, a fire was kindled, and hee, as he was vpon the wheele racked, was ſo throwne into the fire: and thus he was by flames and torments ſo burned, that his bowels appeared; his mind nothing moued when his fleſh yeelded ouercome with paines, who amidſt his pangs cryed thus vnto his brethren: O beloued brethren, learne of me an example of vertue, conſider the ſtrength of an inuincible courage, contemne and deſpiſe the alluring baits of this world, and rather obey God then this tyrant, who can if he pleaſe humble the proud and mighty, and exalt the lowly and deiected. As thus he ſpake, hee was taken out of the flame, and flayne aliue, his tongue was pulled out of his mouth, and hee put into a frying panne, and ſo he departed out of this life to the great admiration of all that beheld him, and the ioy of his brethren and mother; and went before them to heauen, there to prepare a kingdome for himſelfe and them.

The death of the eldeſt brother.

After him, the ſecond brother, called *Aber*, was haled by the ſouldiers: and before thy tyrant asked him whether he would relent, he cauſed all thoſe torments to be ſhewed him, thereby to terrifie him: but he nothing thereat moued, and denying to eate of that foreſaid ſacrifice, his hands were bound with iron chaines, and hee being hanged vp by them, the skin of his body was flayne from the crowne of his head vnto his knees: ſo that the entrailes in his breſt appeared naked; yet in ſuch manner, as yet he might abide greater torments. For he was caſt before a cruell Libard thirſting moſt extremely after blood, to the intent that he might deuoure with his teeth the reſt of his body: but the beaſt ſmelling of him (no doubt by the great handy worke of Almighty God) forgot his cruelty, and turning away his face, he did no hurt to the Martyr.

The ſecond brother brought.

But hereat the tyrants rage increaſed; and the Martyr, by ſuffering ſuch torments, was made more conſtant, crying aloud: O how pleaſant is that death vnto me, which is cauſed by all ſorts of torments for Gods ſake! yea, ſo much the more pleaſant, for that I aſſuredly hope to finde reward for it in heauen. Let theſe torments inflicted vpon me (O tyrant) ſatisfie thy cruelty, for my paine is not by thy tortures increaſed, but rather my pleaſure, as thou ſhalt finde by my patience in this agony. More willing am I to ſuffer then thou to puniſh, yet my paine in ſuffering is leſſe then thine by inflicting the ſame vpon me. I am tormented for vertue and obſeruing the law, and the iuſtice of God ſhall baniſh thee from thy regall ſeat: thou by tormenting art tormented, and almoſt conſumed, thy wrath and fury being almoſt ſpent vpon me in vaine, thou ſhalt not eſcape the day of iudgement: eternall torments are there prepared for thee, which neither thy profane minde is able to indure, nor thy cruelty of power to decline, thy ſinfull ſoule being condemned to eternall puniſhments. Thus, remaining conſtant in his faith, and animated by his brothers example, he departed to heauen.

Machir the third brother is brought.

Then *Machir* the third ſon was brought, whom all men now pittied for the death of his two brethren, & many exhorted him by his brothers examples to deſiſt from his opinion, & ſo auoid puniſhment: but he being angry hereat, thus replyed; One father begat vs, one mother bore vs, one maſter inſtructed vs, we are all of one minde, and all like affected, do therefore no longer prolong the time in vaine. I came hither to ſuffer, and not to ſpeake, vſe all your tyranny poſſibly againſt this

A this body:for you haue no power at all ouer my ſoule. The tyrant hereat moued to ſee this third nothing relent by his brothers death, he deuiſed more cruelty then humane wit alone could inuent. Wherfore he commanded a globe to be brought,and tied the holy martyr about it in ſuch ſort,that all his bones were ſet out of ioint,and diſplaced:whereat the holy martyr was nothing diſmaid. The skin alſo of his head and face was puld off,and then he was put on the wheele: but he could not be rackt any worſe; for that his bones were all diſplaced, and did hang one ſeparated from another in moſt pitifull manner: and when blood iſſued from him aboundantly, hee was depriued of the vſe of his hands and feete; but perceiuing his life to be ſpent, he ſpake thus and died:We,O tyrant,endure this torment for the loue of God,and thou the author of ſuch vn-
B iuſt cruelty ſhalt ſuffer euerlaſting paine. Then his tongue being cut out of his mouth,he was put into a frying pan, and ſo amidſt thoſe torments yeelded vp the ghoſt.

Next after,followed *Iudas*,the fourth brother,whom all the people perſwaded and entreated to obey the King: but he, contemning their praiers and exhortations, ſaid thus with all conſtancy: Your fire ſhall neither ſeparate nor ſeuer me from the Law of God, nor from my brethren, who in ſtead of this mortal life enioy life euerlaſting. I denounce vnto thee,O tyrant,deſtruction and ouerthrow; but to ſuch as beleeue,ſaluation: make triall of me therefore thou cruell wretch, and ſee if God will forſake me, who hath with open and ſtretched out armes receiued my three brethren that are gone before me, and whom the wombe of ſo holy a mother at ſeuerall times brought forth vnto glory. The cruel tyrant hearing this,was much moued,and leapt down from
C his chaire to torment this martyr himſelfe,that ſo he might ouercome him, and in his fury commanded his tongue to be cut forth: but he hereat not terrified, ſaid to *Antiochus*, This cruelty will nothing auaile thee, neither ſhalt thou hereby tyrant, as thou ſuppoſeſt, conquer me. Our God needs not by voice to be awakened, but rather by ſecret cogitation to be praid vnto to help his ſeruants: he prouideth for them that hold their peace, and heareth the prayers of ſuch as do call vpon him,if they deſerue to be heard,and only requireth purity of ſoule. For our God knoweth all things before we aske;and before we our ſelues enter into cogitation thereof, he vnderſtandeth our neceſſity: cut out my tongue,thou canſt not cut out my mind while my life remaineth. Thoſe prayers which by it I haue vttered to Almighty God, haue taught it to ſuffer: would God thou wouldſt ſo ſanctifie all parts of my body by puniſhing them, for thou therein
D inflicteſt puniſhment on thy ſelfe,and reward vpon me,and think not that thou ſhalt thus eſcape long vnpuniſhed. When he had thus ſpoken,his tongue was cut out of his mouth, and he bound to a ſtake,and there he was beaten with ropes ends:and he did patiently endure this,notwithſtanding the colour of his face became dead and wanne. Being looſed from thence, he was put vpon the wheele: and then praying for his countrimen, he by death went vnto the reſt of his brethren.

Iudas, the 4. brother, is brought.

The death of the 4. brother.

Then *Achas*, the fift brother, before he was haled to torments,ſpake in this manner; Behold (thou tyrant) I come to be puniſhed before thou command me, hope not therefore any iot to alter his minde who as thou ſeeſt deſireth to be tormented. The bloud of my foure innocent brethren, which thou haſt ſhed,hath condemned thee to hell-fire: I am to make them vp the num-
E ber of fiue,that by it thy paines may be encreaſed. Tell me(bloudy wretch)for what offence by vs committed doſt thou thus puniſh vs? for what impiety doſt thou ſo perſecute vs? what villany haue we committed? what wickedneſſe,what naughtineſſe haue we attempted? This is all thou canſt alledge againſt vs,that we honor God our Creator,and liue iuſtly in obedience of his lawes, and therefore do not eſteeme thy puniſhments: but they are to vs honour and ſaluation, and not puniſhment: we ſhall be greatly rewarded by God, if no part of vs be left free from torment. Whil'ſt thus he ſpake, his executioners by the Kings command tooke him and caſt him into a brazen pot,and was preſt downe in it,his head to his feet:and afterward he ſuffred all other torments, which his brethren had endured;yet not amazed hereat, he ſuddenly ſtarted vp, and thus bitterly inueighed againſt the tyrant: Cruell tyrant, how great benefits doſt thou againſt thy
F will beſtow vpon vs! yea, the more thou art incenſed againſt vs, the more acceptable to God ſhalt thou make vs: yea,I ſhould be ſorry if thou ſhewedſt mercy vpon me. This ſhort affliction gaineth vs life euerlaſting; if this temporall death ſhould not betide me, euerlaſting life could not befall me. And thus he finiſht his agony,and dyed.

Achas, the 5. brother preſented himſelfe to torments before he was called.

Then the tormenters laid hands vpon the ſixt brother, who was called *Areth*, whom the tyrant permitted either to chuſe honour or puniſhment: but he aggrieued at his offer, ſaid; Although(tyrant)I be younger in yeers then my martyred brethren, yet my conſtancy of mind to

The valour of the sixt brother.

theirs is not inferior: for we were all nourisht vp together, all together instructed, and we will all G
die together in the feare of God. Hasten therefore to thy deuised torments, and that time which
" thou wouldest spend in exhorting me, spend it in deuising tortures for me. *Antiochus* hereat con-
founded, commanded him to be bound to a pillar with his head hanging downe, in such wise as
humors running into it might cause ache: and this done, he caused a fire to be made so far off him,
that it could not burne him, but rost him. He also commanded him as he hung to be pricked with
awles, that so the heat might pearce into the holes they made in his flesh. Whil'st thus he was tor-
mented, much blood like froth gathered about his head and face, and he then spake in this maner;
" O noble fight! O valiant war! O strife betweene piety and impiety! These men haue past their
" agonies, whose Crowne of Martyrdome is the punishment of their persecuters: I do most wil- H
" lingly follow my brethren, that as by blood I am conioyned vnto them, so by death I may not
" be separated from them. Deuise, O tyrant, some new torment, for these which thou hast already
" deuised, are already ouercome. O master of cruelty, enemy of piety, persecuter of iustice! we six
" worthy young men haue conquered the Kings power, and what his Kingdome or the whole
" world could afford. Thy fire is cold and heateth not, and the Kings weapons are bended and blun-
" ted in our bodies; our God giueth vs more courage to suffer, then thou hast to punish: and so the

The sixt brother sharpely reproues Antiochus.

precept of God remaineth firme in vs. And as he thus spake, one took hold of his tongue with a
hot paire of tongs: and suffering the same torments that his brethren had done, and fried in a fry-
ing pan, he gaue vp the ghost.

Six of the brethren being now dead by diuersity of torments, onely one of the seuen remai- I
ned aliue with his mother, named *Iacob*, younger in yeeres (but not in constancy of minde)
then the rest of his brethren: he, presenting himselfe before the tyrant, mooued him to compas-

Iacob the seuenth brother brought to torments.

sion, both for that he was left alone, and the last of his brethren, and also that he was to perish:
wherefore hee called the childe vnto him, and into a place where no instruments of torment
were, and taking him by the hand, he said thus vnto him, hoping to winne him by faire speeches;
" By thy brethrens calamity thou now well hast learned what is prepared for thee if thou disobey
" me, deliuer thy selfe therefore from these torments, and I will giue thee what honour my King-
" dome can affoord: thou shalt be a Magistrate and Generall of my Army, and one of my Coun-
" cellers: But perceiuing himselfe not to preuaile, he caused the youg mans mother to be called vn-
" to him: who comming and standing nere her sonne, the tyrant said thus vnto her; Where are now, K
" O worthy woman, all thy children? Behold, of such a number, if thou please, the destiny af-
" foords thee one: aduise therefore thy child, and mollifie his obstinate mind by wholesome coun-
" sell. The mother hauing heard what the King said, she inclined her selfe vnto the King: which
done, that the King might not vnderstand her, she spake in Hebrew to her childe, as followeth;
" Pity thy mother, O sonne, and comfort thy sorrowfull mother, who bare thee nine moneths in
my womb, and gaue thee sucke three yeers; and with great industry haue brought thee vp to this
" age. I pray thee, deare sonne, consider the heauen and earth, and all that in them is, and know, that
" God created them all of nothing, who also of nothing created mankinde. Feare not this Eth-
" nickes paines and torments, but imitate thy brethren, and contemne death, that in the day of L
" mercy I may receiue thee and thy brethren againe in heauen. As his mother thus admonished him,
" he in the Hebrew tongue requested to be vnbound, for that he had a secret to disclose to the King:
" who being vnfettered, he presently ran to the torments prepared: for there was a frying-pan red
" hot, that was prepared for such as were to suffer: vnto the which the childe comming, remem-
" bring his brethren, and beholding also the King, he said vnto him; Cruel tyrant, I now know thee
" not onely to haue beene cruell against my brethren, but euen cruelty it selfe. Wretch that thou
" art, who gaue thee this purple? and who exalted thee to this Kingdome and dignity? euen He
" whom thou in vs dost persecute, whose seruants and worshippers thou killest and tormentest, for
" which thy wickednes thy selfe shalt suffer eternal fire and torments which shall haue no end. Thou
" art of higher dignity & authority in this world then other men, yet he that made other men, made M

All men are borne and must dy alike.

thee also of the same nature that they are: for all men are borne, and must die alike. He that kils
another, sheweth that he himselfe may be killed: thou teares and tormentest thy own picture and
" image all in vaine: thou in thy fury killedst him whom not long since God created like thy selfe,
" and according to the same law, thou thinkest all lawfull which thy kingly power can command:
" thou pullest out our tongues, and teares our bodies with flesh-hookes, and consumest vs with
" fire: but they who haue already suffered this, haue receiued euerlasting ioy for their reward;
" and thou shalt answer for all the punishments inflicted vpon them. Thinke not that I

expect

A expect any fauour at thy hands, I will follow my brethren, and remaine conſtant in our Law. The Tyrant hearing this, was wroth, and cauſed him to bee tormented: but his mother in torment comforted him, and with her kinde hands held his head, when with violence of the tortures blood iſſued out of his mouth, noſe and priuy parts, the tormenters not ceaſing till life in him was almoſt ſpent: but they (by Gods appointment) gaue ouer, and ſo he tooke ſtrength againe to endure more then any of his brethren had done; at laſt, his hands and armes being cut off, hee lifted vp his eyes to heauen, and cryed, O *Adonai*, O *Sabaor* bee mercifull vnto me, and receiue mee into the company of my brethren, let thy wrath now ceaſe and grant them mercy, who by vs doe make interceſſion to thee; hauing ſaid thus, his tongue being pulled
B out, hee of his owne accord went into the fiery frying-pan, and ſo to the great admiration of *Antiochus* died.

The death of the youngeſt brother.

Behold how euident it is, that reaſon can rule our affections, ſeeing that children heereby ſhewed more conſtancy then the tyrant could ſhew cruelty. For, it was reaſons force that wrought in them that determination to ſuffer all torments, rather then to forſake the way of ſaluation. Theſe conſtant young men doe fitly reſemble inexpugnable towers; and them, who after a great tempeſt and ſhipwracke, do ſafely enter the harbour of ſaluation, who guiding their courſe amidſt the boyſterous waues, at laſt obtaine the wiſhed ſhoare. For euery one of them ſtrengthened the other by aduice and good counſell, and none of them was like an effeminate perſon, loth to ſuffer martyrdome. None vſed delay herein, but one followed anothers exam-
C ple. Let vs therefore dye for our Law, and imitate the three children whom the Aſſyrians fury condemned to the fiery furnace, whoſe patience ſpred their fame euen vnto heauen. Whileſt thus one of them exhorted the other, it came to paſſe, that none of them offended, but each one reſolute in his religion, tooke example of the vertue, courage and conſtancy of their forefather *Iſaac*, who vnderſtanding that it was Gods will he ſhould be ſacrificed, he refuſed not to ſubmit his body to his fathers ſword. Let vs (quoth they) yeeld our ſoules to him of whom wee receiued both ſoule and body: It is a ſmall matter for vs to ſuffer loſſe of theſe members, ſeeing that we ſhall in lieu of them receiue euerlaſting bliſſe. *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Iacob* doe ioyfully expect vs, as coheires of their kingdome: let vs glorifie that wombe wherein we were for ten moneths ſpace, let none of vs be more coward then the other, nor none of vs degenerate
D from the other. Wee that were all begotten of one father, and ſucked of one milke, muſt in all things reſemble one another: we had one teacher, and one law inuiolate. And in this golden bond of concord were theſe brethren linked together, and none of them mourned to ſee the other tormented, but all reioyced at the others death. O children, whoſe dignity farre ſurpaſſeth the royalty of Kings and Princes, whoſe glory and vertue is vnſpeakeable! None of you were terrified with feare, but you ſo haſtened to your deaths, as though you had onely beene to goe to bliſſe and felicity: you were truely brethren, who euen by death were linked together. God hath greatly in you magnified our nation, and in you ſhewed vs al on example of fortitude: whom therefore I thinke he cauſed to bee ſo many in number, as were the dayes wherein he created the world, ſo that theſe ſeuen brethren may reſemble the ſeuen dayes wherein all things
E were made. And why ſhould we ſo admire this fortitude in theſe young men, when a woman armed her ſelfe with contempt of death? Who indeed is not to be called a mother, but to bee honoured with a higher title then humane frailty can affoord, who bare into this world ſo many triumphs.

A ſimilitude of the waues. The ſeuen brethren exhort one another to ſuffer death manfully.

True brotherhoood.

A pledge and ſigne of brotherly amity.

For the mother ſeeing her children dead, was with a kinde and godly zeale inflamed alſo to ſuffer: and no maruell, ſeeing that the very brute beaſts, if they perceiue violence offered to their yong, do oppoſe themſelues to perils in their defence, and protect them with their wings, teeth, and tallons: yea and euery one that is any way able to make reſiſtance, oppoſeth herſelfe to the enemy to defend her young. And not onely brute beaſts doe this, but euen Bees doe defend not onely their young, but alſo their hony, threatning their ſtings to them that offer to taſte ther-
F of, and more eſteeming the good of their young then their owne liues. But this zealous mother directed by the ſpirit of God, & reaſons lore, haſted that her children might die before her; who not being to liue depriued of her children, choſe rather to ſee them die ioyfully then to periſh in care and ſorrow. Therfore when all her familie had ſuffered, ſhe then the laſt and glory of them all, came to her agony, deſpiſing the tyrants threats, & offering her motherly breſt to thoſe torments which her children had ſuffered. O bleſſed ſtocke and bleſſed encreaſe of the ſelf-ſame wombe! Why ſhould I not affirme that in all lineaments and feature of the body you are like

The mothers griefe.

your mother: and if this bee a commendation in them, that beſide the ſhape of body receiue G
nothing elſe of their mother, I will ſay more of you, that you are like your mother in fortitude,
vertue, and religion; and that you ſo in all things reſemble her, that you are euery way equal vn-
to her, ſaue onely herein, that ſhe with her eyes beheld the immanity of your torments, beeing
alſo as conſtant in her owne martyrdome as you in yours. She therefore herein excelled you,
that ſhe ſuffered ſeuen torments before ſhe came to ſuffer in her own perſon, and feared in euery
The mother ſuffered ſeuen torments before ſhe was tormented. one of them leſt ſhee ſhould be ouercome. But O thou example of all women, I cannot tel, whe-
ther thou bare theſe children in thy wombe, or created them, who could with dry eyes looke
vpon them whileſt they were torne in pieces: yea I ſay little, affirming that thou patiently didſt
behold theſe ſights, for euen thou thy ſelfe didſt exhort them thereunto, thou reioycedſt to ſee
one of them torne in pieces with fleſhhooks, the other to be racked vpon the wheele, & the third H
to be bound and beaten: thou ioyfully admiredſt the others burning, and exhortedſt the reſt not
to be terrified herewith, and although whileſt thou beheldſt their torments, thy grief was grea-
ter then that which thou hadſt in childbirth, yet didſt thou frame a lightſome and merry coun-
tenance, as though it had beene one triumphing. While they were akilling, thou didſt laugh, and
ſeeing only one of all thy children left, hereat thou didſt nothing relent. Can I deſcribe how e-
uery one periſhed, ſeeing thou their mother didſt laugh at their deaths, and when their ſinewes
were cut in two, their heads flayne, their tongues pulled forth by the roots, their hands broken,
their bodies in the fire, and caſt vpon iron plates red hot, and vpon wheels, and their ribs pulled
in ſunder, and many other torments for which we want names? Neuer was any Swanne, which
(by the report of antiquity) ſung ſo ſweet a note before her death (ſweeter then the moſt melo- I
dious harmony, and the moſt pleaſant voice) as were the funerall verſes of thoſe thy children
that periſhed.

You children were not ouercome by the fabulous Syrens enchantments, who to honor God,
doubted not to leaue your mother without children: And ſhe ſprung of noble ſtock, choſe ra-
ther to want you for a ſhort time, then to incurre eternall damnation, wiſhing rather that the
bodies of her children ſhould be tormented then their ſoules. Well ſhe knew, that nothing was
more fraile and infirme then our bodies: which though perſecution be wanting, are often killed
with agues, and abundance of blood or fluxes: And who is ignorant of ſhipwrack incident to ſai-
lers, hazard of life vnto them that trauaile, and ſudden death to thoſe that liue in eaſe? ſudden
caſualty by fire, and by the hands of theeues, and a thouſand other waies to diſpatch our liues? K
Seeing then that our mortall bodies are ſubiect to ſo many miſeries to bring vs to our end, who
would not make choyce of a quick diſpatch, whereby we loſe goods of this world, and gaine
life euerlaſting? O thou moſt reuerend of all women, the credit of thy nation, and honor of our
A ſimilitude from the Deluge. religion, who like the Arke of *Noe* didſt perſiſt inuiolate amongſt ſuch ſtormy waues! for as it
withſtood the force of the deluge, and being built ſtrongly with firme boords, did not ſuffer any
thing within it to periſh: ſo thou ſuffredſt not the tyrant to ouercom the holy Ghoſt which thou
hadſt receiued in thy heart.

imperfect Behold of what force and efficacy reaſon is, which oftentimes maketh vs men inferior to wo-
men. For neither was *Daniel* ſo terrified at the ſight of the Lions, nor the 3. children with the fie-
ry furnace, as this woman was grieued at the death of all her children, before ſhe came to her L
owne agony. What would another woman and mother haue done in this caſe, but wept & with
pitifull lamentations haue cried: Ah wretch that I am, moſt vnhappy, and miſerable of all that
breathe, who therfore bare ſo many childrē into this world, that their ſeueral deaths might be ſo
many ſeuerall occaſions of my griefe & ſorrow! ſhe would haue iterated her frequent births, and
her toile in her ten moneths bearing them, ſhe would haue bewailed her hapleſſe fortune who
brought forth ſo many deaths and dangers, ſhe would haue recounted the milke wherewith ſhe
fed them, and their meat ſhe had prepared for them, the paines ſhe had taken with them, how ſhe
had carried them in her armes, and ſung to them & taught them to ſpeake, her cares, her watch-
ings, her feare, leſt any miſ-hap ſhould betide them: and with weeping teares would haue ſaid,
Shall I a grandmother embrace your children? who a while ago was too fruitfull a mother, and M
am now depriued of you all? If this day I die, I haue none to bury me. But this handmaide of
The mothers ſpeech exhorting her ſeuen ſons to ſuffer. God forgot all theſe laments that another mother would haue had, and with an Adamant ſenſe
ſtouter then the neuer yeelding rocks, did neither forſake her children in their torments, nor in
their death, but in a manner compelled them to periſh, and neuer ſorrowed thereat. For being
apprehended together with her ſeuen ſonnes, ſhee conſidering *Eleazars* martyrdome, did thus
exhort

A exhort them in the Hebrew tongue. O my moſt deare and louing children, let vs haſten to that
agony wherein we may be a credit to our nation, and gaine of God an euerlaſting reward: let
vs without feare preſent our ſelues vnto thoſe torments which *Eleazars* aged body endured: call
to mind our father *Abraham* of worthy memory; who hauing but one onely ſonne, did ſacrifice
him being willed by God ſo to doe, and feared not to bring him to the Altar, whom he ſcarcely
in his age obtained. *Iſaac* alſo was willing to be ſacrificed by his father, knowing that God was
to be obeyed in all things, the like may be ſaid of *Daniel* and the three children: beleeue me, we
are rather tried then tormented. For whatſoeuer this world affordeth, is mortall and like a ſha-
dow.

B Thus did this mother arme her childrens mindes with fortitude, and ſhe a woman wrought in men manlike mindes. Laſt of all, her children being all dead, ſhe, a worthy mother of ſo many champions, kneeling downe in the place of torment, beſought of God an end of this life, proteſting, that ſhe had not for loue of life ſo long deferred to die, but onely for her childrens ſake, and that now ſhe had ſeene them all ſeuen triumphing. The fury of *Antiochus* now waxed hot, and he commanded this worthy mother to be tormented, who was (as the tyrant wild) ſtripped naked, and hanged vp by the hands, and moſt cruelly whipped: her dugges and pappes were pulled off, and ſhee put into the red hote frying-pan, being moſt willing to follow her childrens ſteps in torment; and lifting vp her eyes and hands to heauen, ſhee prayed for all women with childe, and ſo yeelded her chaſte ſoule to God. But *Antiochus* was ſtricken with fire from hea-
C uen. O miſtris of iuſtice, who followed thy triumphing children! O conqueror of tyrants, and a looking glaſſe for all Martyrs! O example of patience! not only to women, but to all men that ſhall be after thee, reuerenced of them that now are, and to be worſhipped of them that are to come, and to be admired not onely of our nation, but of all other people. Thy light obſcureth the bright ſhining Moone: and though ſhe fill the world with her brightneſſe, yet is ſhe not comparable to thy ſhining light. Seuen lights enuiron thee about, dazeling the brightneſſe of the ſeuen Planets: could any Painter expreſſe, or any hand in writing declare the torments of your paſſions? None could with dry eye read or behold them; all people would flocke about to ſee it, all people would praiſe and eſteeme him to haue offered a great gift, who to Gods glory had painted that golden ſtratageme. And if any skilfull workman ſhould engraue this Tragedy
D vpon a ſepulchre or in his houſe, doubtleſſe he ſhould be freed from all plague and misfortune. But where could a ſtone be found able to containe ſo many torments? Therefore the old man *Eleazar*, the mother and her 7. ſons, are for their nobility graced with a ſepulchre, and a great reuerence is done vnto them of all men, yea euen by men that are not of our religion: and there is a conſtellation of 8. ſtars ordained as an argument of their iuſtice, and Angels did execute their funerals. The tyrant himſelfe was aſtoniſhed to ſee the conſtancy of ſuch godly mindes. And thus haue they found ſuch fauour in the ſight of God, that they haue obtained remiſſion of the ſins of our nation: For preſently after, the tyrant was deſtroyed, and Iſrael there was freed from his tyranny.

But *Antiochus*, ſeeing the greatneſſe of their faith, and their contempt of death, gathered an ar-
E my of footmen out of the Hebrewes, by whoſe helpe he terrified his enemies, and got great renowne. O bleſſed ſeed of *Abraham*! behold what benefit the agony of the mother and her ſeuen ſons brought to vs their countrimen: let vs perſiſt in this piety, that ſo we may be like our forefathers: behold, the death of a few did end all the miſeries and ſins of our whole nation, and you by your countrimens hands vanquiſhed your perſecutours enemies, and after that victory our ſins were remitted; and laſt of all, *Antiochus* being mad, and his entrailes deuoured with wormes, he ſmelling moſt like carrion, gaue vp the ghoſt: and was euer after death puniſhed for his offence. For when he could not make the Citizens of Ieruſalem to forſake their law, he made war againſt the Perſians, and there receiued that which he deſerued.

It now remaineth that we briefely repeat all that is before ſaid. For in her agony, this ſacred
F mother ſaid thus vnto the ſtanders by; Whil'ſt it was lawfull for me, I kept my ſelfe a Virgin, and then I married and liued a chaſte wife, and forſooke not my owne houſe, I brought forth ſuch ſonnes as I need not be aſhamed of; and though daunted with my husbands death, yet I did not forſake my faith: this, and many things elſe ſhe recounted. And what more? She ſet before her childrens eies the examples of the Prophets, how *Abel* by his brother was ſlain, *Iſaac* to be offred in ſtead of a ſacrifice, how *Iacob* was baniſhed, *Ioſeph* kept in priſon, *Daniel* caſt before the Lions, the three children into the fiery furnace: ſhe rehearſed alſo vnto them the book of *Eſaias*, where

A golden ſaying of the mother of her 7. children.

The mother followed her ſonnes in torments.

The light of the iuſt. 1 *Cor.* 15.

Antiochus leuied an army of footmen from amongſt the Hebrewes.

Antiochus dyed ſtinking exceedingly. 2 *Mac.* 9.

An epitome of the life of the 7. ſons and their mother.

it

it is ſaid: Although thou do go thorow the fire, the flame ſhall not burne thee. That of *Dauid*, The iuſt ſhall haue much tribulation; and *Salomon*, who propoſeth the tree of life to ſuch as doe the will of God; not omitting that of *Ezechiel*, Theſe dry and withered bones ſhall liue againe: Alſo that of *Moſes* Canticle, I will kill and reſtore to life, and the length of your dayes is in my hand. Vnhappy tyrant, what did thy cauldrons red hot, and thy torments profit thee? what auailed thee to cut away their eyelids, and to pull out their tongues? thou thy ſelfe for ſo doing doſt now endure farre worſe then all theſe. And they whom thou killedſt (beleeue me) enioy euerlaſting comfort, and are now ſecure of bliſſe and reuenge. For they who ſuffer for Gods ſake, ſhall haue happy ſucceſſe, when God the Father of all things, ſhall reward them with life euerlaſting that follow him. Thus haue I conſecrated theſe worthy memorials, which I find in the holy Scriptures of the ſacred Maccabees, to the reading of all men, that ſhall liue in any age hereafter.

The ioy of the bleſſed in euerlaſting life

The end of all Ioſephus *workes.*

FINIS.

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